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CALENDARS.

Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged:—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control: 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

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2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c. are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

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10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

*** Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE.

1558—1580.

CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS,

RELATING TO ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE,

AND IN OTHER LIBRARIES OF

NORTHERN ITALY.

VOL. VII.

1558—1580.

EDITED BY

THE LATE RAWDON BROWN

AND

THE RIGHT HON. G. CAVENDISH BENTINCK, M.P.

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PREFACE.

The contents of the seventh volume of the Calendar of the Venetian State Papers date from the 17th December 1558 to the 28th December 1580, and are derived from despatches and documents preserved in the State Archives of Venice, the Library of St. Mark at Venice, the State Archives of Mantua, and from MSS. which the late Mr. Rawdon Brown bequeathed to the Public Record Office.

The entries in this volume, dating to the end of the year 1564, and numbered 1–357, have, with some few exceptions, been edited by me from the translations made by Mr. Rawdon Brown at Venice, in conformity with the instructions which he received from the late Sir T. Duffus Hardy, by the direction of the late Lord Romilly and the late Sir George Jessel; and I am responsible for the remaining entries, which I have translated and prepared from the transcripts of original documents which came into my possession as the executor of Mr. Rawdon Brown, and also from the bequeathed MSS. referred to above.

The Reports which have been made by the late Mr. Rawdon Brown, and on his behalf, to the Master of the Rolls, will have indicated that during the last half of the sixteenth century the entries written directly from England would be very few in number, and that the explanation of this result was not far to seek. The Ambassador, Giovanni Michiel, left England on the 5th July 1557, in attendance on King Philip, and from the date of his departure until the year 1602, no authorised diplomatic functionary was accredited by the Signory of Venice to the Court of

England. It is unquestionably a singular circumstance that no successor was appointed to Michiel in England, so much so that Mr. Rawdon Brown entertained the idea that the Ambassador resident with King Philip in Flanders was considered by the Signory to be a sufficient protection to Venetian interests in England during the lifetime of Queen Mary; but there is no evidence to support this view. When Queen Elizabeth succeeded her sister, her ill-concealed hostility to Rome, and the organic ecclesiastical changes which her policy brought about, sufficiently explain why no overtures for diplomatic intercourse were made from Venice, and no steps taken by the Governing Power of the Republic to procure their renewal.

The silence of the Venetian Archives at this most interesting and critical period of English history is, no doubt, a great misfortune; but the void is to some extent supplied by a series of valuable letters dating from the 17th December 1558, to June 27th, 1559, which were discovered by Mr. Rawdon Brown in the State Archives of Mantua, and which are addressed by an individual signing himself "Il Schifanoya," to the Mantuan Ambassador and the Mantuan Secretary resident at the Court of Brussels, and also to the Castellan or Governor of the City of Mantua. Mr. Rawdon Brown always believed that the designation of "Il Schifanoya," which in English signifies a lazy, idle fellow, was an assumed name, but, as I could see no reason why "Il Schifanoya" should have desired to conceal his identity, I obtained, through the kind intervention of the late Commendatore Bartolomeo Cecchetti, Director of the Venetian Archives, a communication from the Cavaliere Antonio Bertolotti, Director of the State Archives of Mantua, and Signor Davari, Keeper of the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, who gave their joint opinion that

"Schifanoya" or "Schifenoia" was the true name of the writer; firstly, because there is in the province of Mantua a small district now called Schifenoglia, but described in ancient documents as Schifenoia, and, secondly, because, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, several Mantuans of note bore the name of "Schifenoia" and "Schifenola," to one of whom, the most reverend Don Luigi Schifenoia, the Duke of Mantua is recorded to have given a recommendation to the Imperial Court in 1563, and this personage is mentioned to have been alive in 1565.

Il Schifanoya, as appears by his letter of the 6th February, was in the service of Sir Thomas Tresham, the Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and was apparently himself a member of that Order. Sir Thomas Tresham died on 1st March 1558, and, the house of the Priory and the property belonging to it having been seized by order of the Crown, Il Schifanoya went to reside with Monsignor Priuli, the intimate friend and testamentary executor of Cardinal Pole, and he seems to have remained an inmate of Priuli's household until the 28th of June, which is the date of his last extant communication.

Il Schifanoya had ample opportunities for observation in England, and his letters will be read with interest, because, as he asserts himself, he took the greatest pains to acquaint himself with the circumstances of the country, and to report faithfully and honestly to his principals all that he heard and saw there.

He gives a detailed account of the ceremony of the Queen's first entry into London, and of her coronation. He describes at length the church observances consequent upon the change of ritual, the disputation between the Protestant and Roman divines, and the treatment of the deprived Bishops; he notices minutely the proceedings at the Court, even with regard to such small matters as the

inconvenience caused at a Royal supper given on the 24th June to the French Ambassadors, at Whitehall Palace, by the prodigious size of the dresses worn by the fashionable ladies; and he states that three days afterwards the Queen was blooded from one foot and one arm, owing, as he mysteriously hints, to an infirmity which was not known, but concerning which many persons said things which he should not like to write. Moreover he furnishes curious and useful information relative to the Parliamentary practice of the House of Commons in those days, for on the occasion of the opening of the Queen's first Parliament in January 1559, he tells the Mantuan Ambassador (No. 15) that the Speaker (*il speccher*) was the personage who went to and fro expressing and reporting the will of the Lower House, and that the Members of the Lower House, notwithstanding their established privilege of free speech, were most careful how they spoke, for fear of incurring either wrath or contempt.

But Il Schifanoya's testimony is valuable in another respect. Although he was an unwavering and conscientious adherent of the Church of Rome, to such an extent that he was convinced that, by the seed sown by "these cursed heretics," with whom his conscience would not allow him to associate, "this kingdom must come to ruin," yet he does not breathe a word against Queen Elizabeth, and stands forth as a truthful, though unwilling, witness to the excellence of her accomplishments and her popularity with her subjects, and also to the favour with which the change of religion was received by the vast majority of the nation.

Il Schifanoya in his last letter (27th June 1559, No. 82) observed that the Queen had promised him a small pension charged on St. John's Priory, though the patent was not then made out, but as this document does not appear to be

recorded on the Patent Rolls, the evil influence of the planet under which he believed himself to be born, may have intervened to prevent the Queen's intention in his favour being carried into effect.

For two years after the Queen's accession the Venetian Government forbore to send any representative whatever to England, and the inconveniences arising from this abstention would appear to have so prejudicially affected Venetian interests, that the Venetians resident in London and trading there took the initiative, by electing, on the 13th December 1560, and on their own responsibility, a Vice-Consul in the person of one Placido Ragazzoni, who was a member of a family of merchants of long-standing connexion with England. But when, in the following January, a motion was made in the Venetian College (App. 6) praying for a confirmation of this appointment, the election was declared to have been held contrary to law, and was allowed to stand good only until St. Mark's day in the following year. The Venetian authorities however, notwithstanding this treatment of their subjects' appeal, soon perceived that the exigences of commerce must prevail over religious prejudices and political apprehensions, and the College, by a decree dated March 6th, 1563 (No. 321), and by a majority of 154 to 6, elected the nobleman Giovanni da Cà da Pesaro as Venetian Consul in London. He shortly afterwards came to England, and resided there in that capacity until June 1570.

No event of any great importance connected with Venetian commerce is mentioned to have taken place until the close of 1569, when the seizure of two Venetian merchant vessels by the Huguenots in British waters on the 7th December, gave rise to a protracted series of negotiations and transactions, which are detailed at length in the despatches and reports written to the Doge and Signory by Alvise

Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France. Contarini was so strongly of opinion that the only hope of any restoration of the plundered property depended upon the intervention of England, that his urgent representations induced the Doge Pietro Loredano to risk the displeasure of Pope Pius the Fifth, who had but lately published his well-known bull excommunicating and depriving Queen Elizabeth, and to write a letter to the Queen (unfortunately not preserved) beseeching her to undertake the protection of the ships belonging to Venetian citizens which had been captured and despoiled by the French subjects of the Queen of Navarre.

The Queen replied to the Doge by a letter dated June 29th, 1570 (No. 483), informing him in cordial terms that "although she had done everything which was required by "laws or friendship, yet such was the pertinacity of wicked "men in evil doing, that she had not been able to obtain the "recovery of what had been unjustly seized, but that she "would continue her efforts until they were successful."

The ultimate result of the Queen's action cannot be ascertained, but the fact that a glaring violation of the law of nations, involving a gross insult to the power of England, was not promptly avenged and punished, tends to confirm the belief, then prevailing, that a secret understanding existed between the Queen and the Huguenot chiefs. But whatever the cause might be, the Queen was certainly disinclined to demand, or was without the means of enforcing, the reparation which was manifestly her due.

The Consul, Giovanni Pesaro, left England to return home in the month of July following, without any immediate successor being appointed to undertake his functions. Very little is written about him, but he appears to have conducted himself to the satisfaction of the Queen,

because in the above-mentioned letter, which was addressed to the Doge Mocenigo, who had succeeded Loredano, she commends Pesaro as "a young man of "great ability beyond his years in managing affairs."

After Giovanni Pesaro's departure, the office of Venetian Consul in England remained in abeyance, and the Republic was left without any representative, except Placido Ragazzoni, who continued his residence, and is mentioned as acting as an agent to the Venetian factory in London (No. 650). This failure to retain an authorised representative in England may have arisen from the falling off of trade owing to the piratical proceedings of the Huguenot chiefs, but a more probable cause is to be found in the unceasing efforts of the Pope to induce the Roman Catholic powers to break off their diplomatic relations with the Queen of England. Alvise Contarini, writing from Paris to the Signory on the 11th April 1571 (No. 506), is very explicit on this point. He informs the Signory that the English Ambassador (Francis Walsingham), who had but lately arrived from England, had told him that the Queen was greatly surprised because while during the life of her sister, when she was a private person and almost a prisoner, she had been constantly visited by a Venetian Ambassador, yet since she became Queen the Republic had been unmindful of her. Contarini, as his despatch shows, took care to speak only in general terms and for himself, and not to reply officially; but he does not hesitate to give his opinion to the Signory that the communication of the Ambassador was founded upon apprehension lest the pressure which the Papal Nuncios were putting upon the Courts of France and Spain to withdraw their Ambassadors from England, might be successful, and he clearly, though in cautious words, places before his Government the difficulties and dangers which might ensue if

they should accede to the Queen's wishes and accredit an Ambassador to her Court.

During a period of four years succeeding this despatch, no notice whatever, direct or indirect, of the relations between England and Venice is to be found. It is of course impossible to say what information the French despatches, which date from February 24th, 1572, to April 6th, 1573, and which have been designedly removed from the archives, might have disclosed; but the political uncertainties consequent upon the events which preceded and succeeded the massacre of St. Bartholomew, are amply sufficient to account for the want of free and constant communication between two countries, whose mutual interests were of a purely commercial character, and altogether independent of any desire for territorial or political aggrandisement.

Sigismondo di Cavalli, who succeeded Alvise Contarini as Ambassador in France, tells the Signory (No. 545) that the understanding between the heretics of La Rochelle, Germany, and England was "like a solid mass which only moved by common consent," and, under these circumstances, it is probable that the cautious Venetian traders would hardly have ventured to run the risk of voyages to England, when the chances of disaster on the road greatly exceeded any reasonable prospect of a profitable result. But if any disinclination to renew the voyages existed at Venice, public opinion in England was manifesting itself to the contrary. Di Cavalli writes to the Signory on May 10th, 1573 (No. 543), that he had lately met the new Ambassador from England, Dr. Valentine Dale, who had showed great anxiety that the Venetian merchant ships should recommence their voyages to England, and had informed him that if it were necessary to take precautions against corsairs, her Majesty of England would be pre-

pared to do her utmost for that purpose; and on January 7th, 1575 (No. 613), the Ambassador, Dr. Dale, upon the report of the capture of a Venetian vessel by the people of La Rochelle, offered Giovanni Francesco Morosini, then Venetian Ambassador in France, with many expressions of affection for the Venetian Government, to endeavour to recover any portion of the property which might be landed in England, and even promised also to write to the Queen intimating that if the owners would give powers to anyone in England, they might recover something.

Although these letters of the 10th May, 1573, and the 7th January, 1575, are the only documents which between those dates refer directly to Venetian affairs, it seems probable that in the course of the year 1575, if not earlier, a revival of trade between England and Venice took place, and with it a natural desire on the part of the Venetian commercial classes to procure a renewal of diplomatic intercourse between the two countries. In the month of November 1575 the veteran diplomatist Giovanni Michiel passed through Paris, apparently on his way from the Imperial Court to Venice, and, by his authority and with his consent, four of the gentlemen who composed his numerous retinue, namely, Zuanne Falier, Marc' Antonio Mocenigo, Zuanne Mocenigo, and Alvise Foscari, proceeded to England.

The particulars of the visit of these gentlemen to England and of their reception by the Queen at Windsor are fully described in entry No. 617. Their appearance must have excited much interest, because more than eighteen years had elapsed since any member of the governing classes of Venice had been seen in England. But the Queen at all events seems to have considered their coming due rather to political motives than to mere curiosity, for after they had kissed hands and attended her chapel service of twenty minutes duration, she took

the opportunity of openly stating to them, in their own language, her grievances against their government, and the neglect to which she had been personally subjected at the hands of their order. The Venetians replied evasively, but they were, nevertheless, by the Queen's command, taken by Cecil to dine with himself and eight members of the Privy Council. At the dinner table, where all the English present either spoke or understood Italian, the same topic was renewed, but without any satisfactory result; and the subsequent failure of the Queen to give her guests an entertainment, at which they were led to expect they would have met the society of ladies, may be attributed to her convictions plainly expressed to them, through the medium of her Italian groom of the privy chamber, that any representation which they might make on their return to Venice would produce no effect.

Contemporaneously with this visit of the four Venetian gentlemen to England, a commercial question of the gravest kind arose, which made the Venetian traders thoroughly understand that without diplomatic protection their interests and property in England would be greatly prejudiced.

In the month of November 1575, the Earl of Leicester obtained from the Queen the grant of a special licence to Acerbo Velutelli, a merchant of Lucca, whereby certain descriptions of foreign produce, including currants and oils, were prohibited from being unloaded from foreign vessels in the Port of London without his special authority.

The Venetians in England seem to have lost no time in bringing this obnoxious regulation under the notice of the Signory at Venice; and that body, by a letter dated 20th December 1575 (No. 645), instructed their Ambassador in France, Giovanni Francesco Morosini, to confer with the

English Ambassador there, Dr. Valentine Dale, with a view to obtain the revocation of a privilege which they viewed with so much displeasure.

Morosini replied on January 13th (No. 645), that he had found the English Ambassador, to whom he refers as a Doctor of high repute, and learned in the laws of navigation and commerce, to be thoroughly informed on the subject and ready to meet the Signory's views; but that while Dale held out great hopes that the privilege might perhaps be revoked, he intimated that for this purpose the Signory ought to send an Ambassador to the Queen, as she had personally complained to the gentlemen who had lately visited her from the Ambassador Michiel, and was indeed herself personally much grieved, that since her accession no Ambassador, either ordinary or extraordinary, had been accredited to her by the Republic, notwithstanding that all her predecessors had been differently treated. Morosini added that Dale, speaking for himself, felt well assured that if an Ambassador were sent, the Signory would obtain their desire more easily than in any other way, and certainly renew a friendship which appeared to him to be almost annihilated; and Morosini concludes his despatch by beseeching the Signory to take the course most likely to effect the revocation of the privilege, and by assuring them that they would not regret a step in that direction.

This information and these representations clearly emboldened the commercial party at Venice to take immediate action, and accordingly, on the 25th February 1576 (No. 618), the question of an Embassy to England was brought forward for the decision of the Senate.

The proceedings on that day appear to have commenced by reading the communications addressed to the Senate by the four Venetian noblemen who had visited England, and the letters of the Ambassador Morosini

referring to the subject; and then a carefully worded motion was proposed by the majority of the Sages then present, which, after reciting that the wish of the Queen of England was to have an Ambassador in ordinary resident with her, as customary during the reigns of her predecessors, and as required by the ancient friendship of the Republic, declared that an Ambassador ought to be elected to reside with the Queen with the customary allowances and under the customary conditions. This motion was, however, met by an amendment "that the present "question be now adjourned," in fact by the "previous question" of modern times, and, on a vote being taken, the amendment was carried by a majority of 131 votes against 44 votes, and the original motion was therefore virtually defeated.

The failure of this attempt plainly demonstrates the strength and pertinacity of the Papal party at Venice, and that the private interests of the citizens, notwithstanding the prevalence of the true liberal opinions which notoriously existed there, were overborne by apprehensions lest the renewal of open and avowed relations with Queen Elizabeth might injuriously affect the general welfare of the State.

Although the party at Venice who were in accord with their fellow-countrymen in England, and who for the sake of distinction may be referred to as "the Commercial Party," were defeated in the Senate, yet the important question which they had raised was not allowed to rest. Strong representations continued to be made to the Government, setting forth the material injury which the public and private interests of Venice must inevitably suffer under the conditions which then existed; and these views were energetically supported by Morosini at Paris, who throughout the year 1576 continued to urge upon

the Signory the adoption of a policy of conciliation towards England.

In the month of April 1576, Morosini (Nos. 652, 654) forwarded to Venice a letter which had been addressed to him from England by a Venetian, Diogene Franceschini, and which stated that, owing to the great influence of the Earl of Leicester, no decision upon the petition presented to the Lords of the Council had yet been obtained, and that there were but faint expectations of obtaining any concession; but if the Signory, as was hoped, would accredit an Ambassador to England, such a determination would be well received, because an Embassy was greatly desired by all parties. Morosini in his covering despatch (No. 654) wrote without any hesitation that he anticipated no favourable result unless the Signory determined to send an Ambassador to England, as indeed all the English Lords, although privately, had given him to understand. So far as can be gathered from the State Archives, these urgent and repeated appeals having met with no satisfactory response at home, the Venetians resident in England abandoned paper remonstrances and mere reliance upon the intervention of the Ambassador in France, and resorted to a more practical mode of obtaining their end by making an offer to the Signory in June 1576 to defray at their own private cost the whole of an Ambassador's expenses to England. Alluding to this munificent proposal, and evidently supporting it, Morosini wrote on June 19th (No. 658), "that if an Ambassador were sent, "the privilege to Acerbo Velutelli would be immediately "revoked;" and on August 26th (No. 661) he expressly refers to a suggestion made to him by Dale, "that it "would be advantageous if the Signory would give some "satisfaction to the Queen, because when this was done, "both the existing demands and all others would be

" conceded to the Venetian nation with every facility " and readiness."

But the efforts and the offers of the Commercial Party were all in vain; they were in a minority in the Senate, and had to remain in that position for many years to come. The Papal Party were too strong both in numbers and in influence to admit of any concession being made to the excommunicated Queen, and although the Doge entered into a correspondence with her and received, it is to be presumed favourably, her recommendation of the Venetian physician, Dr. Scacco, to whose skill she bore personal testimony, yet no overt step was taken to restore those cordial relations which the Queen so earnestly sought to have renewed between the two countries. Morosini himself seems to have lost all patience at the sacrifice of the true interests of his nation, for at the close of the year he candidly told the Signory, with regard to the question of the privilege to be conceded to Acerbo Velutelli, that if they did not choose to take steps to please the Queen, the negotiation in his favour would go forward, and " when once the privilege had been established it would " be useless to think of obtaining its revocation;" and he closed his despatch as follows:—" Your Serenity knows " best what ought to be done; nevertheless I am unable " to express any different opinion than the above with " regard to this matter." (No. 664.)

Morosini's Embassy came to an end in June 1577, when he returned to Venice, and was succeeded by Hieronimo Lippomano.

From that period no mention is made of the Commercial Party and their proceedings until the 16th July 1578 (No. 724), when the English Ambassador, in personally answering a request made officially by Lippomano, that merchandise which had been taken from a Venetian vessel,

apparently by an act of piracy, might be detained in England under the authority and care of the Secretary of State, and in communicating to Lippomano the prompt assent of the Queen to the application made to her, observed that "it was a serious matter that while all other powers "were represented in England, Venice alone should not be "in that position;" and he requested Lippomano to write to the Signory "that the Queen would take it as the greatest "possible favour to have an Ambassador from Venice, and "that the Signory might commence by sending an Ambas-"sador Extraordinary, as was frequently done by powers "of less importance than Venice."

Lippomano reported that he had endeavoured to make the English Ambassador understand that the Signory held the Queen and her nation in great esteem, and had used other general words to change the conversation, but was careful not to commit himself in any definite terms; and it may therefore be reasonably inferred that then the Commercial Party at Venice were gaining ground, and actively pursuing their policy of conciliation towards England with some prospect of ultimate success. At all events their action was sufficiently pronounced to arouse the suspicions of Pope Gregory, for in the following November his Nuncio at Venice received direct instructions from Rome to protest publicly against the mission of any Ambassador to England, and he would have certainly executed his orders to the letter had he not received a positive intimation from the authorities that the reports which had been received at Rome on the subject, were devoid of foundation.

The Nuncio, however, was not satisfied with this private submission to the Papal authority, and on the 21st November he appeared in the College to assert the triumph of the Holy See, and to obtain publicly from the Doge

and his colleagues a distinct declaration that the objectionable negotiation was not on foot, and had not even been spoken of, and "that if, for reasons of state, it was ever "judged expedient to accredit an Ambassador to England, "the Nuncio might feel assured that his wisdom would "be satisfied with their mode of proceeding."

The greater part of the Venetian despatches relating to Queen Elizabeth and the events of her reign which were examined and transcribed by Mr. Rawdon Brown were written from the Court of France, where, during the period covered by this volume, Venice was successively represented by nine Ambassadors in Ordinary, namely, Giovanni Michiel, 1559–60; Michiel Surian, 1560–62; Marc' Antonio Barbaro, 1562–67; Giovanni Correr, 1567–69; Alvise Contarini, 1569–71; Sigismondo di Cavalli, 1571–74; Giovanni Francesco Morosini, 1574–77; Hieronimo Lippomano, 1577–79; and Lorenzo Priuli, 1579–80; and all these diplomatists, who were men of experience and exceptional capacity, appear to have enjoyed the full confidence of their own Government, and also of all the Sovereigns to whom they were accredited.

Owing to the abstraction from the Venetian archives of all the French despatches dating from the 24th of February 1572 to the 6th of April 1573 (see note, p. 484), by the intentional act of some unknown persons, all traces of any records relating to the massacre of St. Bartholomew and of the momentous events which immediately preceded and succeeded the catastrophe have completely disappeared. It is a disappointment at this crisis of the Huguenot movement, when independent testimony would have been so valuable, to meet with a positive blank; but, with the exception of the interval of time above named, the communications of the Venetian Ambassadors give a very clear and impartial exposition of the foreign policy of

Queen Elizabeth and the principles upon which it was founded. It would not be in accordance with official instructions to encumber the limited space set apart for this introduction by quotations from despatches which speak for themselves; but it may be useful to observe that, notwithstanding the frequent changes of Venetian diplomatic representatives in France, all the Ambassadors accredited thither, from Giovanni Michiel in 1561 to Lorenzo Priuli in 1579–80, concurred in expressing opinions to the effect that the mortal hatred which had always existed between England and France, and which would never end, must prevent any cordial understanding ever being established between the two countries; and that although Queen Elizabeth avoided war with France, because she was so greatly alarmed on account of Spain, yet that she did not wish France to enjoy any secure peace, and therefore did her utmost to procure that the Huguenot party, which was entirely dependent on her, should remain strong and be continually on the increase.

The negotiations for the proposed marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Alençon are detailed at great length. So much new and valuable information has recently been published on this subject that it might be deemed inexpedient to notice it further, but the Venetian despatches indicate with such clearness the causes which induced Henry III. and the Queen Mother to change their policy with regard to the English marriage, that I have ventured to give the following brief summary of the leading circumstances which led to this remarkable result.

The first mention of the proposed marriage after the date of the massacre of St. Bartholomew is made by Sigismondo di Cavalli, who wrote on August 31st, 1573, (No. 558) to the Signory:—

"I am now able to give the reasons for the hope which "their Majesties (Charles IX. and the Queen Mother) "entertain that the marriage which is now negotiated "with England will be arranged and concluded. Two "persons of supreme authority are in attendance upon "the Queen (of England), and they rule her. One of "these is the Treasurer General, otherwise called Secretary "Cecil (Cicino).* This individual is of ignoble origin and "wealthy, and is endured by the Lords of the Kingdom "against their will, and he knows that if the Queen were to "die he would lose both his life and property. The other "of these personages is Lord Robert, Earl of Leicester "(Lincestre), who, although he is of noble blood, has yet "given offence to many persons and is generally detested. "Nevertheless, both these personages have advised the "Queen to marry a foreigner in order to obtain a King "who would defend her. All are now agreed upon the "Duke of Alençon, and the Queen appears to acquiesce, "but I know not what the end will be."

Six months later the objections to the marriage appear to have been on the English side, for on February 24th, 1574 (No. 571), the English Ambassador (Dale) told Di Cavalli that their French Majesties had put forward this Duke of Alençon and were promising to maintain peace and use well all persons who belonged to the new religion, and that although these proposals were very favourably entertained, yet that the French had thrown great difficulties in the way of negotiation, for the Queen of England saw that neither the hopes of an alliance nor the good will which she had shown, nor the promises which they

* In the Venetian dialect the consonant "c" before a vowel is pronounced soft with a sound like the consonant "s." Therefore "Cicino" and "Ciciglia" (see No. 640) would both be fair reproductions in Venetian of the English proper name "Cecil."

themselves had made, were of any avail to keep them firm in their purpose.

Charles IX. died on the 30th May following, but this event, and the accession of Henry III., brought no alteration in the marriage policy, for on September 11th, 1575 (No. 634), the Venetian Ambassador, Giovanni Francesco Morosini, wrote a detailed and most interesting account of an audience at which Henry III. and the Queen Mother received Sir Henry Cobham, who had been named Ambassador from England to Spain, and the English Ambassador in Ordinary (Dr. Dale). The King then said that, "so "far as he was concerned, the connexion would be dear "to him, and that he would do all he could to assist it "and aggrandise his brother, so that it might be clearly "known that he would not fail to marry him to Her "Majesty;" and the Queen Mother added, "that this "opportunity would be most acceptable to her because "she hoped that if this alliance were accomplished the "Queen would no longer render assistance to those who "were rebels to the Crown (of France)." She concluded with a gentle remonstrance, asserting to the Ambassadors that "she knew for certain that fifty thousand crowns had "been paid from England to the Huguenots."

The views favourable to the marriage continued to prevail at the French Court until the return of La Porte and La Mothe, who are related (No. 644) to have been accredited by Henry III. and Alençon to the Queen of England, in December 1575, and to have brought back a reply in February 1576 (No. 650), which the Venetian Ambassador, Morosini, understood to be unfavourable, "because so far as the proposed marriage with Monsieur "(the Duke of Alençon) was concerned, the Queen had "answered that she never would take him so long as the "affairs of France were in their present disordered state,

" but that if she did make up her mind to marry, she " would espouse the brother of the King and not one of " his outlaws (as Monsieur was at present), for such a " marriage would not be in accordance with her dignity. " Still, first she demanded that peace should be made."

Within a very brief period of time after this date, the views of the French Court, as to the expediency of the marriage policy, manifestly underwent a decided change. On May 5th, 1576, Morosini wrote (No. 655) that "Randolph " had been in Paris, in the name of the Queen of England, " to induce their French Majesties to make peace with " the Huguenots, and also to renew the projected marriage " of his Queen with Monsieur, but that it was nevertheless " believed by the French that this request was only an " artifice; and that the object of his mission was not to " make peace, but disturb it." During the next few months the active persecution of the Huguenots so inflamed public opinion on the English side, that the estrangement between the two Powers became gradually more pronounced. Early in February 1577 Queen Elizabeth deemed it necessary to take decided action, and by her instructions Sir Amyas Paulet, then English Ambassador at Paris, went officially to prefer a serious complaint to their French majesties, saying (No. 668) " that his Queen marvelled at the decision " which had been taken to extirpate the unfortunate pro- " fessors of the reformed religion;" and after making representations which had almost the form of threats, he said, " that his Queen, having been always their protectress, " could not fail to assist them in such a way as was " open to her without infringing the league which she " had contracted with France, and which she desired " to maintain for the period prescribed." King Henry replied in a tone of defiance, and from thenceforth any semblance of a good understanding which might have

existed between himself and Queen Elizabeth, gave place to asperities which were uttered upon every available opportunity.

In the month of June (No. 674) King Henry, referring to a report that Queen Elizabeth had in writing given promises of material aid to the King of Navarre, said to Paulet "that if his Queen intended to observe the con- "ditions stipulated by the convention for peace, it was "not proper to violate them by hostile operations."

On July 21st, on being congratulated by Hieronimo Lippomano (No. 676) upon the news that a large armed galleon on its way from England to succour La Rochelle had foundered at sea, he answered: "This Queen of "England behaves exceedingly ill to me. On the one "hand she promises by words to be my friend, and on the "other, she injures me by open hostility, and one of these "days she may possibly be sorry. She has also offered "sixty thousand gold angels to the Roisters to enter this "kingdom, but her avarice has hitherto prevented her "paying the money."*

These outspoken protests against a policy which, to say the least, was not altogether innocent of duplicity, seem to have had some effect upon Queen Elizabeth, for early in August she instructed her Ambassador (Sir Amyas Paulet) to make most ample excuses, and to endeavour to induce their French Majesties to make peace, according to the terms of a despatch or protest (No. 682) which the Venetian Ambassador (Hieronimo Lippomano) mentions as having "come into his hands by a very secret channel;" yet the latter were not to be appeased by these professions, for the King answered (No. 681) "that the Queen of England must

* Mr. Rawdon Brown always maintained that the proper English translation of the Italian expression "Raistri" was "Roisters" and not "Reiters," and in editing his work I have felt it my duty to adhere to his practice in this respect.

" not say one thing and do another "; and the Queen Mother subsequently spoke to the English Ambassador in a more haughty tone, and, observing that " to deny matters which " were evidently true was only to aggravate the crime," dismissed him from her presence with disdain almost openly expressed.

Further evidence of the animosity of Henry III. against Queen Elizabeth, and of the unfriendly disposition of the latter towards France, will be found in despatch (No. 704), March 16th, 1578, and in others written later in the same year. Of these, the most important is the letter dated October 19th (No. 731), wherein Hieronimo Lippomano relates the particulars of a visit which Monsieur de Bellièvre, whom he describes as the principal and confidential minister of Henry III., had paid him in the King's name. De Bellièvre then said that " neither the King " nor any person acquainted with the affairs of State could " approve of the inclination of the Duke of Alençon to " marry the Queen of England, but that the King had " given his consent to satisfy his brother and keep on good " terms with him;" and in answer to a question which the Venetian admits he designedly put to elicit the truth, Bellièvre replied that matters were " in a more forward " state than was generally supposed," and added, " It is " quite true it is not the first time that this woman, even " when she was younger, has broken off negotiations " which might have been considered concluded, but even " if this proposed marriage were solemnised, Monsieur " could not say that he was married, because he would " have an old woman of forty-five without any hope of " children; nor could he even say that he was a free " man, because he would be in the power of a nation most " suspicious and the natural enemy of the French; and " there were besides a thousand other objections."

The circumstances of the next two years show no

disposition towards any change of policy upon the marriage question either on the part of Henry III. and the Queen Mother or their advisers. The opinion of the latter in 1579 is disclosed by a confidential State paper forwarded to Venice by Hieronimo Lippomano on June the 6th (No. 760), which purports to be a memorandum of reasons for and against the marriage, compiled by persons of influence, and which had been read and most carefully considered in the Privy Council of the King. This document arrives at the conclusion "that were the mar-
"riage to take place Monsieur would be a King without
"power; married without a wife or hope of posterity;
"a prisoner at liberty and in the hands of the enemies of
"France, and with the impending danger that as it would
"be easy for him to go to an island, so it might be very
"difficult for him to return thence."

That Henry III. was fully in accord with the decision of his Council, if indeed he had not inspired it, is evident from an occurrence which took place on a Sunday night early in August 1579 (No. 776), when about midnight, after the conclusion of the dancing which was then customary at Court, Alençon accompanied the King and Queen to their apartments, and, the Queen only being present, he affectionately and humbly demanded leave to go to England. The King replied that he could never approve such a proposal as this marriage, and, after urging many objections, finally called the Queen to witness, and declared that he would hold himself excused before God and the world for all the evils and shame which might ensue. The earnestness of the King's appeal, however, failed to convince Alençon, for he frankly replied that he had fully considered the question, and, being sure of the mind of the Queen of England, was determined to go; and he again besought the King not to thwart his prospects of

greatness. The royal personages subsequently adjourned their conference until the following day, when they dined together in strict privacy; but no impression was made upon Alençon, for he left the same evening by post for Picardy, and although the King evinced great regret for his brother's perilous resolution, he gave him 60,000 crowns and a valuable diamond, as a mark of his love, when they parted. Alençon left Boulogne for England on August 16th, and returned to Paris during the night of September 3rd incognito. On the following morning he waited upon the King.

The King was confined to his bed by severe illness, but he nevertheless received his brother cordially, and embraced him with every mark of affection. Alençon was greatly elated with the results of his expedition to England; his reception by the Queen, the presents which she had exchanged with him, and the marks of favour which she had unreservedly bestowed upon him (Nos. 772, 774) led him to believe that the marriage was virtually settled, and that any existing difficulties to its accomplishment would be easily removed. Moreover he was the bearer of a letter addressed by the Queen herself to the King, thanking him in most affectionate terms for his brother's visit, and declaring that "as she was "now his most affectionate servant, so henceforth she "intended to be his perpetual slave." The King apparently accepted these demonstrations and assurances in a friendly spirit, but in reality he never relaxed his opposition to the marriage. The day before Alençon left France for England he told Lippomano "that the Queen "of England was so artful in all her negotiations that "he did not know what to believe," and to these ideas, however much he may have from time to time temporised, he firmly adhered. But he apparently lacked the moral

courage to sustain his own opinion, and continually attempted to throw the responsibility of action upon the Queen Mother. A remarkable instance of his dependence upon her will be read in No. 778, wherein Alençon is related to have urged King Henry to surrender Calais and Boulogne to the Queen of England, because then the Queen had promised that he should be crowned King. King Henry on that occasion repeated in gentle terms his former objections, and although he characterised any surrender of fortresses to England as an indecent proceeding which France would never tolerate, yet his answer as a whole was doubtful and irresolute, and, without giving an absolute refusal, he said he would await his mother's return, because during her absence, questions of such moment ought not to be determined.

So far as the Venetian despatches disclose, the Queen Mother never abated her efforts to put an end to a marriage which was repugnant to her religious prejudices, and also detrimental, as she believed, to the true interests of her adopted country; but she exercised her power and her overwhelming influence over the King with the utmost caution, and the policy which she pursued, as well as the motives which dictated it in 1580, are clearly explained by Lippomano, who wrote on January the 16th (No. 790) as follows:

"In my last conversation with the Queen Mother I
" endeavoured to hear something about this marriage, but
" could elicit nothing except that it was not yet settled,
" and that she hopes to make known to her son that he is
" of an age to guide himself; but I know that she is most
" unhappy from the consideration that by this marriage her
" most noble lineage incurs manifest peril of becoming
" extinct, though I hear on good authority that she still
" cherishes some little hope that Monsieur (Alençon) does

" not desire the marriage so ardently as he did, because she " has been informed that Monsieur was somewhat embar- " rassed, when, as a young man devoted to pleasure, he " called to mind the advanced age and repulsive physical " nature of the Queen (le brutte qualità del corpo della " Regina), she being, in addition to her other ailments, half " consumptive (mezzo ettica). I also hear that the dis- " position of Monsieur is such, that it may be possible that " whereas when he was dissuaded by the King and Queen " Mother from this enterprise his desire to follow it in- " creased, so perhaps this passion may have diminished " since their Majesties have given way and made a show to " the Queen of England of their consent to the marriage. " And I know that to this end the Queen Mother is " dexterously flattering the English Ambassador and as- " siduously sends him friendly messages, so that she could " not do more even if she desired the marriage to take " place in earnest."

The events recorded during the next four months show that the Queen Mother, notwithstanding her assertion in March (No. 799) that " things had already gone too far " with England," was endeavouring, with the consent and assistance of Rome, to marry Alençon to an Infanta of Spain (No. 800); and when Alençon showed himself most adverse to this connexion, then the Princess of Lorraine, the niece of the Queen Mother and " greatly loved by her," was proposed to him. But as this lady was very ugly and without any position of political advantage, the project met with no success. Lorenzo Priuli's despatch of May 6th (No. 803) indicates that after the failure of these marriage proposals King Henry and the Queen Mother made a serious attempt to gain Alençon by offers of honours and material advancement in France; but, subsequent to this date, no information of any importance or certainty relating to this

subject is to be found in the contents of the present volume.

The Calendar of Manuscripts preserved at Hatfield House contains the copy of a letter which Alençon addressed on December 27th, 1575, to Dr. Dale, and which purports to give the true facts of an attempt on his life which had been variously reported. Alençon wrote that "last evening there was served at his collation some wine "so strongly poisoned that immediately the Sieur de "Thore, his cousin, and others drank it, they were taken "with such violent vomiting that, but for prompt help, "their enemies would have had the satisfaction they "desired;" and he begs Dr. Dale "to inform the Queen "of England that he is well now." In a postscript he again begs Dr. Dale "to assure the Queen by the earliest "despatch that he is quite well and out of danger."

The circumstances attending this incident were communicated to the Signory by Giovanni Francesco Morosini in a despatch dated January the 10th, 1576 (No. 647), but his version of the facts differs very materially from that given by Alençon, because he reports that the violent "vomiting" with which Monsieur de Thore and others were "taken" was voluntary, and the consequence of their sense of precaution, and also that the valet de chambre, who had served the wine, was seized and compelled to drink two glasses of the supposed poisonous liquor, "which did "him no harm whatever."

If Morosini's report is to be credited, and it certainly reads like truth, it is not improbable that this story was invented by Alençon, who was then a fugitive from his brother's Court, to gain the sympathy of Queen Elizabeth and restore himself to her favour at a time when she was showing herself disinclined to marry him, and was asserting to La Porte and La Mothe that a marriage with one of the

King's outlaws would not be in accordance with her dignity (No. 650).

The despatches written by the Venetian Ambassadors resident at the Court of Spain were examined by Mr. Rawdon Brown, with the assistance of the late Signor Luigi Pasini, and the documents which they deemed worthy of notice, although containing information of much interest, give on the whole, and especially after the departure of Paulo Tiepolo from Madrid, less continuous and connected indications of the policy of Philip towards England than those which are to be found in the communications made to Venice from France. But the liberty accorded to Mr. Rawdon Brown to extend his inquiries beyond the limits usually permitted by the rules of the Record Office enabled him to collect some important particulars relating both to King Philip himself and other personages of his family. The report of Michiel Surian "concerning the King of Spain" (No. 274), which was presented to the Signory, and which appears to have been written at the commencement of 1559, deals very exhaustively with the subject to which it relates. After describing Philip's career and reign in England at some length, Surian writes that "his personal appearance, "his manly presence, and his manner of speaking sweetly "add to his graciousness of demeanour; and although he "is small in stature, he is so well made and his limbs are so "well proportioned and symmetrical, and he dresses with so "much cleanliness and taste, that it is not possible to be- "hold anything more perfect than himself. He is of very "delicate constitution and lives invariably according to rule; "his habit is to partake only of highly nutritious food, and "he abstains from fish, fruit, and similar aliments which "have a tendency to produce ill humours." The report concludes with a contrast between Philip's principles of government and those of his father Charles the Fifth,

leading to the opinion that " the Emperor governed entirely " according to his own views, but the King governs accord- " ing to the views of others, and has no esteem for any " nation except the Spanish."

With regard to the circumstances which led to Philip's third marriage, Surian's report (No. 274) says that the English are of opinion that the Queen will not marry a foreigner; but Paulo Tiepolo, in his despatches dated respectively April the 2nd and April the 23rd 1559, (No. 55 and No. 63) writes to the effect that when Queen Elizabeth heard that King Philip had given his word to take another wife, she was so alarmed lest a peace and an alliance with France might cause some evil to befall her, that " through " the medium of Count de Feria, she offered King Philip " her acceptance of whatever conditions he pleased to " impose, provided she became his wife, but that King " Philip, notwithstanding that it seemed a bold step to " marry a princess who was first offered to his son, yet " when he perceived how ill he could succeed with Queen " Elizabeth, who was alienating herself from the Roman " Church, easily allowed himself to be brought to accept " the French marriage," which promised him such great material advantages.

Elizabeth of Valois, who was born on April the 13th, 1545, arrived at Guadalajara on January the 28th, 1560, as Queen of Spain, when she had not completed her fifteenth year. An anonymous eyewitness, who was present at her entry, informed Paulo Tiepolo (No. 126) that "she was " young and beautiful, and had so much the air of the " Medici family that, without knowing who she was, any " one would declare her to be of their lineage, and that she " seemed both sage and serious." But according to Paulo Tiepolo her beauty was not destined to remain long unimpaired, for he writes that she took the small-pox in

March 1560, and was again seized with a severer attack of the same malady in January 1561 (No. 230), which left her so pitted that in the following month she would not allow herself to be seen by anyone (No. 234); and the constant bleedings to which she was subjected by her physicians whenever she was indisposed, however slightly, may possibly have hastened her death, which, as is well known, took place on October the 3rd, 1568.

If the Venetian accounts are reliable, Don Carlos, the son of King Philip and his first wife and first cousin, Maria of Portugal, hardly merits the position he has occasionally occupied in the romance of history. Paulo Tiepolo, after a personal interview with him on October 1559, writes (No. 104): "He (the Prince of Spain) is 14 years old, of diminu- "tive stature, and suffers much from quartan ague, and of "late he has ceased to fulfil the great expectations con- "ceived about him in childhood." Don Carlos is described during the next two years as infirm, and continually subject to quartan ague and in a bad state of health, insomuch that his aunt Joanna, Princess of Portugal, who had conceived the strange project of marrying him, began to show some disposition to accept an offer of marriage, to which she had previously been averse, from the son of the Duke of Florence (Cosmo de' Medici); and Paulo Tiepolo reports (No. 187), "The Prince of Spain, on whom she (the "Princess of Portugal) had already laid the basis of her "whole design, had not only failed to grow tall, as was "hoped, but had become so weak and feeble that for some "years he will not be marriageable."

The last notice of Don Carlos contained in the present volume dates from Paris, whence, on September 21st, 1568 (No. 432), Giovanni Correr wrote that the Spanish Ambassador had declined to attend the funeral ceremonies performed in memory of the Prince of Spain, "alleging

" that he had had no letters from his King for more than
" three months, and therefore could neither affirm that the
" Prince was dead, nor assist at his obsequies."

Mr. Rawdon Brown in his publications and reports never lost an opportunity of claiming a special historical value for the Venetian despatches, upon the ground that the Signory imposed the strictest obligations upon their diplomatic representatives to communicate in writing to their Government all matters which came under their notice without any reservation whatever. Whether Mr. Rawdon Brown was right in this view might be open to doubt, but an instance which, to some extent, favours his contention may be quoted from the " Report of Rome," which was presented to the Signory by Paulo Tiepolo after the termination of his Embassy there in 1565–66 (No. 377, Bequeathed MS.), and which shows that at an epoch when the Papal authority had, in Italy at all events, lost but little of its original force, a diplomatist of the first rank was not deterred, even by personal risks, from placing before his Government, in the plainest possible language, the detrimental influence which, in his opinion, the temporal power of the Pope exercised against the interests of true religion.

Paulo Tiepolo writes: " If the great and supreme
" authority exercised by the Pontiffs had been used only
" for the purposes for which it was conceded to them,
" namely, the benefit and salvation of the human race, they
" would have been perpetually loved, feared, reverenced,
" and obeyed by all Christians, and their superiority, as
" delegates of God upon earth, acknowledged universally
" in all parts of the world. But they have abused
" this authority by interfering in temporal matters, and
" have, in fact, sought no other end but the advantage
" and aggrandisement of themselves and their kindred,

" without considering it wrong to grant benefits and " favours to the least deserving, to give to one what " ought to have been sufficient for a hundred, to practise " a thousand abominable abuses in the church of God, to " nourish scandals and wars between Christian princes, " and to carry on the same evils themselves, not from " necessity, but simply from ambition and self-interest; " insomuch that the barbarians have seldom entered " Italy unless with the consent or connivance of the " Pontiffs."

Although it is obviously foreign to the purpose of this introduction to approach any questions of a controversial character, it may, without giving offence, be pointed out, as a remarkable circumstance, that these observations, dated three centuries and a quarter ago, express, in substance, the ideas of many opponents of the temporal power of the Pope even in our own day.

I cannot conclude without acknowledging the invaluable services which Mr. R. E. Gent Kirk has rendered me during the progress of this work, and especially in the compilation of the Index; and I desire to take this opportunity to confirm, from my own personal knowledge, the favourable opinions which Mr. Rawdon Brown invariably expressed with regard to Mr. Kirk's learning, assiduity, and special capacity for prosecuting antiquarian research.

GEORGE CAVENDISH BENTINCK.

December 1889.

VENETIAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

A.D. 1558—*continued.*

1558.
Dec. 17.
Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

1. Il Schifanoya to Gabriele Calzoni, Chancellor of the Duke of Mantua at Brussels.

Last Wednesday I wrote to the Abbot of San Saluto and to the [Mantuan] ambassador, touching the obsequies of the late Queen, as you will have seen. Nothing has since occurred, except that Lord William Howard, Chamberlain of the present Queen, has been hourly expected to depart for the Court of King Philip, but some business of importance has detained him.

The Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports [Sir Thomas Cheney, K.G.] died yesterday; he was old, but a very expert captain and soldier, and by his death two good offices will be vacant, the one Warden of the Cinque Ports, and the other Treasurer of the Household. This Queen therefore will have an opportunity for rewarding her servants.

The three principal dignities are still in her Majesty's hands, viz., those of the Lord Chancellor,* of the Privy Seal,† and of the Lord Treasurer,‡ and it is supposed that they will not be filled until the New Year or at the Coronation.

Some persons are of opinion that Dr. [Nicholas] Wotton, who is negotiating the peace at Brussels will be made Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Bedford Privy Seal. Others say that Paget will be confirmed in his post or be made Lord Chancellor, leaving only the archbishopric of Canterbury to Wotton. If Paget were able to transact business this would be possible, but he has a double quartan ague, which makes it doubtful. The vast political experience of the Marquis of Winchester causes it to be generally supposed that he will remain Treasurer, but as yet nothing is certain.

The affairs of the religion continue as usual, but I hear that at the Court when the Queen is present, a priest officiates, who says certain prayers with the litanies in English after the fashion of King Edward. I pray God to grant that worse may not happen. They then say Vespers and Compline in the old style.

Yesterday at the Court they began to dance a little before supper

* Nicholas Heath.
† William, Lord Paget, Secretary of State, Comptroller, and Lord Privy Seal.
‡ Sir William Paulett, K.G., Marquis of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer.

1558.

In two or three days the Court leaves the Palace, and will pass the holidays at Westminster.

London, 17th December 1558. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

2. Il Schifanoya to Ottaviano Vivaldino, Ambassador from Mantua at the Court of King Philip in Brussels.

Until now I have believed that the matters of religion would continue in the accustomed manner, her Majesty having promised this with her own mouth many times; but now I have lost faith, and I see that by little and little they are returning to the [former] bad use (*mal uso*). On Christmas day the Bishop of Carlisle [Owen Oglethorpe] sang high mass, and her Majesty sent to tell him that he was not to elevate the host; to which the good Bishop replied that thus had he learnt the mass, and that she must pardon him as he could not do otherwise; so the Gospel being ended, her Majesty rose and departed, and on other days it has been so done by her chaplains.

On the same day in the church of St. Augustine, assigned to the Italian nation, two individuals (whom I will not call preachers, for they were mechanics and cobblers), followed by a very great mob, entered [the church] by force, breaking the locks of the doors. Both of them leaped into the pulpit, and, book in hand, commenced reading and preaching to the people one following the other, uttering a thousand ribaldries concerning the reign of the blessed memory of Queen Mary and of the Cardinal [Pole], and vituperating the people for the errors they had committed in believing their former teachers; so that never was there seen a finer metamorphosis than two rogues at once preaching in the same pulpit!

This took place in the morning, and in the afternoon they did the like in the church of St. Anthony,* which heretofore was assigned to the French nation, and also on St. Stephen's day. They meant to continue their practices on the other holidays, but were given to understand by the Queen that neither they nor any other persons were any longer to preach, for fear of greater scandal or of some insurrection, as many disputes and controversies had already taken place. Yesterday, therefore, her Majesty, by a printed public proclamation, commanded that no one of whatever grade or condition should presume to preach, say, treat, or teach in any other mode nor according to any other use than had hitherto been customary in the churches, nor to alter or change any ecclesiastical ceremony, except that they were to recite both the Gospel and the Epistle, and the Ten Commandments in English, not adding to them nor giving other interpretations, together with the Litany, in the mode used and practised in her Majesty's own Chapel, under penalty of punishment according to the offence.

I hear, nevertheless, that in the said Chapel they have commenced singing the hours and the whole office in English, and if God gives

* This name is obscure in the original. The church of St. Anthony's Hospital, in Threadneedle Street, seems to be intended. See Dugdale's Monasticon, VI. 766; Smiles's Huguenots, 103.

1558.

me life till to-morrow I will ascertain the fact, for business keeps me at home.

This proclamation remains in force till the meeting of Parliament, which will commence on the 25th January 1559, nor is there any doubt of things going worse, though hitherto everyone says mass and the office in the old way, and the friars and priests follow the usual ritual; but in certain places in the realm they have commenced going in procession without a cross, and saying the litanies used in the time of King Edward.

Yesterday evening Lord Grey arrived. He had been taken prisoner by the French at the capture of Guisnes, of which place he was Captain and Governor. He is supposed to have come upon parole, perhaps to find money for payment of his ransom, or for some other negotiation not yet announced.

The mission of Lord William,* her Majesty's Lord Chamberlain, to King Philip, has vanished into smoke, nor will he any longer go to Brussels; and it is also thought that he will not remain long in his office, owing to his usual insolences.

They are preparing here for the Coronation, and work day and night both on holidays and week days.

The Wardenship of the Cinque Ports has been given to a young gentleman called Master Carri (*sic*)†; it became vacant through the death of the Lord Warden. The Earl of Arundel [Henry Fitz-Alan twenty-first Earl] is made Lord Steward as he was before, and the Treasurer [Sir William Paulett, K.G., Marquis of Winchester] is confirmed in his office; while the whole of the Marquisate and the Order of the Garter has been restored to the Marquis of Northampton [William Parr], and he has been made one of the chief members of the Council.

The Court is held at Westminster, and they are intent on amusing themselves and on dancing till after midnight.

The deanery of the late Queen's Chapel, which was held by Monsignor Hutchenson, is given to a priest by name Carey, Doctor in Divinity, late chaplain of her Majesty when she was Lady Elizabeth.

The household of Cardinal Pole will be entirely broken up to-morrow, all being dismissed to their homes except the Italians, some of whom depart for Italy, and others remain with Monsignor Priuli.

London, 31st December 1558. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Italian.*]

Royal Proclamation. [*Copy, enclosed in preceding.*]

Per Reginam.

Regia Maestas, intelligens quosdam esse, qui, olim in Ecclesia functi, nunc in proposito habent priori suo officio, quod ad prædicandum atque ministrandum attinet, uti, et partim idipsum

* William, first Lord Howard of Effingham.

† This office was not filled up till 28th April 1559, when it was given to William Brooke, Lord Cobham. (See Patent Rolls, 1 Eliz. part 9.) A few days after the date of this letter, viz. on 13th January 1559, Sir Henry Carey was created Baron Hunsdon. (Ib. part 4.)

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aggressos esse (gregatim quasi convocantes populi ingentem multitudinem), præsertim in locis nonnullis civitatis Londinensis: qua in re inter communem plebem nedum infrugiferæ disceptationes publicæ pacis dissolvendæ exoriantur: secundum auctoritatem M^ti eius commissam, eo ut omnes cuiusvis generis subditos suos pacatos redderet: existimavit idcirco necessarium esse jubere, atque adeo imperare, quemadmodum præsentibus M^tas eius jubet atque imperat, omnibus quibuscumque suis subditis, tam illis qui ad ministerium in Ecclesia utuntur, quam cæteris universis, ut prædicare vel docere, vel aures ullius sortis doctrinæ aut prædicationi abhibere cessent, aliæ quam Evangeliorum et Epistolarum, quas vulgo Evangelium et Epistolam dici nominamus, et Præceptorum Decem, in vulgari lingua, absque explanatione sive adjectione cujuscumque sensus, aut intellectus applicandi, aut adjiciendi, aut alio modo publicarum orationum, rituum, vel ceremoniarum uti, præter eum qui jam nunc usurpatur et lege comprobatur, aut communem Littaniam receptam in præsenti in ejus Maestatis una Capella, atque Orationem Dominicam, et Simbolum Apostolorum, Anglice, usquequo consultatio haberi per Parlamentum poterit, per Maestatem eius atque tres suos Status hujus Regni, ob potiorem conciliationem atque concordiam ejusmodi causarum, ejusmodi in præsentiarum in rebus atque ceremoniis religionis monentur (*sic*). Cujus veram dignitatem, ad debitum omnipotentis Dei honorem, [ac] virtutis et pietatis, cum universali charitate et concordia, inter populum ejus incrementum, M^tas eius præcipue affectat, et effectu in animo habet, modis omnibus possibilibus, procurare et restaurare huic suo regno.

Ad quod, quemadmodum Maestas ejus instanter requirit omnes suos probos, fidos, et amantes subditos, ut debita hobedientia assensum præbeant atque invocent: ita si qui sese ad eam constringendam obstinate gesserint, M^tas ejus et debet et vult eosdem juxta debita afflictos videre, tum pro qualitate culpæ, tum pro exemplo omnium aliorum comptemptui habentium M^tis ejus rationi tam quadrans præceptum.

Datum apud Pallatium Ma^tis suæ Wastmester Monasterij, xxvij. Decembris die, primo M. E. Regni anno.

Deus Reginam servet.

Impressum Londinj per Ricchardum Jugge, Impressorem Reg. M^tis. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

A.D. 1559.

1559. Jan. 1. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

3. Michiel Surian and Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassadors with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Michiel Surian presented his successor Paulo Tiepolo to King Philip, with whom Tiepolo condoled, in the name of the Republic on the Emperor's death and on that of his consort, and also on that of his aunt Queen Mary of Hungary; adding that he was commissioned by the Signory not only to preserve the peace and good

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understanding that prevailed between them and his Majesty, but also to act in such a way that he might have daily proof of their sincere affection; which assurances the King reciprocated.

Brussels, 1st January 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd letter.)

4. Michiel Surian and Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassadors with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Lorraine, having announced his intention of coming hither, was very anxiously expected, so that post-horses were ordered so far away as Cambray; but he no longer intends to do so, and the cause assigned is that the French have detained him under pretence of marrying him. *What however chiefly weighs here, is the suspicion that the French are but little inclined towards peace, and that the Duke has therefore been stopped; which suspicion is greatly increased by a current report that the King of France has sent to raise* 6,000 *Blacksmiths* (Feraroli) *in Germany, as also owing to the death of the Queen of England, and to many other events which have happened since the meeting of the French and Spanish Commissioners at Cercamp.**

King Philip returned from the Abbey last Wednesday, and on Thursday and Friday the obsequies of the late Emperor [Charles V.] were performed with great pomp, in the presence of the King and of the whole Court clad in mourning; the only ambassadors in attendance being those of the reigning Emperor [Ferdinand], and of Portugal, and I Michiel (Surian), in the name of your Serenity, as I Paulo (Tiepolo) had not yet been to his Majesty. The other ambassadors accredited to the King by Republics and Dukes were not invited on account of the disputes they have with each other about precedence, although on this occasion no ambassador failed to clothe himself and his attendants in mourning. Amongst the other notable things witnessed at these obsequies, was a large ship almost entirely gilt, which was drawn through the streets to the church, this ship being full of flags, as memorials of all the victories gained by the Emperor, and on the flags were inscribed in letters of gold what your Serenity will see by the enclosed illustrated broadsheet (*l'inclusa polizza*).

Yesterday evening Don Juan Manrique arrived here from Naples, accompanied by Marc' Antonio Colonna; and many ambassadors have come from divers Princes to condole with his Majesty on the death of the Emperor, and on that of Queen Mary.

Brussels, 1st January 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

5. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

To-day, after I had dined with the Constable as usual, he introduced me to the King, who told me he had understood from

* Abbey or monastery of Gruniendal. (See Foreign Calendar, 1558–1559, p. 9, date 21st November, 1558.)

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a person lately arrived from England that the Queen, by frequently showing herself in public, giving audience to all who wish for it, and using every mark of great graciousness towards every one, daily gains favour and affection from all her people, the greater part of whom, following her example, have entirely renounced the mass, but she does not prevent any of the few who attended it from continuing to do so in safety, and without being outraged in any way. With regard to her marriage, it was reported in England that she would marry an Englishman, though no one is named in particular; or were she to choose a foreigner (*o se pur fosse forestiere*), as seemed to be her inclination, that at least he would not be a potentate of another state (*che almen non seria persona de altro stato*), nor have any greater interest than that of England, nor any occasion to depart thence and leave her, but remain there permanently. His Majesty added that the Emperor's second son, the Archduke Ferdinand, was talked of; and that with regard to King Philip,— besides his being unpopular in the island, most especially with the new ministry,—his marriage with Queen Elizabeth was spoken of very coldly in Flanders, at the court of the Catholic King; and all persons coming from Flanders say that there Queen Elizabeth is openly and freely reproached and blamed, rather than in any way praised or esteemed; which was an evident sign (his Majesty said) that King Philip had no hope of getting her, as otherwise his own people would not dare to speak ill of her as they do.

Then about the Conference of the Commissioners for the peace, his Majesty said that on the return of one of the Constable's secretaries, who was sent to Flanders with the 60,000 francs on account of the Constable's ransom, King Philip's decision about the time and place of the Conference will be known, and thereto, the King (Henry) said, his Commissioners would consent. This very day, the Constable received a most loving and familiar letter from Don Ruy Gomez, praying him to give a safeconduct for two of the Duke of Alva's nephews, that they might pass to Spain; and telling him that as the time is drawing near when they will see each other, he hoped the interview would take place much more joyfully than the last time, as King Philip was becoming daily more and more disposed towards the peace, and Don Ruy Gomez, supposing King Henry likewise to be of the same mind, hoped that they would soon come to a conclusion. His Majesty added that they were intent here on celebrating with the utmost pomp and rejoicing the marriage of the Duke of Lorraine, when he returns from his duchy, whither he went for his private affairs; everybody is in motion, nothing being talked of or thought about but jousts, cane-games in the Spanish fashion, tournaments, masquerades, and similar entertainments. On the same occasion, the Constable's second son [Henri de Montmorency] M. de Damville will marry one of the daughters of the Duchess de Bouillon; and other matrimonial alliances will take place. They have sent to Italy for Ludovico Gonzaga, the Duke [of Mantua]'s brother, his Majesty having sent one of his gentlemen last week for this express purpose, letting him know not only that he will honour him with the Order of St. Michael

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contemporaneously with the Duke de Longueville, in whose company he was taken prisoner [at St. Quentin],* but will also reimburse him for the 45,000 crowns which he paid for his ransom; and that during his stay here he will treat him like one of his own sons. I am also told that, to supply him with the means for making a suitable figure at these nuptials, the Constable has had a supply (*provisione*) of 10,000 crowns prepared for him as a gift immediately on his arrival; and should he be inclined to make a very rich and honourable marriage, the intention has been announced of giving him Madame de St. Pol, the widow of the King of Navarre's brother, who was killed at the time of the Constable's capture; that lady's annual income being supposed to exceed 60,000 francs.

Paris, 2nd January 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

6. Michiel Surian and Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassadors with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duchess of Lorraine departed hence to-day for Treves, the French having promised her for certain that she shall see her son there, though some persons here expect her to be disappointed of his going thither, as was the case about his coming to Brussels for the Emperor's obsequies, which was in like manner promised by the French; *but this Court is so anxious for peace that they omit no possible means for obtaining it; and were the Duke to go and see his mother, besides considering it a good sign, they hope that with this opportunity he may perform some useful office.*

The Commissioners of Spain and France are to assemble on the 25th instant, but the site of their meeting is not settled; it is hoped to be in the Imperial city of Cambrai, although the French make a difficulty about going thither, on account of King Philip's garrison there.

Brussels, 6th January 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

7. Michiel Surian and Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassadors with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Lord Cobham, the Ambassador of the new Queen of England who came hither on the death of Queen Mary, to perform an office with the King, has taken leave of him; so the only two English Ambassadors remaining are those sent to treat the peace;† who will accompany King Philip's to the conference to be held with the French; though it was said the Queen would send another ambassador, but he has not yet made his appearance.

The affairs of religion are not proceeding very well in England, for although the Queen would appear to continue in the religion

* For the capture of Ludovic Gonzaga and the Duke de Longueville, at the rout of St. Quentin, see before in this Calendar.

† Viz., the Bishop of Ely and Dr. Wotton. See Foreign Calendar, "Elizabeth," 6th January 1559, p. 75.

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professed by her sister, many persons nevertheless of their own authority had made a great change, and again introduced the custom of celebrating (*l'uso di celebrar*) according to the manner observed under King Edward; and many who in the time of Queen Mary were exiles on account of religion have returned, including some preachers who now preach as before, and have numerous congregations. Parliament is to meet in the course of this month, when God grant that some vote of evil (*qualche mala determinatione*) be not passed in this matter; *for the Queen shows herself very greatly inclined to humour the people in everything, and to keep on good terms with them; so not only does she permit what is narrated above, but for their gratification announces her intention of marrying the Earl of Arundel, who is a native Englishman.*

Brussels, 8th January 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

8. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

These Lords Commissioners for the peace are already preparing for their departure, so as to meet those of King Philip at the same place as heretofore, and at the time agreed, namely, the 18th. The Bishops of Orleans and Limoges and Secretary l'Aubespine are to proceed in advance, and then after the marriage of the Duke of Lorraine, appointed for the 22nd instant, they will be followed by the Constable, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Marshal de St. André, unless in the meanwhile the Constable's secretary, who has not yet returned from Flanders, bring any order to the contrary Lest the departure of these lords be delayed on account of this marriage, a message has been sent to the Duke of Lorraine urging him to be here at the appointed time; and his most Christian Majesty moreover, by a very courteous letter, has invited the Duchess, his mother, to be present at the ceremony, but it is supposed that this short notice will not give her time to make the necessary preparations. All here are constantly intent on exercising themselves, for which purpose his Majesty with the King Dauphin and all the Princes frequently tilt privately one against the other, so that they may succeed better on the solemn day of the contest. Of the affairs of England nothing more is known than was written by me on the 2nd instant. Ever since the first day of his return, the Constable has endeavoured not only to procure the favour of his Majesty, but also that of the nobility, and of the kingdom in general. He has found means to pay the men-at-arms four or five instalments of pay; and he has given the merchants a charge in perpetuity on the city of Lyons; thus gratifying two classes of persons, whereby he gratifies everybody; and for himself he has obtained from his Majesty a donation of 100,000 crowns, and also 100,000 francs for his son Montmorency. It has been decreed that no one is to receive payments on the vacancies of offices, confiscations, and arbitrary fines, or on "aubaines," which are inheritances lapsed to the exchequer through the death of those who are not qualified to

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make a will, being foreigners or persons without heirs, until the Constable be satisfied; so he will soon reimburse himself to this and even a greater amount. To the Constable has also been conceded for his said son the reversion of his government of Languedoc, the most important and lucrative of any of the provinces; and letters patent have also been given him for the office, after his own death, of "Great Master" for his said son.

The departure of the two Ambassadors to the Emperor [Ferdinand] was hastened, in order that after congratulating him, they might remain as long as possible at the Diet, which at other Diets in the time of Charles the Fifth was never permitted to any minister from France. They also convey letters from their King to all the States and Princes of the Empire present at the Diet, to confirm his affection and friendship for them.

An express arrived yesterday from the Bishop of Angoulême, French Ambassador at Rome, with letters dated 27th* ultimo informing his Majesty that Cardinal Caraffa had reported that a negotiation had been on foot for the cession by his Majesty of the fortresses of Tuscany to the See Apostolic upon the following terms. That the King should cede the fortresses to be united to the States of the Church; and that his Holiness on the other hand, by authority of the Consistory, would give his Majesty as compensation the duchy of Camerino, and also free possession of Avignon, though Cardinal Caraffa said he could not give an absolute promise concerning the Pope's will about Avignon. He also suggested that, at request of his most Christian Majesty, his Holiness would make such a number of Cardinals to be nominated by the King, that the King might make sure of the present Pope's successor being devoted to him. Should this take place, his Majesty on the other hand is to cede the said state and duchy of Camerino to the said Cardinal, or to the Duke of Paliano; they acknowledging it (in fief?) from the King, and not from the See Apostolic, not merely from their being obliged to him for it, but to render themselves secure, through his usual (*solita*) protection, from any molestation by any future Pope. To this he added endless assurances of his devotion to his Majesty, out of respect for whom he had never hitherto chosen to accept any sort of honour or profit (*utile*) offered him by King Philip or his ministers, as he never meant to renounce the protection of the French Crown.

By the same courier, Cardinal Caraffa made a similar announcement to the Legate here, through whom he sent private letters, not only to the King and Queen, to the King-Dauphin, to Madame Marguerite, and to the Duchess of Valentinois, but to all these chief personages who take part (*che intervengono*) in the Council of Affairs, that they may favour his intention. *Although the Legate has not yet had audience, my informant, who is the Constable's mouthpiece,*

* In Pallavicini's History of the Council of Trent (Vol. 3, p. 372), it is stated that Cardinal Carlo Caraffa was disgraced by Pope Paul IV. on the 27th January 1559; so the circumstance narrated in this despatch was probably the last political act performed by him during his uncle's reign. (See p. 8.)

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tells me the reply will purport that having first to see what will take place about the cession of the fortresses in this treaty of peace, it is not possible as yet to enter upon any other negotiation either with his Holiness or with others; and as to the Constable personally, my informant told me it does not seem that he at all dislikes the Cardinal's proposal, were it but to thwart the designs of the Prince and Duke of Ferrara, who are chiefly assisted by the Guise family; and also to prevent so great an enemy, as he says the Duke of Florence is, of the most Christian King, from so vastly aggrandizing himself.

Paris, 11th January 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

9. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Two days ago, M. de Montpesat, who was sent with a letter from the most Christian King, inviting the Duchess of Lorraine to the marriage of her son, returned from Flanders with the determination to transfer the peace-conference from the Abbey of Cercamp to Cateau Cambresis, whither the Bishops of Orléans and Limoges departed this morning with Secretary Aubespine, and will be followed on the 25th by the Constable. As for his convenience the Constable goes by easy stages, the King has determined to accompany him with a few attendants as far as his place at Chantilly, twelve leagues hence, to enjoy his society in his own house more familiarly and with greater liberty, the Cardinal of Lorraine being thus enabled to remain here two or three days longer, and then follow postwise. In the meanwhile they are intent on concluding the marriage of the aforesaid Duke of Lorraine, who returned from his duchy two days ago in company with his uncle, M. de Vaudemont. Yesterday, in the presence of the ambassadors and the great personages of the kingdom, who were called for this purpose, the Duke solemnly gave his hand to the bride, which they here call "the betrothal"; and the day after to-morrow, Sunday the 22nd, the marriage ceremony will be performed in the cathedral church of Nôtre Dame with the same state as that of the King-Dauphin; on which same night the marriage is to be consummated, although the bride has scarcely entered her twelfth year. She is to have 300,000 crowns dowry. To-day the jousts, tournaments, and other entertainments commenced, and will continue for five or six consecutive days, until the departure of the Constable, who, simultaneously, will terminate the marriage of his son M. de Damville to a daughter of Madame de Bouillon, daughter of the Duchess de Valentinois; and Madame de Bouillon's son, the Duke, will also marry the daughter of the Duke de Montpensier.

The Duchess, mother of the Duke of Lorraine, sent to apologize for not having come, on account of the shortness of the time, and the inconvenience of the season, and saying that she remained in Flanders no less for her own convenience, than for his most Christian Majesty's service, having to attend this second conference for the conclusion of the peace, within so very few days; for which reason

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she was intent in the meanwhile on fully confirming the good disposition of his Catholic Majesty.

Concerning the affairs of England, *I have been told in secret by a trustworthy person, through whose hands what I will now tell passed, that a few days ago, a person was sent clandestinely from England, but who arrived here, nevertheless, to the knowledge of the Vidame de Chartres, Governor of Calais, who sent to receive him at a place called Blachine* (sic) *near Calais, where he landed; and then on his arrival here, he, by the King's order, was lodged and entertained by my informant. This Englishman* (il qual Inglese), *after having spoken in secret with the Constable and the King, to whom he brought some letters, received replies to them, and was then accompanied to the seaside, in great haste, and he seems to have said he was to return in* 10 *or* 12 *days. So far as can be gathered from his words, and from the favour shewn to him by his Majesty, he seems to have brought very good news of the Queen's mind, about wishing to resume the friendship* (tornar in amicitia) *with his kingdom, so they do not fear any difficulties as to the affairs of Calais* (intanto che non si teme che per le cose di Cales non si pigli appuntamento).

During the last three days, owing to the return of another messenger, an Englishman sent back by Lord Grey (*rimandato da milord Gre*), a report circulated of the expected arrival here, from day to day, of a lord of that kingdom, viz. the Lord William [Howard], late Admiral, that Queen's uncle (*sic*), and who was sent Ambassador hither heretofore.

Paris, 20th January 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 23. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

10. Il Schifanoya to the Castellan of Mantua.

As I suppose your Lordship will have heard of the farce performed (*farsa fatta*) in the presence of her Majesty on the day of the Epiphany, and I not having sufficient intellect to interpret it, nor yet the mummery performed after supper on the same day, of crows in the habits of Cardinals, of asses habited as Bishops, and of wolves representing Abbots, I will consign it to silence, as also the new commencement of ritual made in her Majesty's Chapel with the English Litanies, which omit Saint Mary, all the Saints, the Pope, and the Dead. Nor will I record the levities and unusual licentiousness practised at the Court in dances and banquets, nor the masquerade of friars in the streets of London, nor the statue of St. Thomas stoned and beheaded, which is now thrown down entirely, and the stucco statue of a little girl placed in its stead; limiting myself exclusively to the coronation, entertainments, ceremonies, pomps, and pageants, made as you will see by the accompanying copies.

Her Majesty, being pleased to follow the example of her ancestors about the Coronation, determined to have it performed on the 15th January of this year 1559; so she left her palace of Whitehall on Thursday the 12th to go to the Tower by water. The necessary ships, galleys, brigantines, &c., were prepared as sumptuously as possible to accompany her Majesty and her Court thither by the

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Thames, which reminded me of Ascension Day at Venice, when the Signory go to espouse the sea.

At 2 p.m., the flood-tide then serving to pass under London Bridge, her Majesty, accompanied by many knights, barons, ladies, and by the whole Court, passing through the private corridor, embarked in her barge, which was covered with its usual tapestries, both externally and internally, and was towed by a long galley rowed by 40 men in their shirts, with a band of music, as usual when the Queen goes by water. Her Majesty having passed the bridge, in sight of the Tower, some pieces of artillery were fired; she landed at the private stairs, and, entering by a little bridge, was seen but by very few persons.

On the morning of Saturday the 14th, as in the afternoon her Majesty was to make her state entry into London, the whole Court so sparkled with jewels and gold collars that they cleared the air, though it snowed a little. During this assemblage the Queen dined. The houses on the way were all decorated; there being on both sides of the street, from Blackfriars to St. Paul's, wooden barricades, on which the merchants and artisans of every trade leant in long black gowns lined with hoods of red and black cloth, such as are usually worn by the rectors of universities in Italy, with all their ensigns, banners, and standards, which were innumerable, and made a very fine show. Owing to the deep mud caused by the foul weather and by the multitude of people and of horses, everyone had made preparation, by placing sand and gravel in front of their houses.

The number of horses was in all 1,000, and last of all came her Majesty in an open litter, trimmed down to the ground with gold brocade, with a raised pile, and carried by two very handsome mules covered with the same material, and surrounded by a multitude of footmen in crimson velvet jerkins, all studded with massive gilt silver, with the arms of a white and red rose on their breasts and backs, and laterally the letters E. R. for *Elizabetta Regina* wrought in relief, the usual livery of this Crown, which makes a superb show. They were uncovered (*scoperti*), and without anything on their heads. The Gentlemen-Pensioners of the Axe walked at the sides, with hammers in hand, and clad in crimson damask, given them by the Queen for livery, all being on foot and bareheaded.

Her Majesty was dressed in a royal robe of very rich cloth of gold, with a double-raised stiff pile, and on her head over a coif of cloth of gold, beneath which was her hair, a plain gold crown without lace, as a princess, but covered with jewels, and nothing in her hands but gloves.

Behind the litter came Lord Robert Dudley, Master of the Horse, mounted on a very fine charger (*corsiero*), and leading a white hackney (*acchinea*) covered with cloth of gold. Then came the Lord Chamberlain and other Lords of her Majesty's Privy Chamber, who were followed by nine pages dressed in crimson satin on very handsome chargers richly caparisoned, with their Governor and Lieutenant.

After passing the Tower, her Majesty arrived at . . . . .*

* Blank in MS.

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where the Londoners had raised the first triumphal arch, which was very lofty, divided into three floors. In the first were King Henry the Seventh, of the House of Lancaster, with a large white rose in front of him, and his wife, the Queen Elizabeth, of the House of York, with another large red rose in front of her, both in royal robes.

On the second floor above there were seated King Henry VIII. with a white and red rose in front of him, with the pomegranate between them, and Queen Anne Boleyn, mother of the present one, with a white eagle and a gold crown on its head and a gilt sceptre in its right talon (*nella destra griffa*), the other resting on a hillock; and surrounded in front of her by small branches of little roses, the coat of arms and device (*arma et impresa*) of the said Queen.

On the third floor above a Queen was seen in majesty, to represent the present one, who is descended from the aforesaid.

Externally and above, as façade, there were the royal arms of England, trophies, festoons, &c.

The arch had three fronts and three entrances (*porte*), two small, and a great one, with columns, capitals, and bases, &c.

In the compartment on one side were written in English, and on the other side in Latin, the following verses:—

Hi, quos jungit idem * quos annulus idem,
Hæc albente nitens, ille rubente rosa,
Septimus Henricus Rex, Regina Elizabetha,
Scilicet, hæredes gentis uterque suæ:
Hæc Eboracensis, Lancastrus ille, dederunt
Connubio, e geminis quæ foret una domus.
Excipit hos hæres Henricus copula regum
Octavus. Magni regis imago potens,
Regibus hinc succedis avis, regique parenti,
Patris juxta hæres, Elizabetha, tui!

On her Majesty approaching the aforesaid arch a boy, in a little chair above the centre door, briefly interpreted the whole subject, and her Majesty listened to him most attentively, evincing much satisfaction.

Then going on her way by Cornhill, having passed the first water conduit, which was painted with the royal arms and English and Latin mottoes, farther on she found the second arch, no less handsome than the first, but not so high, with a very extravagant inscription, purporting that hitherto religion had been misunderstood and misdirected, and that now it will proceed on a better footing, which was exemplified by a queen seated aloft on her throne, there being on one side many persons clad in various fashions, with labels inscribed *Religio pura; Justicia gubernandi; Intelligentia; Sapientia; Prudentia; Timor Dei.* On the other side, hinting I believe at the past, were *Ignorance, Superstition, Hypocrisy, Vain Glory, Simulation, Rebellion,* and *Idolatry.*

This arch had in like manner three doors, on the two smaller of which were written in capital letters in English and Latin the following verses:—

* Blank in original; probably the word omitted was "vinclum."

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Quæ subnixa alto solio Regina superba est,
Effigie sanctæ Principis alma refert,
Quam civilis amor fulcit, sapientia rimat,
Justitia illustrat, religioque beat.
Vana superstitio et crassæ ignorantiæ fontes
Pressæ sub pura religione jacent.
Regis amor domat effrænos* animosque rebelles
Justus.†
Cum regit imperium sapiens, si in‡ luce sedebunt
Stultitia, atque hujus numen, inanis honor.

When passing under the arch an interpreter explained the whole to her Majesty, as at the first arch.

On entering Cheapside, near the church of St. Thomas, after passing the fountain, which had been newly repainted with arms, labels, and mottoes, in English and Latin, she found the third arch with the eight beatitudes described by the Evangelist Matthew, chapter V., verses 1 to 10, all of which they deem her Majesty to possess, as appears by the following verses on the sides in Latin and English; her Majesty being informed of the meaning of this inscription as she had been of the others.

Qui lugent, hilares fient. Qui mitia gestant
Pectora, multa soli jugera culta metent.
Justitiam exuriens, sitiensve replebitur ipse.
Fas homini puro corde videre Deum.
Quem alterius miseret, Dominus miserabitur hujus.
Pacificus quisquis filius ille Dei est.
Propter justitiam quisquis patietur, habetque
Demissam mentem, cœlica regna capit.
Huic hominum generi Terram, Mare, Sidera vovit
Omnipotens: horum quisque beatus erit.

Further on she came to the little conduit, which is a small tower having eight fronts, called the Standard, and on it there were painted to the life all the kings and queens chronologically in their royal robes down to her present Majesty.

At a short distance thence she found the great cross, like a pyramid, completely gilt and somewhat renovated, with all the saints in relief, they being neither altered nor diminished; and at the end of that street she was presented by the aldermen with a purse containing 1,000 gold marks; the Recorder of London making her a very short speech.

The fourth arch had on it two mounts, somewhat separated from each other; the one green, flourishing and fruitful, the other dry, sterile and uncultivated. On the summit of the green mount there sat a handsome youth well dressed, joyous, and jocund, under the shade of a green laurel. On the sterile mount there sat another youth dressed in black velvet, melancholy, pale, and wan, under a dry and arid tree, loaded with labels and mottoes indicating the cause of its dryness and sterility, whilst on the green mount con-

* "effrænois" in MS. † *sic.* ‡ *sic*; qu. sine.

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versely the cause of its greenness and fertility were demonstrated. Between the two mounts there was a grotto with a wicket, and when her Majesty arrived at it, an old man, scythe in hand, representing "Time," came forth, accompanied by his daughter "Truth," and expressed a wish to mow and reap the grass on the pleasant mount; an allusion to the money heretofore coined by her Majesty of holy memory. The whole implied in their tongue that the withered mount was the past state, and the green one the present, and that the time for gathering the fruits of truth was come; as by the following verses in Latin and English on both sides of the arch:—

Ille videns falcem læva quam sustinet uncam,
Tempus is est, cui stat filia vera comes.
Hanc pater exesam, deducta rupe, reponit
In lucem, quam non viderat ante diu.
Qui sedet a læva cultu malo tristis inepto,
Quem duris crescens cautibus arbor obit,
Nos monet effigie qua sit respublica quando
Corruit; et contra, [quam]* beata viget,
Ille docet juvenis, forma laudandus,
Festus, et æterna laurea fronde virens.

On the left side of the arch there was a little pulpit, from which a lad explained the whole meaning of the two mounts, presenting her Majesty with a book generally supposed to be the New Testament in English, which the Queen clasped in her arms and embraced passionately, returning thanks, &c.

Her Majesty then turned towards St. Paul's churchyard to enter Fleet Street, passing the City of London School, where the scholars made her the following oration.

"Philosophus ille divinus Plato, inter multa præclare ac sapienter dicta, hoc posteris proditum reliquit, Rempublicam illam fœlicissimam fore, cui Princeps sophiæ studiosa, virtutibusque ornata contigerit. Quem si vera dixisse * (ut quidam),* cur non Terra Britanica plauderet? cur non populus gaudium atque lætitiam agitaret? cur non hunc diem albo (quod aiunt) lapillo notaret? quo Princeps talis nobis adest, qualem priorem non viserunt, qualemque posteritas haud facile concernere poterit, dotibus quum animi, tum corporis undique fœlicissima. Casti quidem corporis dotes ita apertæ sunt, ut oratione non egeant; animi vero tot tantæque, ut ne verbis quidem exprimi possunt. Hæc nempe Regibus summis orta morum atque animi nobilitate genus exuperat. Hujus pectus Christi religionis amore flagrat. Hæc gentem Britanicam virtutibus illustrabit, clypeoque justitiæ teget. Hæc literis Græcis et Latinis eximia, ingenioque præpollens est. Hac imperante, pietas vigebit, Anglia florebit, aurea sæcula redibunt. Vos igitur, Angli, tot commoda accepturi, Elizabetham Reginam vestram celeberrimam, ab ipso Christo hujus regni imperio destinatam, honore debito prosequimini. Hujus imperiis animo libentissimo subditi estote, vosque tali Principe dignos præbete. Et quoniam pueri non viribus sed precibus officium

* Blank in original.

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præstare possunt, nos alumni hujus scholæ, ab ipso Coletto* olim Templi Paulini Decano extructæ, teneras palmas ad cœlum tendentes, Christum Optimum Maximum precaturi sumus, ut tuam celsitudinem annos Nestoreos summo cum honore Anglis imperitare faciat, matremque pignoribus charis beatam reddat. Amen.

Anglia, nunc tandem plaudas, lætare, resulta!
Præsto jam vita est, presidiumque tibi.
En tua spes venit, tua gloria, lux, decus omne;
Venit jam solidam quæ tibi præstat opem,
Succurretque tuis rebus, quæ pessum abiere.
Perdita quæ fuerant hæc reparare volat.
Omnia florebunt; redeunt nunc aurea secla.
In melius surgent quæ cecidere bona.
Debes ergo illi totam te reddere fidam,
Cujus in accessu commoda tot capies.
Salve, igitur dicas, immo de pectore summo,
Elizabeth, Regni non dubitanda salus!
Virgo venit, veniuntque opes. Comitata deinceps
Pignoribus charis læta parens veniat.
Hoc Deus Omnipotens ex alto donet Olympo,
Qui cœlum et terram condidit atque regit.

On Sunday, 15th January, mass was sung for the coronation in Westminster Abbey, which was decorated with the handsomest and most precious tapestries that were ever seen, they having been purchased by Henry VIII., representing on one side the whole of Genesis, and on the other the Acts of the Apostles, from a design by Raffael d'Urbino; and the chambers were hung with the history of Cæsar and Pompey. At one of the sides the buffet was prepared with its raised steps, on which were seen 140 gold and silver drinking cups, besides others which were below for the service.

The Queen was received under the canopy by the Archbishop and another Bishop, they having previously perfumed her with incense, giving her the holy water and the pax, the choristers singing; then the Earl of Rutland followed her Majesty with a plain naked sword without any point, signifying Ireland, which has never been conquered; then came the Earl of Exeter with the second sword; the third was borne by Viscount Montagu; the Earl of Arundel, having been made Lord Steward and High Constable for that day, carried the fourth (sword) of royal justice, with its gilt scabbard loaded with pearls. The orb was carried by the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Marshal, and in advance were knights clad in the ducal fashion, carrying the three crowns, they being the three Kings-at-arms; they bore the three sceptres, with their three crowns of iron, of silver, and of gold on their heads, and in their hands three naked iron swords, signifying the three titles of England, France, and Ireland.

In this way they proceeded to the church, the Queen's long train being carried by the Duchess of Norfolk, after whom followed the

* John Colet.

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Lord Chamberlain, upon purple cloth spread on the ground; and as her Majesty passed, the cloth was cut away by those who could get it. Then followed the duchesses, marchionesses, countesses, etc., dragging their trains after them, going two by two, and being exquisitely dressed, with their coronets on their heads, and so handsome and beautiful that it was a marvellous sight.

On her Majesty's arrival at the church, all the bells in London ringing, she ascended the lofty tribune erected between the high altar and the choir, being thus exhibited to the people, of whom it was asked if they wished her to be their crowned Queen? Whereupon they all shouted "Yes;" and the organs, fifes, trumpets, and drums playing, the bells also ringing, it seemed as if the world were come to an end. Descending from the tribune, the Queen placed herself under her royal canopy; and then the choristers commenced the mass, which was sung by the Dean of her Chapel, her Chaplain, the Bishops not having chosen to say mass without elevating the host or consecrating it, as that worthy individual did; the Epistle and Gospel being recited in English.

After the Epistle, the Bishop of Carlisle commenced the coronation according to the Roman ceremonial, neither altering nor omitting anything but the outward forms, which were not observed as in Italy; the English having no Masters of the Ceremonies, except the Kings-at-arms, and still less caring about formalities.

The mass and all the ceremonies being concluded, and the Queen having twice changed her apparel, they returned into Westminster Hall in the same order as at first, except that the clergy and the bishops remained in the Abbey; her Majesty carrying in her hands the sceptre and orb, and wearing the ample royal robe of cloth of gold. She returned very cheerfully, with a most smiling countenance for every one, giving them all a thousand greetings, so that in my opinion she exceeded the bounds of gravity and decorum.

In the meanwhile, the Lord Marshal, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Lord Steward, the Earl of Arundel, in accordance with their offices, proceeded to arrange the banquet. After inspecting the hall and excluding many persons, and carefully attending to the tables and the kitchen, the Queen during this interval having divested herself of her heavy robe, they dressed themselves again in short capes according to the Spanish fashion, the Earl of Arundel in cloth of gold, and the Duke of Norfolk in silver tissue, both their capes being lined with sables.

They then mounted two fine chargers, both of which had housings of the same material as their riders' apparel, the Duke's horse being covered with white lions rampant. The Duke was bareheaded, and had a silver truncheon in his hand, indicating the office of Lord Marshal. Arundel bore a silver staff a yard in length, indicating the office of Lord Constable, who for that day commanded the Duke and everybody. Both of them went about the victuals; and after 3 p.m., when the Queen commenced washing her hands, the water and the napkin were given her by the noblemen who had waited on her Majesty as server and as carver, viz., William Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, and the Earl of Sussex [Henry

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Ratcliffe], the former carving, and the latter placing and removing the dishes, both of them serving on their knees.

Beside her Majesty there stood those two Earls who had supported her to the Abbey by the arms, viz., Shrewsbury and Pembroke, with the sceptre and orb in their hands; the others likewise being in the Queen's presence with the aforesaid iron swords. They all remained covered with their coronets on their heads, and although her Majesty spoke occasionally to some of them, they never uncovered, except when she drank all their healths, thanking them for the trouble they had taken.

The banquet lasted till the ninth hour of the night,* and I need not say that it was a stately one, as all persons may think for themselves. No one served but peers and the sons of peers. Much music was performed, but it not being remarkable, and having heard better, I will say nothing about it.

Westminster Hall is 400 paces in length (*sic*); in it four tables were prepared, but divided in the centre to facilitate the waiting of the servants, who all had red liveries; and no one was allowed, or at most but a few, to enter the Hall, or to remain there, unless he was dressed in red.

The Barons, titled and untitled, with the Council and Aldermen, Mayor, Sheriffs, and other men of the law (*et altri huomini di legge*), servants of the Court, baronesses, duchesses, ladies (*dame*) (of quality?), etc., sat at the first table, the peeresses having their coronets on their heads, there being also numerous knights and gentlemen of all sorts. At each table there sat upwards of 200 persons.

After the second course, which was brought like the first one to the trumpets' sound, and preceded by the Earl of Arundel and the Duke of Norfolk on horseback, a knight in steel armour, spear on thigh, and on a very handsome barbed charger, after saluting the Queen, proclaimed three times to the people that if there was any person of any grade or condition who denied, disputed, or contradicted that the Queen his Sovereign (pointing at her) was not the true and legitimate crowned Queen of England, France, and Ireland, he was ready to maintain it by force of arms to the death, throwing down his gauntlet each time; and as no one answered him, he took leave of her Majesty, who drank his health and thanked him, giving him a silver-gilt cup worth 200 crowns. This was a country gentleman, whose family has long been privileged to do this at all the coronations.

The banquet being ended, the collation (*la collatione*) was brought by three Earls—Bedford, Oxford (*Oxette*), and Montague.† Shortly afterwards her Majesty rose, and by a covered way returned to her Palace of Whitehall by water; everybody in like manner returning home.

On Monday, the 16th, these English personages (*signori*) had prepared a joust, but it was postponed until the morrow, her

* *Sino alle nove hore di notte.* On the 15th January the sun sets at 4h. 18m., so by Italian reckoning the banquet lasted till 1h. 18m. a.m. on Monday morning.

† Anthony Browne was a Viscount, not an Earl.

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Majesty feeling rather tired. I was not present. They could not finish it on the first day, the challengers, viz., the Duke of Norfolk, Sir George Howard, and Lord Robert Dudley, having as many hits as the adventurers. The judges therefore could not award the prize, which, as they jousted for love, was a diamond.

On Monday next, the 23rd, please God, Parliament will commence; all the peers accompanying the Queen in her royal crimson robe, preceded by the cap and sword, carried by some great personage, and the bishops in their rochets, over which they wear a scarlet cape with a cardinal's hood, but not so long, and they carry their own trains.

I pray God of His goodness and mercy to enlighten them to do what may be according to His holy will.

London, 23rd January 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 23. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

11. Il Schifanoya to Ottaviano Vivaldino, Mantuan Ambassador to King Philip II. at Brussels.

Parliament will assemble to-day, and within a week some idea may be formed as to what will be done in the matter of religion. I hear that the prelates, bishops, and other old lords (*lordi vecchi*) will fight for and maintain the true and holy religion. We shall also hear something more certain about the marriage than has been whispered hitherto at the Court. Some persons declare that she (the Queen) will take the Earl of Arundel, he being the chief peer (*principale barone*) of this realm, notwithstanding his being old in comparison with the Queen. This report is founded on the constant and daily favours he receives in public and private from her Majesty.

Other persons assert that she will take a very handsome youth, 18 or 20 years of age, robust, &c., (*disposto, &c.*) judging from passion (*giudicando secondo l'appetito*), and because at dances and other public places she prefers him more than any one else (*ella il mira più d'ogn'altro*).

A third opinion is, that she will marry an individual who till now has been in France on account of his religion, though he has not yet made his appearance, it being known how much she loved and loves him. He is a very handsome gentleman, whose name I forget. But all are agreed in wishing her to take an Englishman, notwithstanding that the Ambassadors of the King of Sweden seek the contrary.

May God give her a good and Christian husband, that the affairs of this kingdom may not continue to grow worse.

London, 23rd January 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

12. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The marriage of the Duke of Lorraine to the King's daughter was solemnized on the 22nd with no less pomp than that of the King-Dauphin last year. The Duke displayed his grandeur and generosity conspicuously by heading a grand joust performed at the back of the palace of the Duke de Guise, his band of twelve jousters, including the

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King, and M. de Guise and others of these Princes, being richly clad by the Duke of Lorraine in cloths of gold and of silver, at his cost and to match his livery; and the opposing band being headed by the King-Dauphin, who in like manner clad his fellow jousters. But what exceeded even this munificence was, that the Duke caused eight or nine gowns (matching in like manner his own livery) to be made, richly wrought, all covered with most superb embroidery of gold and silver, and lined with the most beautiful lynx's paunch (*panze di bellissimi lovi cervieri,*) each gown being valued at 1,000 crowns; which gowns, according to the custom here, he presented to the King, to the King-Dauphin, to his uncle M. de Vaudemont, to the Prince of Ferrara, and to three of the brothers of the Guise family, and they were worn by the donees on the day of the espousal; and besides these, he gave many other dresses of great value to the ladies of the Court. These presents were in addition to what he spent in a masquerade on the evening of the joust, amounting to 7,000 or 8,000 ducats (a like sum having been spent by the King-Dauphin); so that of the 200,000 crowns donation lately received from his States—an extraordinary demonstration of the love borne him, it never having been customary on similar occasions to give the Dukes, his predecessors, more than 100,000—by the above and many other acts of liberality practised by him, he will have spent the greater part.

It was supposed that contemporaneously with this marriage ceremony that of M. de Damville likewise would have been concluded; but for the greater satisfaction of his relatives and to receive more honour, he obtained permission from the King to terminate it in his house at Chantilly, whither their Majesties went alone on the morrow, to enjoy these three or four days in privacy (*privatamente*). All the other Princes, with the rest of the Court, are to be there for the close of the marriage festivities next Sunday, the 29th. On the morrow of that day, without further delay, the Constable with the other two Lords Commissioners for the Peace, viz., the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Marshal de St. André, will proceed to the Conference, not to break the appointment made between the parties, to assemble on the 5th of next month at Cateau Cambresis. For this purpose the Cardinal of Lorraine told me yesterday they had prolonged the truce till the end of February, although they expect to finish this business sooner, the Spaniards urging its despatch, and evincing greater wish than ever for it, as the Cardinal told me he had heard through a very loving letter received on that very day from the Duchess of Lorraine. When I asked him if the Commissioners of the Queen of England would attend the Conference, as they did the last time, and what was heard from those parts; with regard to the Commissioners, he said that he knew nothing certain, but believed they would attend the Conference; and that from England there was no other news save that the Queen, by divers sorts of offices and by fair words, was intent covertly (*copertamente*), both there and here, on procrastinating (*ad intertenersi*), showing that she by no means wished to prevent the peace in any way, but to live in quiet.

Paris, 28th January 1559.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

13. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday evening, the courier sent by the Spanish ministry to France, returned with a reply purporting that on the 5th of next month the French Commissioners will be at Cambresis; so these others likewise intend to be there on that day, and will depart hence on the 1st or 2nd.

The truce expires on the 12th of February, so during this interval it will be known whether any form of agreement is possible; *and unless the French swerve from the intention professed by them at the other Conference* [*of Cercamp*] *to make peace, it may easily be concluded. I am assured that the Queen of England has referred the affair of Calais to King Philip, that he may arrange it as well as he can; she not choosing that on her account Christendom should fail to obtain so great a benefit as is anticipated from this peace. As I know this to be contrary to the Queen's first desire* (volontà) *and to that of her kingdom, I should not dare write thus, had it not been confirmed to me from three different quarters, and most especially as this advice has changed the opinion of certain persons who previously had no expectation of peace, whereas they now hope and believe in it. They begin also to hope for the Queen's marriage to King Philip much more than they did before, the Count de Feria writing that a favourable intention has been communicated to him; and he apologizes for the Queen if she has been unable to make such a demonstration as he hoped for, because to say the truth the affairs of religion there have gone daily from bad to worse, and in various ways the Queen has shown herself inclined towards the religion of her father, which she has herself hitherto professed; but in a few days the result will be better known, and in the meanwhile they are anxiously expecting here Lord Howard, the Ambassador sent by the Queen, who was to have left London on the 25th instant.*

The Scots made a foray, advancing full 30 miles into England,* and carried off not only plunder, but also men and women, contrary to the custom of former wars.

The King, as Lord of these Provinces, is sending Count d'Aremberg as his Ambassador to the Diet of Augsburg, *where he will do his utmost to prevent the princes and soldiers of Germany from going so freely to serve the King of France against him.*

The Duke of Florence, having heard that this Court is dissatisfied with him, has availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the death of the Emperor to condole with his Majesty by sending Chiapino Vitellio, his chief minister, who is a person of much ability and judgment, and greatly esteemed.

It having been reported at Antwerp, as here likewise, that the King was sending the Duke of Savoy thither with a number of troops to chastise the disobedient, the magistracy became bolder than before, and, having seized some of the ringleaders, had two

* This "foray" commenced on the 30th December 1558. (See Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, 1559, January 6. Entry No. 209, p. 77.)

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of them burnt, thus frightening the others, who kept quiet, and they now no longer dare to go out of the city to attend the sermons, as they did at first, to the number of 2,000.

Brussels, 29th January, 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 30. Despatches, Brussels. File No. 3. Venetian Archives.

14. Extract from a letter of [Don Alvarez de Quadra], Bishop of Aquila.*

Affairs here are in such a state that we know not how they will end. On the 25th there was a meeting of Parliament, in which they still continue to propose certain troublesome matters, and we do not know how they will be settled. The diligence and authority of the Count de Feria have extremely benefited affairs here, as otherwise certain unbecoming acts would perhaps have been passed; and it is to be hoped that the Count's exertions may aid the object (*conclusione*) of the session, which will be to vote the Queen money.

London, 30th January 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

15. Il Schifanoya to Octaviano Vivaldino, Mantuan Ambassador with King Philip at Brussels.

Parliament was to have commenced on the 23rd, but was adjourned for two days owing to events and to the bad weather; so on Wednesday the 25th, St. Paul's Day, all the peers of this realm, both temporal and spiritual, who sit in Parliament, with two members for every unwalled district (*villa*), castle, and borough, and four for each city, called by them "the Lower House," went to the place appointed them, and awaited the arrival of her Majesty at the Church as usual for the mass of the Holy Ghost, which custom was not observed this year, the mass having been sung at an early hour in Westminster Abbey, without elevating the Sacrament, as is done in the Chapel Royal.

The Court having dined rather earlier than usual, her Majesty came to the Abbey, attended by all the gentlemen, both of the Court and of other conditions, and by all the peers in their coronation robes (and including spiritual and temporal, titled and untitled, they were about 46), in her ordinary litter, wearing a royal crimson robe lined with ermine, but not with the hood, as generally worn by former [sovereigns]. The robe fitted close to the body, and was high up to the throat, with a lace trimming at the top, and a round cape of ermine like the one worn by the Doge of Venice, with a cap of beaten gold covered with very fine oriental pearls on her head, and a necklace, from which was suspended a most marvellous pendant. As on her passage the populace knelt, shouting "God save and maintain thee," she turned first to one side and then to the other, answering "Gramercy, good people," and smiling most sweetly on all of them.

* This paragraph from Quadra's letter is alluded to in Tiepolo's despatch dated 12th February, which shows to whom it was addressed.

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The Earl of Arundel carried the royal sword on a small truncheon, and her Majesty was followed by the ladies and dames (*le signore et dame*) on horseback, with their footmen all dressed in their own fashion.

This procession was neither more nor less than on the entry into London, with the trumpets, kings-at-arms, heralds, and mace-bearers.

On arriving at Westminster Abbey, the Abbot, robed pontifically, with all his monks in procession, each of them having a lighted torch in his hand, received her as usual, giving her first of all incense and holy water; and when her Majesty saw the monks who accompanied her with the torches, she said, "Away with those torches, for we see very well"; and her choristers singing the litany in English, she was accompanied to the high altar under her canopy. Thereupon Dr. Cox, a married priest, who has hitherto been beyond the sea, ascended the pulpit and preached the sermon, in which, after saying many things freely against the monks, proving by his arguments that they ought to be persecuted and punished by her Majesty, as they were impious for having caused the burning of so many poor innocents under pretext of heresy, on which he expatiated greatly; he then commenced praising her Majesty, saying amongst other things that God had given her this dignity to the end that she might no longer allow or tolerate the past iniquities; exhorting her to destroy the images of the saints, the churches, the monasteries, and all other things dedicated to divine worship; proving by his own arguments, that it is very great impiety and idolatry to endure them; and saying many other things against the Christian religion. This sermon lasted an hour and a half, the peers standing the whole time, after which they went to the place prepared for the Parliament, which is a handsome chamber (*una bella saletta*), furnished with very fine hangings and benches all round, as seats for the peers, and the royal canopy and throne, with its cushions of cloth of gold, for her Majesty; and in the centre there were some scarlet wool sacks (*alcune bisache di scalatto*), where the auditors, secretaries, Chancellor, and lawyers sit. This hall is separated from the Lower House, which is like a theatre, and in which the representatives of the cities, castles, boroughs, and unwalled districts assemble.

On her Majesty entering Parliament with all the peers, after silence had been enjoined, the official who has the custody of the Great Seal, and holds the place of the Lord Chancellor (*quel che tiene in custodia il gran sigillo et è in loco del gran Cancelliere*), having made a reverence to the Queen, delivered an eloquent speech, alluding to three essential points: the first, "*Pro reformanda religione, et tollenda idolatria*"; the second, "*Pro mitigandis nonnullis legibus pœnalibus*"; the third and last, "*Pro petendo subsidio contra hostes*"; proving how just and reasonable this was, &c. This speech being ended, her Majesty rose, and went to her palace by water, whereupon everybody departed.

Parliament resumed yesterday, when the Lower House elected their Speaker, who is the personage who goes to and fro expressing

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and reporting the will of the Lower House, and of the House of Lords (*dove la Casa Bassa fece il suo parlatore, che qui chiamano il "speccher," qual è quello che va inanzi, e indietro, dicendo et referrendo la volontà della Casa Bassa, et dell' Alta*).

To-morrow, as usual, her Majesty will return to Parliament, and, should she think fit, will confirm the Speaker presented to her by the Commons, who will make a speech, excusing himself as not being worthy of such a charge nor sufficient for it; and being answered by the Queen's Commissioner that her Majesty commends his election, he then asks two favours of her: the first, that it be lawful for every member to state his opinion freely, without respect or fear, or dread of capital punishment or loss of property, or incurring any penalty; the second, that no member be legally molested by his creditors during Parliament; which are always obtained, though every one is careful how he speaks, lest he incur either wrath or contempt (*ma però ogn' uno se guarda come parli per non incorrer in ira, o dispetto*).

London, 30th January 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

16. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

These Lords will depart to-morrow to attend the Conference, and here this hope of peace has again revived, as also that of this King's marriage to the Queen of England; some persons believe that both one thing and the other are already certain, and that they cannot fail to take place. It is divulged through the Court that Calais will no longer be any cause of impediment to the conclusion of the peace and although all persons say this must be kept secret lest it reach the ears of the French, with whom the Spaniards wish to make the best terms they can, yet nevertheless almost everybody discusses the topic freely, so the only thing which seemed to present a difficulty at the conference of Cercamp being removed, it is thought that the agreement will easily be made.

The Spaniards greatly desire peace, and if the French are of the same mind and do not depart from what seemed already settled, peace may be considered concluded.

Concerning the marriage, it is said to be referred to the will of King Philip, and that the Queen has given it clearly to be understood that she is content to have him for her husband, which is also desired and solicited by the chief personages of the kingdom, as by those who anticipate advantage from it through some considerable pecuniary gift, such as his Majesty gave them in like manner in the time of the other Queen. But on the other hand there is the inclination of the Queen to a religion opposed to Catholicism, and of the many particulars heard by me in illustration of this fact I am now able to mention one which very well illustrates the Queen's mind, viz., that at the mass which she heard on the day of her coronation she did not wish the host to be elevated, as usual. She had also attempted this change when she made her entry into London after her sister's death, for she sent to tell a bishop, who was saying

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mass, that he was not to elevate the host, but the good prelate answered that he could not act contrary to his conscience and to the custom of the Church; so he elevated the host, and celebrated according to his duty; but now, at her coronation, she had the mass celebrated in her own way (la fece far a modo suo). *Notwithstanding this, the rumour here is that she will consent to take King Philip for her husband, though with regard to the three conditions required by him of her and of the kingdom, and especially that of his being crowned, I do not understand that anything has as yet been said or agreed to. But one matter greatly troubles the King and his chief ministers, namely, the doubt of being able to obtain the dispensation at Rome, for although Cardinal Pacheco writes that the Pope, when talking about the affairs of England, confirmed to him that King Philip might greatly benefit the Catholic religion there, the Spanish ministry nevertheless anticipate so much enmity on the part of the Pope that they believe he would never of his own will do anything that could redound to the repute and advantage of Spain. They have therefore contrived to find a way to compel the Pope not to refuse the dispensation, viz., that his Holiness should be moved to urge the King that for the salvation of the souls of that kingdom and for the benefit of the Church he should endeavour to marry the Queen. With this object they have written to Cardinal Pacheco and others to represent to his Holiness that the King is not at all inclined to this marriage, and that it is necessary that the Pope should inflame and incite him with his authority, making his Majesty see clearly that if this marriage do not take place, the Catholic religion in England is to be despaired of. The King's confessor has also written to his Holiness on this subject, to the same effect as above.*

It is understood that the foray made by the Scots into England was not so important as at first reported, the Scots having merely observed a certain custom of theirs on the first day of the year, from which they prognosticate the success of the whole year; and they ran over a part of the country to make a good beginning to conquest, but they had not done much harm.

The Emperor has accepted the excuse of Count Sigismondo di Lodron, who tells me that his Imperial Majesty has appointed in his stead, as his Ambassador to England, Count Helffenstein, the Imperial Ambassador resident at this Court.

Your Serenity's letter of the 2nd ultimo, desiring me to condole with his Majesty on the death of the Queens of England and Hungary, only arrived yesterday, but I cannot perform this office until after the departure of these Commissioners.

Brussels, 1st February 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

17. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 2nd instant the Commissioners here left for the Conference and have orders from his Majesty to decide in one way or the

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other with the utmost possible speed, as if peace is to ensue, the sooner it is made the better will it be for him, as he will thus be relieved from the heavy expense of his army; or if the war is to continue, he will be enabled to design some expedition, so that the troops in his pay may no longer remain quite idle and useless. The Duke of Alva and the Bishop of Arras, when talking with me on this subject before their departure, said that they should in a few days know the mind of the French, and whether peace or war was to ensue; but here they have fair hopes of peace, and at Antwerp there are heavy even wagers pending in favour of it.

Brussels, 5th February 1559.

[*Italian*; *deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 6. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

18. Il Schifanoya to Ottaviano Vivaldino, Mantuan Ambassador with King Philip at Brussels.

In two or three days hence I am going to ride into Northamptonshire with my lord and master,* some 60 miles hence, but I will not fail to write if my return is long delayed; and I pray you to do the like by me, addressing your letters to that Mantuan of ours, by name Master Marco Bueso, who keeps a mercery shop in Lombard Street.

Here, Parliament goes on briskly, and in the Lower House there was great talk about giving the title of Supreme Head of the Anglican Church (*supremum caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*) to the Queen, much being said against the Church [of Rome]; but nothing has been yet settled on that subject.

They have however debated and settled the subsidy, as in the time of Queen Mary, but aliens will have to pay double; except that then this tax was levied in one year, and now the term of two years is conceded for its payment. Nothing was said about the clergy, who expect some greater scourge.

The affairs of religion have undergone no change since my last account of them, save that in several churches in London they have commenced singing the litanies in English, as is done in the Chapel Royal. Mass is nevertheless said in all the churches, the Host being elevated as usual in the presence of numerous congregations, who show much devotion; so it is evident that the religion has not such a sorry footing or foundation as was supposed (*non ha si tristo piede nè fondamento come se pensava*), for everybody is now at liberty to go or to stay away. Persons in authority however do not fail to try the ford (*di tentare il guado*), as they did the other day by accusing two Doctors of Laws, the one a priest and the other a layman, of speaking evil (*d'haver straparlato*) of the affairs of the religion; to which they bravely and prudently answered the Lords of the Council, and especially the layman, by name Master Storye (*Stori*),† who said, "You need not interrogate me about these matters, as I know better than any of you both the canon laws and those of this kingdom; let my accusers appear and prove what I have said, for I certainly said nothing at which you could reasonably take offence; but should her Majesty will otherwise, I do

* The writer was in the service of Sir Thomas Tresham, Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, as may be inferred from subsequent letters.

† Dr. John Storye. *See* Venetian Cal. VI. Nos. 108, 137.

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not refuse to die for the Church." The other said the like, telling the Lords of the Council besides that her Majesty could not do them a greater favour. So from what I hear all the clergy are united and confirmed in this holy and good opinion. Some of them will perhaps change their minds, but they will be esteemed for what they are. There are yet many frivolous and foolish people who daily invent plays in derision of the Catholic faith, of the Church, of the clergy, and of the religion, and, by placards posted at the corners of the streets (*per gli cantoni*), they invite people to the taverns, to see these representations, taking money from their audience. Others rob the churches by night, break the windows, and steal whatever they can, as they did two nights ago at the church of the Italian nation, where they stole the tabernacle of the sacrament, which they thought was of silver, but they found it to be of gilt copper, nor did it contain the sacrament, and a pall with other trifles, worth about two or three crowns; not having perhaps from fear of discovery dared to enter the sacristy, which contained the sacerdotal ornaments, chalices, crosses, &c.; the thieves remaining unpunished.

Last evening at the Court a double mummery was played: one set of mummers rifled the Queen's ladies, and the other set, with wooden swords and bucklers, recovered the spoil.

Then at the dance the Queen performed her part, the Duke of Norfolk being her partner (*capo*), in superb array.

About the marriage, it is still said by the vulgar that one Master Pickering (*Pincurin*) [Sir William Pickering] will be her husband. He is an English Knight (*cavaliere*), who was sent to Germany, and for the last three months he has been ill at Dunkirk. Should he recover, I hear that he has something good in hand.

London, 6th February 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb 6. Copy. Venetian Archives.

19. Letter from London, enclosed in a Letter of Paulo Tiepolo, dated 17th February.

Parliament here is still occupied with the business for which it was assembled, as set forth on the first day of the session, viz. to amend religion and to remove idolatry; to mitigate certain penal laws; and to demand a subsidy. The subsidy is obtained on the same terms as the last one granted to Queen Mary, that is to say, four shillings (*soldi*) in the pound on the rents of landed property,—tantamount to what would be called in Italy, for 20 Mocenigos, four,—and two shillings (*soldi*) on moveable property (*di beni mobili*), and I know not what additional sum, exceeding their estimate, which is made at the pleasure of the officials And this with regard to the laity. Nothing has yet been said about the clergy, though Parliament has commenced depriving them of all those benefices which were impropriated to the Crown by Henry VIII. when he suppressed

* A copy of this letter, omitting the first paragraph and the name of the writer, was one of the copies enclosed in the letter of Paulo Tiepolo, dated Brussels, 17th February.

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the monasteries, and which Queen Mary restored. Parliament (as was also done in King Henry's time) has moreover ordered the clergy to pay the first fruits and the annual tenths to the Crown, so that all the anticipated advantage to the clergy has vanished into smoke (*se n' è ito in fumo*). From these beginnings you can judge what the bishops and the rest of the clergy have to expect as to their lives and property; but the latter remain very firm, and do not consent to anything contrary either to the Catholic religion or to the conditions affecting it; and there are many peers and other laymen who imitate them. The payment of the subsidy is to be made in two years, whereas the last in Queen Mary's reign was made in one year, but there is no other difference. Respecting the title "Caput Ecclesiæ," it was debated incidentally, but nothing has been settled or even proposed, but should any motion be made to that effect, as is expected, I hear that many members who have hitherto been silent will commence speaking, so that there will be much matter for debate.

Parliament also sent a deputation to pray the Queen that she will be pleased to marry within the Realm (*che si vogli maritar et nel Regno*), something having been heard to the contrary, but they did not propose to her a patrician rather than a plebian; and her Majesty, after having first made some verbal resistance to the first point, as becoming a maiden, replied that to oblige them she would marry; adding with regard to the second point, that she had well seen how many inconveniences her sister was subjected to, from having married a foreigner. Some persons are of opinion that she will marry to please herself (as it seems to me that I also should do the like), and perhaps a person of not much lineage. Amongst those most frequently mentioned is a gentleman who is now in Flanders, and who is said to be ill there. Guess who he is!

The offices of the Church, and the ministration of the sacraments, continue in all the churches as during Queen Mary's reign, except in the Queen's Chapel, where, at the mass, they do not elevate the sacrament, and the litanies are said in the vulgar English, omitting the invocation of saints, and the prayers for the Pope; which practice is also observed by the incumbents (*curati*) of some few churches, but they are not compelled to do so. The Epistle and Gospel are also read in English, after the litanies.

The acts and decrees of Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole have vanished into smoke (*se ne vanno in fumo*), but it is really very suprising to witness the very great fortitude of many persons, both bishops, lay-lords, and plebeians, who have not bowed the knee before Baal, and who are prepared to suffer any extreme punishment, rather than return to their former state under King Henry.

London, 6th February 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

20. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 1st instant, after the marriage of his son M. de Damville, the Constable departed for the site of the Conference, the Marshal de

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St. André having also proceeded in that direction six days previously. The Cardinal of Lorraine left the same day as the Constable, but took another road, so that they might all assemble in the town of Guise on the 4th, that place being four leagues from Cateau Cambresis, the site of the Conference, where they were to be on the 5th.

By letters from the Bishop of Limoges it is heard that King Philip's Commissioners had arrived, and when the Bishop visited them, Don Ruy Gomez spoke to him very freely, but yet more so the Prince of Orange, giving him great hopes of a good conclusion, and telling him they were ordered by his Catholic Majesty to despatch the matter forthwith (*di espedirsi quanto prima*). The same instructions have been given here likewise to the French Commissioners, as in the act of departure the Cardinal of Lorraine said to the person who narrated it to me, that he was only to remain 10 or 12 days, during which period, in one way or the other, he was to endeavour to obtain a result without further delay.

A person sent back from England by Lord Grey made his appearance here lately, bringing word that his Lordship will not fail to return hither at the end of the period of two months taken by him on his "parole"; and the report continues that he will be accompanied by two other personages. Owing to the war, the advices thence are few, either about the Queen's marriage, or other resolves there; and even those who have the means of hearing them through secret channels merely discuss them doubtfully as things uncertain and conjectural, and as a topic of conversation rather than from knowledge. And concerning England, during these nuptials the arms of the Queen-Dauphine were seen quartered with those of that kingdom; and I understand that their seals were engraved in like manner, to show their claim publicly.

Paris, 6th February 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

21. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

After I had condoled with the King on the death of the Queens of England and of Hungary, *his Majesty said, in reply to my remarks about the peace, that he had more at heart the common weal than his own, and had therefore given such orders to his Commissioners, that unless the French went greatly astray from what was fair, as they sometimes did, he hoped peace would be concluded.*

The Spanish Commissioners arrived at Cambresis on the 5th, and the French on the morning of the 6th, and in the afternoon they all assembled in the house of the Duchess of Lorraine; and having remained a long while together, on coming forth they seemed very cheerful. On the 7th, the day of the Carnival, they were all entertained by the Constable. But in the meanwhile the Duke of Savoy has sent an order to all the military chiefs to be ready within ten days to march whithersoever commanded, and in Germany orders have been issued to give earnest money to 6,000 cavalry; it being also said that Gian Andrea Doria went in haste to Italy to have the fleet in readiness in the course of this month.

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I enclose copy of a paragraph copied by me from a letter which the Bishop of Aquila, who was sent as Ambassador by King Philip to England on the death of Queen Mary, wrote to a friend of his; and in accordance with it I understand they are treating in Parliament what form of religion (*che stato di religione*) that kingdom is to have, and that during this interval the Queen continues to live as she was accustomed to do in her father's time, but that some of the principal personages show themselves favourable to the Catholic faith at the instigation of the Count de Feria, who does not fail to use every effort in order that England may maintain the true religion, and God grant that the result be good; *but in the meanwhile the discussion about the Queen's marriage to this King has in great measure ceased, and it seems that the whole of this negotiation will depend on the resolve of Parliament about religion.*

Brussels, 12th February 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 13. Copy. Venetian Archives.

22. Enclosure in a Letter of PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, dated 17th February.

The Conference here continues with great diligence, for every day they remain at least three hours together. Yesterday the Spanish Commissioners, before they assembled, despatched a courier to England, and this morning the Duke of Alva and the others went into the town to see the English Ambassadors, with whom they remained about three hours, and in the act of departure the new English Ambassador [Lord Howard of Effingham] was seen to have a writing in the form of an agreement. The affair turns upon the differences with England; but the negotiation proceeds secretly, as a matter of such great importance must proceed. Late this evening the Duke of Lorraine arrived with a great number of gentlemen.

Cambresis, 13th February 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

23. IL SCHIFANOYA to OTTAVIANO VIVALDINO, Mantuan Ambassador with King Philip at Brussels, or wherever he (Vivaldino) is.

I now write to your Lordship that the affairs of the religion in this kingdom are going from bad to worse, and although a proposal was twice debated, and not carried, to give her Majesty the title of Supreme Head of the Anglican Church, yet from what is seen it will inevitably pass. They have already settled to give back to the Crown all the benefices and tenths which for conscience sake had been restored by the late Queen, none of whose acts now remain valid, those of Cardinal Pole likewise being annulled. Of this I am the more convinced by the sermon preached yesterday at the Court in the place where, during the reigns of Kings Henry and Edward, Doctor Scory used to preach, he having been heretofore Bishop of Chichester, who said so much evil of the Pope, of the bishops, of the prelates, of the regulars, of the Church, of the mass, and finally of our entire faith, in the presence of the Queen and of her

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Council, the rest of the congregation consisting of more than 5,000 persons, that I was much scandalized, and I promise never to go there again, after hearing the outrageous and extravagant things which they say; and yet more was I surprised at the concourse of people who madly flocked to hear such vain things. Consequently everything will go from bad to worse, and the religion and the religious will be abolished (*levarassi*). Thus my projects are all vain, nor shall I be able to continue serving this Lord,* although he will doubtless remain a good christian, as he always was at the time of the other schism, but he will remain in the country, and will observe the old rite secretly. My conscience will not allow me to associate with heretics, and to hold the other opinion in secret; so I now pray your Lordship, for the love you bear me, to have some consideration for me, and to try and place me with some Lord at Brussels; or else, should a Venetian Ambassador come to England shortly, as expected, it would be well for him and for me, as I would serve him lovingly, without his having to solicit anyone or incurring further expense, and he would find me to be a person who has experience of the Court and its customs.

London, 13th February 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

24. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

After the departure hence of the Commissioners for the peace, there arrived from Calais the Vidâme de Chartres, Governor of that place, accompanied by that Englishman† who, as mentioned by me in a former despatch, had arrived here clandestinely (occultamente)*; and having brought a letter from Queen Elizabeth, he was sent back immediately with the reply, being also the bearer* (*as was told me subsequently with great secrecy, to which all the rest of this negotiation is likewise consigned*) *of a diamond worth* 12,000 *crowns, as a present to the aforesaid Queen, sent to her as a slight token to show the most Christian King's unceasing affection for and remembrance of her; not that she may think he is sending her a gift becoming her greatness, or equal to the grade in which she found herself.‡ The said Englishman having again brought another letter from the Queen, in reply to the one addressed to her, I hear from*

* Sir Thomas Tresham, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem.

† Guido Cavalcanti. (See before, under date 20th January, and Foreign Calendar 1558–1559, pp. 93–95.)

‡ In Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth 1558–1559, pp. 93–94, this letter is printed; and the subsequent instructions show that they were entrusted to Cavalcante by the King of France for Queen Elizabeth. The letter is dated Paris, 21 Jan., 1559, the allusion to the present being written by the King's own hand, thus: "Awaiting the time when he shall give her a better proof of the greatness of his friendship, he has placed in the hands of the bearer a little present as a pledge of his constancy, which he prays her to accept as willingly as he offers it cordially."

Until Signor Luigi Pasini deciphered the despatches from France of Giovanni Michiel, I believe that the nature of the "little present," and its value, were alike unknown. In her reply the Queen apologises for not sending a return "token" to the King immediately, telling him "what was the custom of England." (Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, Feb. 19, p. 141, No. 340.)

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a person through whose hands the whole of this business passes, that it is now supposed to refer to another separate conference between the Commissioners of France and England, apart from the one now in being, and without the intervention of any other minister or representative of any other Prince, neither England nor France desiring that any but themselves may know or understand their affairs, and still less meddle with them (travagliarsi nei fatti loro). *With this object the said Vidâme was immediately despatched postwise to the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine, to have their opinion whether this new conference should be held or not, and on his return yesterday morning he announced their approval of it; but when his most Christian Majesty was on the point of sending back this Englishman to England, one of the Constable's secretaries arrived express to warn the King not to despatch him until he knew what sort of proposal had been made at Cateau Cambresis by the English Commissioners, who had not yet spoken, having chosen first of all to meet* (esser insieme) *and consult with the King Catholic's Commissioners. The Constable was therefore of opinion that his most Christian Majesty might subsequently determine with greater reason either to accept or reject this second conference. They therefore continue to wait and procrastinate, until the Constable sends them word what proposal may be made by the English Commissioners. In the meanwhile they are discussing the site of the second Conference, which is to be either Boulogne or Montreuil, at the option of the English, according to their convenience, and the chief Commissioner on the part of France is destined to be the Vidâme de Chartres.*

Immediately on the arrival of the French Commissioners at Cambresis, they sent notice to his Majesty that a person had been sent in advance to notify that he would be followed by Ambassadors from the Emperor, and from all the States and Princes of the Empire, accredited in that place to the Kings of France and Spain, (but according to report, to the knowledge of King Philip, with whom they had an understanding to that effect), to prefer suit for the restitution of what belonged to the Empire, and especially of the cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, held by the King of France; and that the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine gave it to be understood, and said freely, that for their part, they would not only not give any answer, but would not even admit the said ambassadors, who neither ought to have a place at the Conference, nor could they, as it had assembled solely to treat the differences between the Kings of Spain and France, and not those of other Princes, and the more because King Philip had nothing to do with the Empire, nor had any share or interest in it; that even if the Emperor, and the other Princes of the said Empire wished for anything from his most Christian Majesty, he having lately accredited his Ambassadors to the Diet, application might be made to them, or an embassy might be sent, to negotiate with his Majesty in person, who commended and confirmed this resolve, commanding them to abide by it.

Paris, 14th February 1559.

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

25. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

On the first day of Lent, the Commissioners at the Conference, after having heard the mass of the Holy Ghost, commenced the negotiation, which proceeds so secretly that it is difficult even for those present there to hear anything about it. I will merely mention that this morning it was reported that the Duke of Alva had arrived bringing the conclusion of the peace, and some persons came to my house to give me this intelligence, one of them having already engaged a courier for its conveyance to Italy, but on inquiry, I ascertained that the Duke of Alva had not arrived, and that nothing authentic had been heard about the peace; except that after much dispute with the French about the affairs relating to England, the Ambassadors from that kingdom having taken ten days' time to give a reply to certain proposals made to them, the Commissioners in the meanwhile will await it. I do not know whether the French proposals are of such a nature as to ensure Queen Elizabeth's acceptance; but I will do my best to elicit some information. All four Spanish Commissioners were lodged in the so-called pleasure residence outside the territory (*terra*) of Cambresis in the direction of Brussels. The French had their lodging in the quarter of the "Porte de Guise," and the English Ambassadors in the quarter of the gate towards Burgundy. Thus the Spanish Commissioners are better lodged than the others, and therefore hitherto all have assembled at their residence to negotiate, and it was a fine sight to see how richly and honourably they were apparelled.

It has been necessary to provide a police force to patrol the town constantly to prevent the insolence of certain lackeys, who are French footmen, and who, whenever they saw Spanish noblemen, picked a quarrel with them. If precaution had not been taken, some greater scandal might have ensued.

I send two letters from England addressed to certain friends of mine; both are from a good quarter, but the second from the better.

Brussels, 17th February 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

26. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish and French Commissioners have held four conferences, at the first of which the French were so stubborn (*tanto gagliardi*) about the question of Calais that they would not listen to its discussion. The Spaniards on the other hand gave it clearly to be understood that they would negotiate no further unless this question was first disposed of, saying that if the French had no intention of conceding anything, they might have saved themselves the trouble of coming to this fresh conference, which was held solely in order that each party by making concessions might find the medium of adjustment. The dispute went so far that the Commissioners separated in discord, and it seemed as if they would not re-assemble; but the Duchess of Lorraine interposed, and caused them again to confer. After much dispute, the French

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at length proposed to the English that they were content, should the Queen of England marry, to restore Calais to her eldest son, provided he take for wife a daughter of the King-Dauphin; and in case these terms should not please them, they offered to restore the place within the term of eight years; so the Ambassadors took time to reply, and wrote to England, and King Philip also despatched a courier to the Count de Feria. The conference in the meanwhile was suspended, and until the conclusion of this matter, they will not negotiate anything, but if agreed to, it is hoped that there will be less difficulty about the remainder; hence arise both the great hope of peace, and the current report of its being effected. I wrote that Queen Elizabeth had given King Philip to understand that she did not choose this good work of peace to fail on her account, and it has been confirmed to me that she had placed the whole affair in his hands; but his Majesty acts with much reserve, and chooses in every respect to obtain satisfaction for the Queen, who has subsequently shown herself rather more difficult, most especially through her new Ambassador [Lord Howard of Effingham], who went (direct) to the Conference without coming hither.

A Florentine gentleman, who is come from Cambresis, where he had private business to transact with the French Commissioners, reports that the Prince of Ferrara asked their King to give him the places held by his Majesty in Tuscany in payment of the debts due from him (the King) to the Duke of Ferrara, his father, the Prince doing this at the request of his father-in-law, the Duke of Florence, with whom the Duke of Ferrara has a very good understanding, but would also wish to get back his money; notwithstanding which, the Florentine Ambassador and Chiapino Vitelli here at Brussels do not cease urging King Philip, should the peace be made, to give those places to their Duke, and they have his Majesty's promise to that effect.

I have been told on good authority, as a great secret, that amongst the other designs of Duke Cosmo, is that of marrying the Prince, his son, to the Queen widow of Portugal, King Philip's sister; and that this is one of the chief commissions given to Vitelli, who has let King Philip know that the King of France does not cease tempting Duke Cosmo in many ways, and lately offered him one of his daughters for the Prince, promising the Duke to give him the places held by France in Tuscany, and make him King of that province, should he desire such a title; but Duke Cosmo desires to remain the dependant of his Catholic Majesty, as hitherto, and no offer can alter his mind. Vitelli had spoken thus to move King Philip to devise means for obliging Duke Cosmo, lest he should ally himself with France.

The excuse of the Emperor's Ambassador resident here not having been accepted, he departed hence three days ago, and is going in the Emperor's name to the Queen of England.

By a courier from Rome information has been received of the Pope's severe mode of proceeding against his nephews. Cardinal*

* The disgrace of the Pope's nephews took place on the 27th January 1559.

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[*Carlo*] *Caraffa has, nevertheless, given King Philip to understand that the chief cause of the Pope's anger against him and his brothers is because they all three sought his Majesty's advantage, and that nothing has displeased his Holiness more than to hear that Paliano is in the hands of its present possessor, as until now he believed the Duke, his brother, to be there; so he prays his Majesty to have him under his protection, and to obtain for them the Pope's grace.*

Brussels, 19th February 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 20. Copy. Venetian Archives.

27. Letter from London (enclosed in a Letter of Paulo Tiepolo, dated 26th February).

I did not write last week because there was nothing worthy of advice, as our affairs proceed as heretofore, and Parliament has not yet come to any decision about a "Bill," so called by them, viz., a schedule presented, whereby it is proposed to give ecclesiastical authority to the Queen, and to annul almost all the public and private Acts (*cose*) enacted and ordained by the late Queen. As the "Bill" contains very many clauses, an order became necessary for its examination, clause by clause, as they are now doing. These examinations and debates are made by the Lower House, and when they are concluded, the Bill will be sent to the Upper House, to which however as yet nothing whatever has been sent; so in Parliament the Catholic union stands firm, though its fall is not far off.

A proclamation has been made in the Queen's name forbidding flesh to be eaten during Lent, her Majesty reserving to herself the grant of permission not to fast; but this prohibition, according to the official notice, is rather for a political reason than for anything else, viz., to preserve the cattle for the rest of the year, and for the livelihood of the very great number of fishermen and fishmongers in this kingdom, it having been customary to act in like manner under King Edward also.

London, 20th February 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

28. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

On Tuesday last his Majesty went to Binche, midway between this place and Cambresis, and will remain there for some days, having decided to go thither, both to pass his time more pleasantly as there are many very good chases in that neighbourhood, and much more for the sake of being nearer the site of the Conference, to hear the news more speedily, and to reply as necessary; besides which, he wishes these negotiations to proceed secretly, not choosing to have any one with him but his chamberlains; and having dismissed his usual archer-guard, and two companies of cavalry who escorted him, he has now but 30 horse. The same regard for secresy caused the Spanish Commissioners not to allow any Ambassadors to attend the Conference except those of England and Savoy. Those

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of Florence and Mantua, who were at the other conference of Cercamp, remain here, against their will, as the interests of their princes concerning Tuscany and Montferrat are at stake.

The Duke of Lorraine is expected at Binche to pay his respects to his Majesty, and to see his two sisters, who by order of their mother will go thither to-morrow; the Duchess and the Prince of Orange accompanying the Duke to Binche.

As the Duke of Alva is seriously ill, the renewal of the Conference may be postponed, although the reply from England is expected hourly, its non-arrival hitherto being attributed to bad weather; and here all delay is very injurious, as King Philip's daily expenses, on account of the conference, amount to 8,000 crowns. *What this reply may be, no one can tell; the proposals of the French on the one hand showing that they have little will ever to restore Calais, whilst on the other, England not being strong or well disposed to wage war in such a way as she would be bound to do, it seems a mockery to fail making peace on her sole account. I also find some judicious persons suspect that even were that matter adjusted, other important difficulties might nevertheless arise about the affairs of Tuscany and Corsica, and the mode and time of restoring the fortresses on one side and the other; and principally about the restoration of the Duke of Savoy, which was not well determined at the conference of Cercamp; but here such a wish for quiet is visible, that if they cannot have peace, it would be no wonder if they content themselves with a truce.*

At the last meetings of the Commissioners the French did their utmost to persuade the Spaniards to agree upon the questions relating to France and Spain, and conclude peace between these two crowns, without reference to the Queen of England, citing, in addition to other reasons, the example of the Emperor, King Philip's father, who in 1544 *made peace with France, and left King Henry at war. This the Commissioners would wish his Catholic Majesty to do at present with regard to the Queen, so that they might more advantageously prosecute their claim to that kingdom; but as yet the Spaniards will not listen to this proposal, being of opinion that any misfortune incurred by the Queen would be very perilous for these Provinces, and that these are different times from those of Charles the Fifth, because then the French had no such pretensions, and England was in a better position, being then defended by an old and powerful King.*

By two letters which I sent from England you will have seen what had taken place there in Parliament down to the 6th instant. Advices have been received here since that the session still continues, and it was believed they would give the Queen the title usurped by her father and brother of "Supreme Head of the English and Irish Church." In the aforesaid Queen's presence sermons are preached to very large congregations against the power of the Pope and other Catholic tenets; *and concerning her marriage, it still continued to be said that she would take that Master Pickering* (quel Mastro Pincarin), *who, from information received by me, is about* 36 *years old, of tall stature, and handsome, and very suc-*

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cessful with women, for he is said to have enjoyed the intimacy of many and great ones. On the accession of Queen Mary he went into voluntary exile, but was subsequently recalled by her, and she commissioned him to go to Germany to raise a German regiment, as he did, and took it to the sea-side, precisely at the time of the rout of M. de Termes at Gravelines; after which, with the Queen's consent, he took the regiment for himself, and, without crossing over to England, remained in Flanders, where he fell ill for a time, but has now recovered.

Brussels, 23rd February 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

29. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and Senate.

The King being on his way to meet the Constable at this place (*sic*) of Villers-Cotterets, the Bishop of Limoges arrived postwise, to give account of the matters treated hitherto at the Conference, and particularly of those of Calais, which are the principal and most important points. The Prince of Ferrara told my Secretary that at this second conference the Commissioners on either side had hitherto met four times. At the first meeting King Philip's Commissioners merely stated that as at the other conference there remained for settlement the agreement about the affairs of England, order and duty (*l'ordine et il dover*) required that as they had again assembled for the same purpose, they should commence with English affairs, and then pass on to the others; to which the French Commissioners replied that although on the former occasion English affairs had been discussed together with other matters relating to his Catholic Majesty, it had been from respect for his close connexion with that kingdom through his marriage with the late Queen, but as that connexion had now been severed by death, there was no occasion for his Majesty's Commissioners to treat and interfere further with regard to the interests of England; and for that day it would appear that no further rejoinder nor any more pressing demand was made. But, when after two or three days' interval, they assembled for the second time, the Commissioners of King Philip said that although the death of the Queen of England had dissolved the tie of matrimony, and consequently the union of that kingdom with his Catholic Majesty's own realms, there nevertheless remained unbroken that understanding and position which for many reasons his Majesty intended to maintain. As at his suit principally England had declared herself the enemy of France, on whom she had waged war, it was not proper, when treating about an agreement, not to treat jointly with that kingdom also; nor ought he to fail doing his utmost that England likewise should receive due and becoming satisfaction. The Spanish Commissioners said freely that they had particular and express commission from his Catholic Majesty not to commence negotiating any of his personal affairs unless those of England also were treated and decided simultaneously. To this the French Commissioners replied that the English Commissioners being there on the spot,

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they are despatched to raise cavalry and infantry, to be sent on their march at the slightest hint from his Majesty, causing them also to receive some earnest money, so as to undeceive all those who believed that either from want of power, or from not having the means, or from negligence, his Majesty, relying on the peace, failed to make due and necessary preparations. For the next three days during the Constable's stay here, they will therefore attend to this, and spread reports that the orders for new levies are much greater than they are in reality; nor will the King depart hence, for the Constable has persuaded him to remain, that he may more speedily receive news of the Conference, this place being but twenty leagues distance from Cateau Cambresis. The King's joy seems to be very great, for since the arrival of the Constable those who attend his Majesty and have long observed his custom and his nature, which know not how to dissemble, infer that great hope of peace has been given him; the Constable having also given the same hope to Madame Marguerite.

The Duchess of Lorraine, after having seen her son the Duke, wished and made suit to see likewise his bride, her daughter-in-law, who is preparing for departure in two or three days, and will go very well accompanied, as becoming a daughter of his most Christian Majesty. It is said here that the Duke, her husband went to see King Philip.

Ferté Milon, 23rd February 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25. Copy. Venetian Archives.

30. Letter from the Secretary of the Duke of Alva (enclosed in a letter of Paulo Tiepolo, dated 26th February).

For some days past I have omitted writing to your Lordship, as there was nothing to advise, the Conference being adjourned until the return of the courier from England, which took place this morning, but I have not yet heard what he brings. The Secretary is at hand deciphering the despatches of the Count de Feria. The Secretary of the English Ambassador tells me that these letters bring a decision which will, he believes, soon set us all at liberty. The Constable has not yet returned. I believe he cannot fail to be here to-day or to-morrow, and from what I can discover these affairs will soon be settled in one way or the other, but I do not know what will become of Calais.

Cambresis, 25th February 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

31. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday morning the courier returned from England to Cambresis with the reply; but as yet its purport cannot be ascertained, and the person who writes from the Conference expresses himself so ambiguously (cosi dubbiosamente) *that it is impossible to form an opinion about what may be hoped, as your Serenity will see by the enclosed copy of a letter from the same secretary of the Duke of Alva, who wrote the former one transmitted by me. I am*

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nevertheless assured that before the Constable went back to France he told the Count of Stroppiana, who is at the Conference as the representative of the Duke of Savoy, to write in the Constable's name to his master to act in such a way that the question of Calais (which place the most Christian King will on no terms restore) may not impede the peace; as for the rest they will be sure of agreeing together; so the Duke hopes that the French will be content to retain fewer fortresses in Piedmont than were demanded by them at the Conference of Cercamp. I also hear on good authority that Madame Marguerite, the King's sister, who, should the peace be made, will, according to report, marry the Duke of Savoy, took the opportunity, when writing to him in recommendation of a certain individual, greatly to praise the Constable in the said letter for having done his utmost to procure the peace and the advantage of the said Duke, who should therefore deservedly favour and shew esteem for him by every sort of office. These circumstances, together with the Duke of Lorraine's visit to King Philip, prove good will on the part of the French likewise, and that they are not averse to peace. This is also confirmed by some persons who have come from France, and who report that peace is desired and believed in. If this wish is reciprocal on both sides, it may be hoped that all difficulties will vanish. The Duke of Alva, who had been unwell, was better.

I send your Serenity the copy of a letter from England, which is all I have from these parts.

Brussels, 26th February 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

32. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Constable departed to-day, having prolonged his stay for two additional days to receive the news, which arrived last evening, to the effect that the reply from England had been received, and according to general report he went away with the intention of staying a very short time at Cateau Cambresis, for as the only remaining question for settlement is the affair of England, the Conference will soon ascertain the mind of Queen Elizabeth. Her mode of proceeding hitherto seems to cause much doubt and surprise to the French Commissioners, because the Lord William [Howard of Effingham], who was sent by her lately to the Conference, either from craft, owing to the presence and interposition of King Philip's Commissioners, and in order not to divulge anything to them, or from some other cause, spoke in a very different tone to the message brought lately by the individual mentioned in my former letters, who came hither to negotiate clandestinely and returned. The said Lord William declared plainly that unless Calais were restored he had no commission to proceed further; whilst the other negotiator had not indeed announced [the Queen's] intention, but had given very earnest hope that an agreement might be made in some other way than by the restitution of Calais, a suggestion which they had already discussed; and they had almost agreed by common

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consent to meet at another conference in the city of Boulogne, where on the part of France, besides the Vidâme de Chartres, the Duke de Guise was to be present. By a person who conducts this negotiation (*questo maneggio*) I am told that the King, to ascertain whether he is deceived by the diversity of these two proposals, sent back immediately to England the aforesaid Englishman accompanied by a French gentleman,* with a commission that on hearing with more certainty the will of the Queen he was to return to Cateau Cambresis with her reply, so that when his report is made, the Constable and the other French Commissioners may know better how to regulate themselves; and therefore by the next advice from the Constable information is expected as to what may be hoped.

Yesterday a courier arrived from Rome despatched by the French Ambassador there expressly to give account of the strange things that had taken place between the Pope and his nephews, which at this Court have caused, and still continue causing, no less laughter than astonishment.

Ferté Milon, 27th February 1559.

[*Italian.*]

March 2. Copy. Venetian Archives.

33. Letter from the SECRETARY of the DUKE OF ALVA (enclosed in Tiepolo's letter of the 4th).

The Constable did not arrive until 10 a.m. to-day, and in the afternoon the Commissioners assembled, transacting business for two hours, and on going away what had never happened hitherto took place, for the French used to depart together, but to-day the Cardinal of Lorraine went out first, and shortly afterwards the Marshal de St. André, who was subsequently followed by the Constable, they all seeming rather disconcerted (*alquanto turbati*).

On arriving at their lodgings our Commissioners sent for one of the English Ambassadors; they remained a long while together, and this night they are sending a courier to England.

Cambresis, 2nd March 1559.

[*Italian.*]

March 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

34. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By my last of the 27th ultimo† I wrote what *the Secretary*, who came from Cambresis, brought back; and I now send the copy of a letter from the same person who wrote the others. I have also seen another letter of the like tenour *from an agent who is kept there secretly by Chiapino Vitelli*, which was sent to him by a messenger express, purporting that the re olution of England had been brought, but in such a form that it would cause much dispute, and many persons no longer displayed their former cheerfulness and con-

* In Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, date Feb. 28, 1559, entry No. 361, p. 151, it is seen that Cavalcanti was accompanied by "one La Marque, a valet of the French King's Chamber, bringing a letter of credit," &c.

† Not found.

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fidence in peace. *The Count of Stroppiana, Ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, who came hither to inform him* of the matters negotiated, reports that at the meeting of the Commissioners on the 12th, the French, after hearing the reply of the English, showed themselves disturbed, and rejoined somewhat harshly, *almost threatening to continue the war.* Here, however, I may say that the hope of peace has not much cooled on this account, and, indeed, I hear on good authority *that the Duke of Francavilla* had a letter yesterday *from Don Ruy Gomez* showing that he considers that peace is certain, and by the letters of *the Bishop of Arras* it seems that he has good hope of it. Much is said at this Court as to how the affairs of Calais could be arranged in case the French and English both refuse to cede the place; but the majority are of opinion that some agreement must take place with regard to this difference, and if nothing else can be done, *they will conclude peace between France and Spain, and a long truce with England.*

But King Philip, knowing how much it is for his interest that this negotiation should be concluded speedily, has again desired his Commissioners to endeavour to effect it forthwith; and I hear from several quarters that his Majesty has ordered levies of cavalry and infantry in Germany, whither money for this purpose has been sent from Antwerp; so if necessary he in a few days will have mustered a very large army, most especially as a number of good and experienced troops are in readiness. His Majesty returned this evening, the negotiations requiring his presence.

Brussels, 4th March 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 4. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives (2nd Letter.)

35. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Commissioners did not assemble yesterday, because the day before they had disagreed, and the French remained together apart to discuss what was to be done. According to report, things were in a bad way, the French not choosing to restore Calais, nor the English to cede it; so that fortress has caused greater doubt of war than hope of peace. Both parties were nevertheless repairing and arranging lodgings and making new ones, as if they had to remain a long while in that place. The wife of the Duke of Lorraine is expected, with the consort of M. de Montmorency and other ladies.

Brussels, 4th March 1559.

[*Italian.*]

March 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

36. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Everybody considered it certain that the affair of Calais would not prevent the peace, so in the negotiations hitherto it did not give much trouble, as both Don Ruy Gomez and the Bishop of Arras, who were at the Conference, wrote what I advised in my first letter of yesterday. Subsequently, both sides determined not

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to give way, and therefore to-day their opinions are much changed, not that they despair of peace, but they have greater doubt of it, whereas before there was certainty.

One of the chief lords of this Court who was at the Conference of Cambresis, being acquainted with the Cardinal of Lorraine, who likes him, expressed astonishment to his Lordship that so small a place, and of so little value as Calais, should hinder so great a benefit as would result to Christendom from the peace. The Cardinal de Guise replied, that they would by no means have the English any longer in France. *This lord rejoined that it was doing them too much honour to speak in this way, as if they were feared and esteemed, while it was notorious that they were no longer the English of yore, but most degenerate* (ma debolissimi), *and capable of being in one moment's time driven out, not only from Calais but from all England likewise, were the assistance of King Philip to fail them; but the only reply he could obtain from the Cardinal de Guise was that they would no longer have them in France. So this lord* (questo signor) *infers that some half measure might be devised, which would not utterly displease the French, such as either to dismantle the place, or something of that sort.*

The Commissioners met yesterday at the house of the Duchess of Lorraine.

The English Ambassadors had sent an express to England, and the negotiations were suspended on their account.

Brussels, 5th March 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

37. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I am told by the Prince of Ferrara and other personages of the Court, that yesterday evening a yeoman of his Majesty's chamber (*valletto di Camera*) arrived from the Conference, bringing him word that on Friday last, the 3rd instant, the Commissioners from France and Spain having assembled, the English Commissioners likewise being summoned, the latter were made to relate (*fecero che riferissero*) the decision which had been brought lately from their Queen about the affairs of Calais, and which, in conformity with what they had said previously, was, that she, having again consulted her ministers of state, neither could nor ought, for the satisfaction of her kingdom, come to any agreement without the restitution of Calais, demonstrating that she had taken no account of the offers of compensation made here, nor was she at all inclined to accept them. Thereupon King Philip's Commissioners added that they also, without a fresh commission from their prince, could not entertain any of the other matters concerning his Catholic Majesty in particular and the most Christian King, until those of England were adjusted (*accordate*). The Constable and the other French Commissioners, surprised at this, said that there was no occasion to proceed further, as their King would by no means consent to the restitution of that fortress; the Cardinal of Lorraine saying

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besides that of two things which in this negotiation their King most earnestly desired, he had at least obtained one, for if unable to introduce quiet into Christendom through the benefit of peace, which was one of his wishes and the chief of them, he nevertheless realised the other, by proving to the world that as a Christian prince he would willingly have come to any fair compromise (*si riduceva ad ogni honesta compositione*).

After this the French Commissioners wished to take leave absolutely, and to depart on the same day, but the Spaniards replied, that on the contrary, it would be well to delay until this resolution announced by the English Commissioners had been communicated to the two Kings, and their reply to it made known. The Constable, with the consent of his colleagues, answered that it was unnecessary for them to make any further announcement to the most Christian King, as they had brought his final decision; but being again earnestly requested by the Spanish Commissioners to wait at least until they in like manner had received his Catholic Majesty's final decision, which they professed not to know, the French Commissioners at length consented to remain longer three or four days.

Such being the state of the negotiations, there is at present more doubt and apprehension of their being broken off than of any pacific conclusion, unless some fresh proposal be made by King Philip, as seems credible from the efforts made by his commissioners to prevent the dissolution of the Conference; they on the other hand remaining perfectly convinced that his most Christian Majesty will not deviate in the least from his decision about the affairs of England.

Ferté Milon, 5th March 1559.

[*Italian.*]

March 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

38. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Amongst the other things said by the French, when irritated by the reply that England would not make peace on any terms without the restitution of Calais, was, that they could not add more to what had been stated, because it was contrary to the express order of the most Christian King, *who had said several times that he would rather risk his crown than restore Calais, and should consider any one his enemy who sought to persuade him to that effect. The Commissioners of the Catholic King replied, that they also were commissioned by his Majesty not to conclude peace without the satisfaction of his allies. The disagreement was such that it seemed as if the Conference must break up, and all the Commissioners depart; but at length the French took time to write to their King what had taken place, an express being also sent to England, and replies are now awaited, nothing further having been done in the meanwhile. The Court discourses in different ways, and the majority are of opinion that peace will not be made. On the other hand some have good hope of it, for Don Antonio de Toledo, who is one of the three councillors attending his Majesty, believes it will be made; and*

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Don Diego [de Mendoza], heretofore Ambassador at Venice, who has now risen in repute, it being reported that the King will make him his maggiordomo, is of the same opinion. The Count of Stroppiana, who was at the Conference as representative of the Duke of Savoy, told me he not only hopes for peace, but considers it certain. I, however, cannot vouch for the truth of these words, or whether those who uttered them were deceived by their wishes, but possibly they may be in possession of some secret unknown to us, about the intention of the King of France, or of the Queen of England, or of King Philip; but I see that contrary to their wont of late, the whole of this Court now fears more than it hopes.

A few days ago a she wolf came into the middle of the town of Cambresis, where the Conference is being held, in broad daylight, and after some struggle it was at length taken; and this incident is considered here a prodigy and an evil omen.

On the 5th instant the wife of the Duke of Lorraine arrived there, accompanied by the Duchess of Guise, daughter of the Duke of Ferrara, and they are expected to remain there the whole of this week, everybody present amusing themselves.

It is asserted here that the Queen of England promises King Philip to contribute jointly material assistance for the war, if he fails to make peace on account of Calais, and that she will spend a million of gold annually for three consecutive years; but it is remembered that the late Queen, though excellently intentioned, did very little in this respect.

Brussels, 9th March 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

39. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The difficulty of an agreement about Calais continuing, the French demanded a truce, to which King Philip's Commissioners were entirely averse; so the French made fresh proposals in order to find some mode of adjustment. Some persons say *that they offer to give considerable security that they will restore Calais within a certain period;* and this report has greatly increased the hope of peace. *The son of the Ambassador from Ferrara, who has returned from Cambresis, tells me, that the French with whom he spoke there considered peace almost made, and alleged that it would be concluded shortly after the arrival of the Prior of France, brother of the Duke de Guise, who was gone to the most Christian King for his decision; and that in conformity with this the Cardinal of Lorraine, on coming out of the chamber where he had been conferring with the Commissioners of the two crowns, said aloud with a joyful countenace to a number of French lords who accosted him, that he hoped the peace would be concluded in a few days; and the Duchess of Lorraine, when her son asked leave to return to France, was heard to reply, that she wished him to delay his departure, that he might convey the news of the conclusion of the peace to the most Christian King.*

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The Conference is attended by many French lords and gentlemen, but none of King Philip's subjects are there, this Government having evinced a wish to keep the negotiation secret; so all are apprehensive of giving displeasure and seeming inquisitive.

Last night the Bishop dell' Aquila [Alvarez de Quadra] arrived from England, butas yet I have been unable to learn what news he brings.

Brussels, 12th March 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 14. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

40. Il Schifanoya to Ottaviano Vivaldino, Mantuan Ambassador with King Philip at Brussels.

I have returned from Northamptonshire, because on the 1st instant my master, "Milord" St. John, died,* but I shall return thither for his funeral, which is to take place after Easter.† I have been expecting to receive from Peveraro the money which I needed to purchase a hackney for your Lordship, but I have not received it. I am sorry for this; but poor I have been, and always shall be, having been born under an evil planet. Now, when I anticipated some good from the promises of my master, death has deprived me of him; and as if this were not enough, the affairs of the religion, by which people like me live, without God's assistance, will be overthrown. Although the Lower House passed the Bill (*l'articolo*) appointing Queen Elizabeth Supreme Head of the Church, nevertheless in the Upper House, after very great altercation and disputes on the part of the bishops and of other good and pious peers, the question has been consigned to silence for the last few days, and they have discussed certain other matters relating to the kingdom. But in the meanwhile the Court preachers in the presence of her Majesty and the people are doing their utmost to convert the latter, seeking to prove by their false arguments that the Pope has no authority, and uttering the most base and abominable things that were ever heard against the Apostolic See. For this and other reasons many persons are of opinion that the Bill will pass the Upper House likewise, against the consent of the prelates and of other pious lay peers, as will be known in the course of this week, for they talk of proroguing Parliament before the end of the month (*perchè dicono di terminare il Parlamento avanti l'ultimo*).

The Act for restoring to the Queen the benefices, tenths, and ecclesiastical pensions which were confiscated by Henry VIII. (as written by me heretofore to your Lordship) has passed,‡ and under this Act, on the death of the Prior my Lord St. John, her Majesty caused

* See Inquisitions post mortem (Chancery) 1 Eliz., part 3, No. 144. Inquisition taken at Northampton Castle, 24th July, 1 Eliz., after the death of Sir Thomas Tresham, Knight, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England. That record states that he died at Rushton in co. Northampton on the 8th March preceding, and that Thomas Tresham was his grandson and heir, aged 15½ years. An account of the Tresham Family was written by Mr. J. A. Gotch in 1883.

† In the year 1559 Easter Day fell on the 26th March.

‡ In the original transcript, the words are:—"Passò l'articolo di far restituire gli beneficj, decime, et pensioni ecclesiastiche alla Regina, che altre volte furno confiscate dal Re Henrico Ottavo (come gia ne scrissi a vostra Signoria), et per questo, morto 'l Priore mio Signore di San Giovanni, sua Maestà ha fatto pigliar il possesso della Casa del Priorato."

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possession to be taken of the house of the Priory, and an inventory made of all the property, notwithstanding that by the constitution the Turcopolier succeeds to the Priory. He (the Turcopolier) has done and is doing (as is his duty) all he can to maintain this Order, but has hitherto effected nothing, and still less does he hope to do should the Bill pass making the Queen Supreme Head of the Church. These cursed heretics, who till now have been in Germany, sow such bad seed that, owing to their sermons hitherto in London alone, there are some 10 sects of heretics utterly opposed one to the other; so this kingdom must come to ruin.

Nevertheless all over London they still persevere in saying the masses and Divine service as formerly, except in the Chapel Royal, as written by me.

Now that I have lost my master, and that things go in this way, I pray your Lordship to give me your advice about what I should determine to do, having already written to your Lordship that if I thought that our Lords* might choose to aid what little life remains to me with a small pension, I would not fail to persevere in what I have commenced, being their servant by nature and by obligation. I also think of going after Easter to see your Lordship at Brussels, having many things to communicate before my return to Mantua, but I wish to have the means with this opportunity of bringing you a hackney, together with those belonging to Monsignor Paioli and Signor Gio. Francesco Stella, which are very handsome and good, to judge from the trials made of them.

London, 14th March 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

P.S.—Nothing more is heard about the marriage. They are awaiting the result of this peace, and perhaps because they expect to be excluded, they have sent Sir John Masone to the Conference at Cambrai, and many people wish that he may reside as councillor (*di consiglio*) at the Court [of King Philip]. You will find him to be of a very gentle disposition, and very affable.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

41. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday morning news came from Cambresis that on Saturday the 11th, the French and Spanish Commissioners quitted each other in absolute discord, King Philip's representatives seeming very angry, so that, proceeding to their own lodging, notwithstanding the urgent entreaty of the Duchess of Lorraine that they would return, and hear what else the French had to say to them, they never came back; and *the Bishop of Arras* wrote a letter to one of the chief personages of this Court, which I have seen, telling him that the French behaved so disrespectfully that he should have thought it expedient to dissolve the Conference, and do nothing further. But on Sunday the Conference was resumed, the affairs took another road, and they at length settled together the very troublesome difficulty about Calais, the

* Guglielmo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, his mother Margherita Paleologa, Duchess of Mantua, and Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, his uncle and guardian in his infancy, when he succeeded his brother Francesco, 21 February, 1550, at the age of 12 years.

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English being content to accept the conditions proposed by the French, which are, to restore the place within the term of eight years, and in the meanwhile to give security for 500,000 crowns; and also, in exchange for Guisnes, which was taken from the English and razed (to dismantle a certain fortress in Scotland near England).

In a letter dated yesterday *the Duke of Alva* writes to a most honourable personage here that the affair of Calais having been adjusted the day before, the Commissioners were for a good six hours together on the 13th, and that they had examined and concluded the other matters in dispute, so that now it only remained to draw up the treaty and conclude a peace most honourable for his Catholic Majesty, there being restored not only to him, but to all the allies, all that had been recently conquered from them. *The Duke of Savoy* has informed my secretary that the agreement concerning Calais is reserved for the approval of the two Kings, and that besides the security of 500,000 crowns, the French will give hostages to the English, to be changed every six months, or from year to year, and it was hoped, this night, to have the conclusion of the whole.

I hear through King Philip's confessor [*Bernardo de Fresneda*] *that his Catholic Majesty is dissatisfied with the English, because their Commissioners negotiated separately from his Commissioners, and made a secret agreement with the French, and that the affair has been seen through* (ben veduta) *and understood.*

The Duke of Lorraine with his wife and the other ladies left Cambresis yesterday.

Advices of the 7th instant from England purport that the Lower House and the Upper House (*la Casa Bassa et la Alta*) had debated together for three consecutive days about the religion, without ever coming to any agreement (*senza mai accordare*); so five days passed without speaking further about this business, and in the meanwhile they discussed other matters; but it was reported that the Queen would attend Parliament in order to persuade them to comply with her wishes. *The Bishop dell' Aquila* [*Alvarez de Quadra*] *said on his return that he greatly fears that the Queen will alienate herself entirely from the Catholic Church, if she has not already decided to do so.*

Brussels, 14th March 1559.

[*Italian*; *the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

42. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

As written by me on the 11th,* the Marquis d'Elbœuf arrived, after the Grand Prior, his brother, with confirmation of all the articles of the peace having been agreed to, with the exception of peace in Italy. On the same authority the agreement about Calais was better assured, thus: that at the end of eight years his

* The despatch does not exist in the Venetian Archives.

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most Christian Majesty binds himself either to restore it, or else the English are to levy for compensation (*overo che per ricompenso gli Inglesi potessero levar*) the sum of 500,000 crowns, for which his Majesty binds himself to give security and pledge in Venice, or to send equivalent hostages (*tanti ostaggi*) to England.

Then yesterday, through many trustworthy channels, including the Prince of Ferrara, and the Cardinal de Sens, who as Grand Chancellor has a seat in the "Council of Affairs," I heard that the affairs of Italy have also been adjusted (*accordate*) to the satisfaction of the two republics of Genoa and Sienna, his most Christian Majesty having been content by the restitution of Corsica to gratify the Genoese, merely keeping for himself the town of Bonifacio and being repaid a certain sum on account of fortifications and other expenses incurred; while his Catholic Majesty has gratified the Siennese, by promising to have Sienna restored to them, so that by uniting it with the other members, their republic may recover its ancient pristine liberty.

The Queen [Catherine de' Medici] also says that King Philip wishes the marriage of the Princess Isabella, the most Christian King's eldest daughter, to be alternative, at his option, either with himself, or with his son Don Carlos; his Catholic Majesty taking the period of one month to determine; it being his intention in the meanwhile to see her himself, which he is expected to do at the time of the interview between these two kings, an event now asserted more positively than ever; so that, as, in addition to the above, Madame Marguerite has already sent hence to Cateau Cambresis her governor Monsr. de l'Hospital to sign her marriage contract with the Duke of Savoy, no one entertains any doubt of the peace being absolutely effected and concluded, as it is considered to be universally by every one, no less so than if its proclamation had been made; a ceremony which is supposed to be delayed until the Constable comes, he being expected from day to day, with the treaty signed and undersigned by all the Commissioners, and his object perhaps is to have the honour of proclaiming this peace.

Ferté Milon, 16th March 1559.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

43. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Although this treaty of peace is practically concluded, the stipulation is not accomplished (*fornita*), and *the Duke of Alva* writes that certain things, styled by him "minutiæ," yet remain for settlement. Don Ruy Gomez came yesterday to inform his Majesty of what had taken place, which may be considered as a manifest sign that the most important matters are agreed upon. About the conditions I will state what has been related to me, and principally *by the Duke of Savoy*. Both Kings are to give up all the fortresses conquered during the late wars, but only after removal of their artillery and ammunition; and, in order that both sides may remain sure of the restitution, hostages are also to be given for the observance of this contract.

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The fortresses to be restored by France are—in the duchy of Milan Valenza, and in these countries Marienburg, Thionville, Bouillon, Monmédy, Damvilliers, Ivois, and other places; by the King Catholic—Hammes, St. Quentin, and Châtelet. The Prince of Spain [Don Carlos] is expected to take for wife the eldest daughter of the most Christian King, but I do not hear that the conditions have yet been stipulated.

Calais remains in the hands of the French, who promise to restore it within the term of eight years; and until they assign satisfactory merchants' security in these provinces, they will give hostages, who are to remain at this Court, but not to be sent to England, lest they might become infected with evil opinions in the matter of religion. The French are also to dismantle certain fortresses in Scotland on the frontiers of England. The claims of the English to have from the French two millions of gold for arrears of the pensions and for the restitution of Boulogne [made to the French in 1550], are to be decided according to law. Many persons assert that King Philip has always had authority from the Queen of England to adjust her disputes in the best way he could, but that his Majesty, seeing the French so very desirous of peace, pretended to be very difficult to deal with in this matter, in order to obtain the greatest possible advantage, not only for the benefit of the English, but for his own, considering the convenience which the French have, by their possession of Calais, to attack Flanders at any time they please; wherefore he would not yet have so easily ceded Calais, hoping that the French would have been finally compelled to give way, if the English had not already yielded, and come to terms.

To the Duke of Savoy the French restore Savoy and Piedmont, retaining however, four or five fortresses, about which no agreement has been made; and the Duke is doing his utmost to have the number limited to four.

The fortresses which the French intend to keep are Turin, Chiavasso, Pinerolo, Chieri, Villa Nova d'Asti. The other fortresses will be restored within the term of three weeks, either as they stand or dismantled, at the option of the French.

The Duke will take for wife the most Christian King's sister Madame Marguerite, with a dower of 300,000 crowns, besides a life rent of 50,000 francs bequeathed by her father, secured on the duchy of Berri, and a pension of the same amount received from her brother.

Montferrat and Corsica are to be restored unconditionally; the one to the Duke of Mantua, the other to the Genoese, who promise to pardon their rebels and to give them back their property; but the fortresses on that island now in the hands of the French will be dismantled.

The places in Tuscany held by the French are to be consigned to King Philip that he may dispose of them at his pleasure. *The Ambassador from Florence tells me that his Duke will have them, but not in the way hitherto believed; and when I said what a great pecuniary acquisition the Duke had made in thus obtaining*

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a state so important that I considered it cheap at 100,000 *crowns; he replied, that it would satisfy him were it to cost* 150,000 *or even* 200,000 *crowns, and that provided the Duke get the places all will be well;* and that he thought he had deserved very well of him. *This Ambassador intends above all things to obtain from the King for his Duke,* by some sort of agreement, Orbetello and Port' Hercule, which are now held by his Majesty, so that he would thus become master of all Tuscany with the exception of what little belongs to Lucca.

King Philip has ordered his Commissioners to do their utmost to agree with the French to devise some remedy for the many discordant opinions about religion, reminding King Henry's Commissioners that they must desire it as much as any one else by reason of the great number of heretics in their kingdom. The Duke of Savoy told me he was advised from France that in certain caverns near Paris upwards of 2,000 persons were almost permanently assembled for preachings and other rites, practised by them according to their opinions and at variance with those of the Catholic Church.

It is generally reported at this Court that the two kings will confer together in the duchy of Lorraine, but the Duke of Savoy told me that as yet he knows nothing whatever about this.

The Duke of Savoy believes the final conclusion of the peace will soon arrive, and promised me that I should be the first to know it.

Brussels, 18th March 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

44. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Bishop of Aquila [Alvarez de Quadra], who came from England, whither it is said he will return, is gone to Cambresis. He has been very reserved in conversation, so that not even his most intimate friends have the slightest idea of what he negotiated; but many persons from rumour rather than from knowledge say *that his negotiation related to the marriage of the Queen of England to King Philip, and that he went to Cambresis to communicate to his Catholic Majesty's councillors now staying there the result of his mission; and that although he expressed fears of the Queen's alienating herself entirely from the Catholic religion, he did so to avert any suspicion of what he negotiated; but in other places he has bestowed on her as much praise for talent and ability as was ever given to any other woman. The Duke of Savoy, talking to me about this Queen, told me that he considers it certain that neither in religion nor in matrimony will she ever show herself a whit Catholic* (che nella religione et nel matrimonio la non si debba punto dimostrar catholica).

Brussels, 19th March 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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March 21.
Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

45. Il Schifanoya to Ottaviano Vivaldino, Mantuan Ambassador with King Philip at Brussels.

Parliament, which ought to have ended last Saturday, was prolonged till next Wednesday in Passion Week, and according to report they will return a week after Easter*; which report I believe, because of the three principal articles the first alone passed, viz., to give the supremacy of the Anglican Church to the Queen (nor have they yet spoken of the marriage), notwithstanding the opposition of the bishops, and of the chief barons and lords of this kingdom; but the Earls of Arundel and Derby†, who are very good Christians, absented themselves from indisposition, feigned as some think, to avoid consulting about such ruin of this realm.

The Earl of Pembroke‡, the Earl of Shrewsbury [Talbot], Viscount Montague, and Lord Hastings did not fail in their duty like true soldiers of Christ to resist the Commons, whom they compelled to modify a book passed by the Commons forbidding the Mass to be said or the Communion to be administered (*nè se communicassero*) except at the table in the manner of Edward VI.; nor were the Divine offices to be performed in Church; priests likewise being allowed to marry, and the Christian religion and the sacraments being absolutely abolished; adding thereto many extraordinary penalties against delinquents. By a majority of votes they have decided that the aforesaid things shall be expunged from the book, and that the masses, sacraments, and the rest of the Divine offices shall be performed as hitherto; but some persons say that this decision cannot last long, the Catholics insisting at any rate on retaining the mass, the offices, and the rest of the sacraments, and the Protestants (*gli Protestanti*) insisting on the contrary. Although the latter increase in number (*avanzino in numero*) they are not so powerful as the Catholics, who comprise all the chief personages of the kingdom, with very great command in their estates (*paesi*), having also many followers; and the greater part of the common people out of London, in several provinces, are much attached to the Roman Catholic religion. The members of the Lower House, seeing that the Lords passed this article of the Queen's supremacy of the Church, but not as the Commons drew it up,—the Lords cancelling the aforesaid clauses and modifying some others,—grew angry, and would consent to nothing, but are in very great controversy, as they must of necessity ratify what the Lords have done in the Upper House. From this discord still greater good is anticipated, and most especially the removal of the penalty of losing property belonging to the Crown, and benefices and bishoprics in the case of prelates, by any person refusing the oath for the first time, and for the second time, private property and life. (*Onde con questa discordia si spera ancor maggior bene, et maxime di levar la pena di perdere i beni pertinenti alla Corona, et i beneficii et vescovati alli prelati, a chiunque negan' il giuramento per la prima volta, et per la seconda*

* Easter Day = March 26, 1559.
† Edward Stanley, 13th Earl of Derby.
‡ William Herbert, 20th Earl of Pembroke.

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i beni particolari et la vita.) Nevertheless, they have hitherto severely punished the bishops, depriving them of many estates and possessions of their sees, granted heretofore to several laymen by Henry VIII. and confirmed by Edward VI. Queen Mary restored almost everything to the bishops, and rejected the claims of the laymen, who have now come before Parliament with their patents, which are confirmed. The bishops will thus be reduced to poverty; and they are also attacked by the modern preachers, one of whom, who is their scribe, and a member of Parliament, threatened that if things do not pass according to their will, he and his brethren, who call themselves ministers of Christ, will return to Geneva; and hitherto there may be about 300 who have come back. Your Lordship can imagine what injury it would be to this poor kingdom were these worthies (*galant' huomini*) to return [to Geneva]. I pray God to inspire them with this resolve, that there may befall them what happened lately to some 60 of their comrades who were returning in like manner to assist in cultivating the field of the Lord (*il campo Dominico*) (as they say), and went to fish in the realms of Neptune, who, having need of their doctrine there, desired Æolus to command the winds to sink them when crossing the Channel, as they did, together with three other Flemish vessels laden with merchandise. If these should perish in like manner, as I hope to God they will, Neptune would be a great gainer, for they are clever, loquacious, and fervent, both in preaching, and in composing and printing squibs and lampoons, or ballads (*barzellette, et strambotti, over ballate*), as they entitle them, which are sold publicly, of so horrible and abominable a description that I wonder their authors do not perish by the act of God. I thought of sending you a copy, but repented, not wishing to sow evil seed in your country.

The son of the Lord Chamberlain* returned, bringing King Philip's confirmation of the peace, his Catholic Majesty having perhaps chosen to know this Queen's will on the subject before publishing it. May God grant it be true for the benefit of poor afflicted Christendom.

Whilst writing I hear the beat of drum through London, and I am told they are recruiting actively, but for what part is not known.

The day before yesterday an Ambassador arrived from Scotland, and he has had audience. It is said they wish for peace, and that he came to congratulate her Majesty.

London, 21st March 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Italian.*]

March 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

46. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The difficulties that arose in drawing up the treaty of peace and its consequent proclamation, still detain the Constable, for from the first day when they commenced transcribing the things agreed to, after signing and ratifying (*fermato*) the agreement with

* William, Lord Howard of Effingham, was Lord Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth from 20th November 1558 (see Foreign Calendar under that date) till July 13th, 1572.

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England about the affairs of Calais, which passed without contradiction, the Spanish Commissioners kept everything in suspense by refusing to comprise New Hesdin amongst the fortresses to be restored in Picardy, and they insist on Bouillon being included in the Luxemburg fortresses; but what matters more are the affairs of Piedmont, where as France retains Turin, Chieri, Pinerolo, and Ivrea, Spain demands (as security for the Milanese) Vercelli, Asti, Cunne [Coni], and Fossano.

All these difficulties have been raised by the Bishop of Arras to the indignation of the French, the Spanish Commissioners having referred the matter to him as a wearer of the "long robe" (*persona di roba lunga*) and a LL.D. versed and experienced in other treaties of peace, as if this were his especial office; and although as yet the decision is unknown, Don Ruy Gomez having left the Conference on the 16th, on his way to King Philip, the general belief is that these things will only delay, and not prevent the peace.

The day before yesterday, his most Christian Majesty's daughter [Claude] Madame de Lorraine arrived from the Conference, having been presented by her mother-in-law, the Duchess, with a most beautiful jewelled necklace, which is estimated to be worth 25,000 crowns, and which was given many years ago by the Emperor Charles the Fifth to the aforesaid Duchess, when she married the Duke of Milan.* His Catholic Majesty likewise gave her a most beautiful jewel, valued at from 5,000 to 6,000 crowns; and both the Duchess and King Philip gave valuable presents to Madame de Guise,† who went in her company; the said Duchess having likewise given presents to all the ladies who accompanied her daughter-in-law, and there was not one of them, however low their grade, and slight their importance, but carried back some present of the value of 100 crowns at least.

Ferté Milon, 21st March 1559.

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

47. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Ruy Gomez went back to Cambresis, and during this holy week King Philip, the Duke of Savoy, and almost all the other chief personages of the Court went into retreat outside the town. Two circumstances have been communicated to me: the one, that the French insist strongly on the Genoese restoring the property and castles taken from the Fieschi; the other, that the most Christian King had given King Philip to understand that if he thought his son Don Carlos too young to marry, his most Christian Majesty was content to give his daughter for wife to his Catholic Majesty himself; so that it remained for him to elect whether he would take her himself or leave her to his son.

* Christine, daughter of Christian, King of Denmark and Sweden, and niece of the Emperor Charles the Fifth (her mother having been Isabel, grand-daughter of the Emperor Frederick) took for her first husband, in the year 1534, Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan; and in 1541 (July 10) she married François I., Duke of Lorraine.

† Anna d'Este, daughter of Hercules II. Duke of Ferrara.

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The ambassador from Florence subsequently produced a letter which he said he had received from Cambresis to the effect that about the affairs of Tuscany the Commissioners had agreed that all the places held by the French were to be given to King Philip, on condition that the Siennese emigrants be pardoned, and their property restored to them; so everybody was so confirmed in the hope of peace that no one any longer doubted it. To-day however shortly after midday *a Neapolitan gentleman* arrived, having left Cambresis last night, with news that yesterday the Commissioners disagreed so much about the affairs of Piedmont that they all resolved to depart, and that he saw the Marshal de St. André leave Cambresis, as also the disfurnishing of the lodgings there of the Duke of Alva and of Don Ruy Gomez, and the very hasty packing of all their moveables; and he also found the Duke of Alva's harbinger on the road for the purpose of taking lodgings for this night.

The regret caused by this intelligence was increased by its suddenness, but towards evening a courier arrived, having left this morning with later and better advices, that the Commissioners had re-assembled, and it was considered certain that they would stipulate the agreement; so the first satisfaction and hope of peace have revived.

Brussels, 24th March 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 25. Copy. Venetian Archives.

48. Extract from a Letter from Cambresis (enclosed in Tiepolo's Letter of 28th March).

On Thursday night we had all come to a rupture about the affairs of Piedmont, and the French vapoured (*bravorono*), so that they were to depart yesterday at any rate, but when they saw us remain firm, they controlled their anger, and were content to remain that day also. They went to the lodging of the Duchess of Lorraine, saying that if we would again attend the Conference, the business might be again discussed, which we showed ourselves ready to do; and from that debate proposals arose, about which the Cardinal of Lorraine on their part, and the Count de Melito [Don Ruy Gomez] on ours, went to the Kings to know their view, and as they are to return next Monday with the reply, we hope shortly to have the decision, good or bad as it may be. God grant that it may be such as shall be most in accordance with the universal benefit of Christendom. If your Lordship wishes to make a visit (*di far una volta*) either to Bruges, Antwerp, or Ghent, you can well do so, as for my own part I do not see how any decision can be formed until Wednesday or Thursday, unless the French have recourse to some extraordinary mode of negotiating.

Cambresis, 25th March 1559. [*Unsigned.*]

[*Italian.*]

March 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

49. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

I have heard this morning that the dispute between the Commismissioners arose because the French did not choose King Philip to

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keep his troops in the Montferrat territory and in Cuni [Coni]; all this being done with a view to compel the Duke of Savoy at any rate to side with France.

Yesterday from the Abbey [of Gruniendal] his Catholic Majesty despatched a courier to Cambresis on this subject, but I know not with what orders, though here they hope for peace as much as ever they did.

The Governor of Paliano* has sent to the King to let him know that having entered that fortress on condition of keeping it in the name of the Pope and of his Majesty, as the Pope will not pay his share of the cost, on King Philip's giving orders for the payment of the soldiers, he will hold the place for him alone.

The Emperor's Ambassador who went to England has returned.

Brussels, 25th March 1559.

[*Italian.*]

March 26. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

50. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The resolution brought by Don Ruy Gomez about the difficulties moved at the conclusion of the peace, was, that his Catholic Majesty would by no means restore the fortresses he holds belonging to the Duke of Savoy, choosing to retain them as his security against those which the King of France thought fit to keep for himself, nor did he care that the peace should take place otherwise. This was on Holy Thursday, the 23rd, and when the Constable and the other French Commissioners heard the reply, it seemed very strange to them; and after using very high words they caused their lodgings to be dismantled, and had their effects packed, intending to break up the Conference and depart, and they had already sent to prepare new quarters, whilst they themselves put on their boots. By another courier, however, it was heard shortly afterwards, that on the morrow (Good Friday) the Duchess of Lorraine (who, with the utmost zeal, ardour, and charity, regardless of personal fatigue, went several times, first to one and then to another of the Commissioners) at length obtained their consent to assemble once again before their departure. At this last conference of seven consecutive hours, they came to the following resolution, namely, that with regard to the fortresses of the Duke of Savoy, King Philip might keep, as at present, a garrison in Vercelli and Asti, but that he must restore the other unconditionally (*liberamente*). And respecting friends and vassals on either side, as King Philip now further demands the town of Orange, the two Kings are to put their respective claims into writing, so that when once terms in writing have been agreed to, nothing further may arise, as the French Commissioners think that thus far they have been deceived, because whenever they granted a proposal of any sort made by the Spanish Commissioners, and inferred they

* See before, Venetian Calendar, Vol. VI., note to a despatch from Rome, dated 30th August 1557, showing that he was the nephew of Paul IV., and his name Giovanni Bernardino Carbon. On the 18th September 1557, the Pope and the Duke of Alva appointed him *trustee* or warder of Paliano till the 14th March 1558, when he was to consign it to King Philip's nominees, provided compensation had been made for it to Giovanni Caraffa, to whom his uncle had given it.

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were to concede no further, the Spanish Commissioners directly came forward with some other proposal, *ad infinitum;* therefore, to postpone the conclusion no longer, it was agreed that, with regard to the remaining difficulties, the Cardinal of Lorraine and Don Ruy Gomez were to go immediately, each to their own King, for the final decision. Yesterday accordingly at 1 p.m., when least expected, the Cardinal of Lorraine arrived postwise, having left Cateau Cambresis on that morning, performing the journey with great speed; and he reported how on that same day Don Ruy Gomez had departed; both to return to Cateau Cambresis on Monday next, the 27th. By the coming therefore of his Right Reverend Lordship, who, since his arrival, during the whole of yesterday, and to-day, has been in consultation with the King and M. de Guise, and will depart to-morrow at daybreak, all that hope of the conclusion, which the day before had become not only tepid but greatly cooled, is now again heating, and everybody considers it certain that three or four days after his return the final conclusion will be ratified without any longer perpetuating this suspense, which, as it has troubled those who were far away, has still more agitated and continues to disquiet persons on the spot.

Ferté Milon, 26th March 1559.

[*Italian.*]

March 28. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

51. Il Schifanoya to Ottaviano Vivaldino, Mantuan Ambassador with King Philip at Brussels.

I have not received any reply to my many letters, but will continue to do my duty.

Parliament was not only prolonged till last Wednesday, but has been sitting ever since, these "Fathers" being unable to agree, as although they had passed the article about the supremacy of the Church, they did so under such restrictions (*sotto tali capitulationi*) that the Commons would by no means consent to it. They are therefore in greater discord than ever, and on Thursday after the Easter holidays* they will sit again and reconsider the matter, which is committed to four good and Catholic bishops, and to four of their Protestants; "*mi voglio non vi sia giudice competente.*"

During this interval they had ordered and printed a proclamation for every one to take the Communion in both kinds (*sub utrâque specie*). Some other reforms of theirs had also been ordered for publication, but subsequently nothing else was done, except that on Easter Day her Majesty appeared in Chapel, where mass was sung in English, according to the use of her brother, King Edward, and the Communion was received in both kinds (*sub utrâque specie*), kneeling, "*facendoli il sacerdote la credenza del corpo et sangue prima,*" nor did he wear anything but the mere surplice (*la semplice cotta*), having divested himself of the vestments (*li paramenti*) in which he had sung mass; and thus her Majesty was followed by many Lords, both of the Council and others. Since that day things have returned to their former state, though unless the Almighty stretch forth His

* Easter Day fell on 26th March in the year 1559.

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arm a relapse is expected. These accursed preachers, who have come from Germany, do not fail to preach in their own fashion, both in public and in private, in such wise that they persuaded certain rogues to forcibly enter the church of St. Mary-le-Bow (*de Arcubus*), in the middle of Cheapside, and force the shrine of the most Holy Sacrament, breaking the tabernacle, and throwing the most precious consecrated body of Jesus Christ to the ground. They also destroyed the altar and the images, with the pall (*palio*) and church linen (*tovalie*), breaking everything into a thousand pieces. This happened this [very] night, which is the third after Easter.

I do not believe the report that the Queen, seeing the opposition to her title "Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," has determined no longer to accept it.

Many persons have taken the Communion in the usual manner, and things continue as usual in the churches.

London, 28th March 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Italian.*]

March 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

52. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Since my last of the 25th I have heard that the dispute between the Commissioners at Cambresis was so great as to render it necessary to hear the decision of the two Kings: so the Cardinal of Lorraine went to France, and Don Ruy Gomez came to King Philip, by whose order he returned yesterday evening to Cambresis, where he will have arrived to-day before noon. They are awaiting with great anxiety the result of this day's negotiation, the uncertainty of which I wish your Serenity will understand by the accompanying copy of a letter addressed by one of King Philip's Commissioners at the Conference to a friend of his. It shows that the difficulty consists in the affairs of Piedmont, as the intention of the French was that King Philip should withdraw all his troops into the duchy of Milan, and leave Piedmont and Montferrat quite free, so that the Duke of Savoy would remain completely in their hands. By this means the French, instead of losing by this peace, would gain all that King Philip would release to the Duke of Savoy, who, by reason of the fortresses held by them, must depend completely on the French. The principal places held by King Philip are Coni, Fossano, Asti, and Vercelli, and in Montferrat, Trino, Crescentino, San Martino, Pontestura, and San Salvatore; but I have heard from several chief personages *that if nothing else can be done, King Philip will be content to keep Asti and Vercelli alone, although the French will have four fortresses, namely, Turin, Pignerolo, Chieri, and Chivasso.*

I understand that as the Cardinal of Lorraine had shown himself averse to the peace in various ways, the Constable did his utmost to prevent him from going to the most Christian King on this occasion, and wished to send someone else, but the Cardinal chose to go. The King is still absent from Brussels, as also is the Duke of Savoy, in the monasteries (*ne' monasteri*). His Majesty said he would not

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depart thence until he knew the result of this day's negotiations at Cambresis.

Brussels, 28th March 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

53. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

This morning a courier from Cambresis brought news that the peace had been concluded there yesterday between 6 and 7 p.m.; to-day, rather later, this was confirmed by Don Juan de Agivara [Yvara], who went straight to the King. Don Juan said that everything was settled, and that it only remained to copy the treaty and sign it. At Cambresis great rejoicings were made by both sides, and here the satisfaction felt is as great as possible. The affairs of Piedmont were adjusted thus: the French keep five fortresses, and King Philip two.

Brussels, 29th March 1559.

[*Italian.*]

March 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

54. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

This morning, at daybreak, his most Christian Majesty, by two couriers, who came one after the other, received the very much wished for news of the conclusion of the peace, which by the grace of God was agreed to yesterday at 4 p.m. cn the following terms: the reciprocal restitution of these parts of Ivoy, viz., Damvilliers, Montmedi, Marienbourg, and Thionville, in exchange (*all' incontro*) for Hédin, Terouenne, St. Quentin, Ham, and Le Câtelet; the marriage of Madame Isabella, at King Philip's option, either with himself or with his son; that of Madame Marguerite with the Duke of Savoy; his most Christian Majesty retaining four fortresses, which he himself is to name; and King Philip keeping Asti and Vercelli; both availing themselves merely of the garrisons and not of the revenues, the courts of judicature, or the government.

The Republic of Sienna is to be restored to its liberty as before the war, and France gives Corsica to the Genoese, without retaining any fortress, or receiving any sum of money.

Ferté Milon, 29th March 1559.

[*Italian.*]

April 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

55. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Peace is supposed to be concluded, but certain things remain for settlement, as I will tell hereafter.

When on the 28th the dispute about the affairs of Piedmont, which had caused so much trouble that it was considered certain that the negotiation for peace would be broken off, was arranged, on the Commissioners going forth, the Cardinal of Lorraine said aloud that thanks were due to God for the conclusion of the peace, and he embraced and kissed his nieces, the sisters of the Duke of Lorraine,

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who were at Cambresis with their mother; after which the Cardinal and all the other Commissioners went to church to return thanks to God, having the "Te Deum" sung. In the evening bonfires were kindled all over the town, and on the morrow there were many companies of maskers as a mark of rejoicing.

On the morning of the 29th the courier arrived at Brussels with news of the conclusion of the peace, which was confirmed in the evening by the arrival of Don Juan de Yvara, who went straight to the King at the Abbey [of Gruniendal], where bonfires were made in like manner. Something, however, remains for adjustment, *and I hear amongst other things that the French want to rebuild Terouenne and Nol [Nesle ?], to which should King Philip consent, they say that they on their part will restore a fortress on these frontiers which was razed. There is also a difficulty about an abbey, and I am told that the affairs of Tuscany and Montferrat are not well settled. I have been unable to learn what the difficulties about Tuscany are, but concerning Montferrat the French would fain dismantle Casale, and insist that no fortress in that Marquisate should be held by King Philip, who on the other hand wishes to retain at least two of them.*

Besides this, the affair of the hostages for the restitution of the fortresses by either side is not well settled, for although they have agreed that one side only is to give hostages, and that the party giving them is to be the last to make restitution because the other has the pledge and security, they have not yet determined which party is to be the first to make restitution.

With regard to matters concluded, I hear on the best authority that the two Kings will give back the fortresses and places taken by them in the last wars.

The marriage of the most Christian King's eldest daughter is referred to the election of King Philip, who will either take her for himself, or give her to his son; but he has not yet quite determined, and some persons think that he will take her, and that to his son will be given another daughter of the King of France.

Calais will remain in the hands of the French on the terms already mentioned.

Savoy and Piedmont will be restored to the Duke, France keeping the five fortresses already named, and King Philip the two, *although the Duke of Savoy tells me that of the two to be held by the King Catholic, he (the Duke) will always dispose at his option.* He is to take for wife Madame Marguerite, *and from what he says* the marriage will take place immediately on the conclusion of the peace, for which purpose he will go to France, having already sent to Rome for the dispensation.

Corsica will be given unconditionally to the Genoese, who will accept a French Ambassador (*che accettaranno Ambr. Francese*), and will leave their ports free both for the French fleets and for those of King Philip. There was some difficulty about the return of the Fieschi, and I do not know how it has been settled.

The places of Tuscany will be given to King Philip, but in this matter also there seems to be some impediment; *and when the news of the conclusion of the peace arrived, the ambassador from Florence*

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said to my Secretary that he thanked God for being relieved from great anxiety, and that his Duke would be the greatest Prince that Italy has had since the time of the Romans.

Things being brought to this condition, they begin to think of departure for Spain, and the Duke of Francavilla, one of his Majesty's councillors, has already asked and obtained leave to go through France. It is also said that Don Ruy Gomez, son-in-law of that Duke, will soon depart, and that he will be the person to go to the most Christian King to receive his oath to the treaty, and then proceed on his journey; the Constable or the Cardinal of Lorraine coming hither to do the like by King Philip, who is expected to remain in these parts some months longer, but will go to Spain in September at the furthest, and almost everybody says by sea, though some are of opinion that he may go through Italy, and embarking at Genoa cross with the fleet, *though the road through Germany might be dangerous, as he would have to pass through the territories of hostile Princes.*

I have seen an autograph letter *from one of King Philip's Commissioners at the Conference, dated yesterday evening*, containing the following words: "I thank God that during these last two days things have passed so prosperously, for we have agreed with the French to all the articles, and no further alterations will be made concerning Terouenne and Ivoy. Nothing remains but to draw up the articles and sign them, which will, I hope, be done to-morrow or next day, provided the French, as usual with them, do not raise difficulties with fresh demands to improve their terms; so I will not assure you of anything until I see the articles signed."

Brussels, 2nd April 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

56. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

I have seen a letter *from M. de Sciampoli* (sic), *the brother of the Bishop of Arras*, dated Cambresis, 2nd April, of the following tenour.

"This morning the Commissioners assembled, and everything was concluded, and the most Christian King's daughter, who was to have married Don Carlos, will be taken by [his father] the King Catholic. To-morrow we shall sign the treaty, and go together to mass; then dine with the Duchess of Lorraine, have the treaty proclaimed, and depart."

Brussels, 3rd April 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 9. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

57. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

It has seemed here, and may appear in the same light elsewhere, a bold step that this King should take for wife his most Christian Majesty's eldest daughter, who had been first offered to his son, most

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especially as King Philip's negotiation is still pending with the Queen of England, where the Count de Feria has not failed to perform every sort of office, spending money profusely and making presents. But the King Catholic, perceiving on the one hand how ill he could succeed with Queen Elizabeth, especially as she was alienating herself from the Catholic Church, anticipating also the many difficulties, disturbances, and dangers he would have incurred by continuing his project to dispose of that kingdom at his pleasure, and hoping on the other hand through this [French] marriage to establish more effectually peace and concord with the most Christian King, easily allowed himself to be brought over to this opinion, which will doubtless have extremely pleased the French, who wished above all things to make sure of King Philip's not marrying the Queen of England, to which kingdom they believe themselves to have a just claim.

His most Christian Majesty leaves it at King Philip's option to solemnise the marriage either here or in Spain, and about this no determination has been come to hitherto, though many persons are of opinion it will be solemnised in Spain, as the King Catholic would never be counselled to pass through France, and it would be inconvenient to take women by sea. They talk less of what was said heretofore, but nevertheless his Majesty cannot depart hence so speedily, as he must at least remain for four or five months to see further about the restitution of the fortresses and places on the one side and the other, as also to provide for much that is required in these provinces. It is said by some that to the Prince of Spain [Don Carlos] they will give the French King's third daughter, who was promised to the son of the King of Navarre, but some other chief personages say that one of the chief reasons which moved King Philip to take for himself the daughter of the most Christian King was, that his realms might be inherited by lineal descendants both on the father's and mother's side of the House of Aragon and Castille; so his son [Don Carlos] will be married to a daughter of the Emperor.

The Duke of Savoy is in high spirits, as he in reason ought to be, on resuming possession of his territories after 23 years expulsion thence, *but he is evidently tied and bound* (legato), *and more in the hands of the French than in those of King Philip; and when I congratulated his attendants on this result, they could not dissemble their regret, saying that the gladness remained incomplete because so many fortresses were withheld; and all able politicians believe that he will be compelled to follow the will of the French* (seguir più le voglie de' Francesi) *rather than that of this King, to whom alone he has cause to acknowledge the benefit of having been reinstated.*

It is not well known how the affairs of Tuscany are to be settled. This Court is, however, extremely dissatisfied with the Duke of Florence, and most especially with its chief personages; and the Duke of Parma, when speaking to me on this subject, said that his Majesty's councillors are so dissatisfied at the disposal of Sienna, that whenever it is talked about they all seek to exculpate themselves, saying that they were either absent at the time or never gave their assent. The Duke of Parma also told me that the Duke of Florence

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had complained of him, but that he was compelled in self defence simply to narrate the causes why the war of Ferrara had not succeeded, he (the Duke of Parma) having given hopes to his Majesty, which were frustrated because the Duke of Florence failed to do what he was bound to do. The Duke of Parma added that although implicit belief cannot be given to all that is said by a great Prince, yet King Philip's proceedings vouch the fact that he never took any pains to marry Queen Elizabeth, and thus gain so great a kingdom, for it is undeniable that he always treated that affair very coldly, and neglected it in many ways.

Yesterday I visited the Duke of Alva and Don Ruy Gomez, who endeavoured to convince me of his Majesty's good will, and principally the Duke of Alva, who commended the care had by the King in this treaty for his allies, which he said was so great as to make the King utterly disregard his own interests provided his allies were satisfied, as they are; adding that on account of the allies he the Duke had expected the negotiations for the peace to have been broken off at least four times, as no dispute ever arose about his Majesty's affairs. His Excellency then went on to affirm at great length that King Philip was content with his own, and did not desire the possessions of others, and that in like manner as, in case of need, he well knew how to wage war, so did he desire peace above all things, and would endeavour to preserve it in Christendom.

The Council [General] will have to be arranged, King Philip greatly desiring that it may be held for the benefit and security of his states; the King of France being likewise bound to wish for it equally, as here it is considered certain that his most Christian Majesty has been compelled to make this peace more through the troubles caused by the affairs of religion than from any other necessity he had. A gentleman of this Court told me he had it from the lips of the Cardinal of Lorraine that more than two-thirds of France have become Lutherans; and the Duke of Alva, talking with me on this subject, said King Philip knew the condition of France with regard to the religion better than anyone, because, had he chosen to give ear to those who on this account demanded his protection, he might very easily have put France to extreme confusion and ruin; so it is believed that these two Kings will do their utmost to have the Council held.

A reverend Bishop who was at the Council of Trent has told me that the last Act registered in that Council was, that whenever the Christian Princes were at peace the Council was understood to be open; so he said that these Kings without more ado might send their Bishops to the Council, in order to avoid loss of time, and that at any rate he would inform his Majesty of the fact.

The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable are expected here in a fortnight to witness his Majesty's signature, and to elect the four hostages to be taken with them to France; the which hostages will not only witness the most Christian King's signature of the treaty, but will also make the promise to the new bride (*alla nova sposa*) in King Philip's name.

The Marshal de St. André [Jacques d'Albon] has returned to constitute himself a prisoner, although he is allowed to go freely

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about the city; and because he is the prisoner of the King, his Majesty having purchased his ransom and that of the Rhinegrave from Duke Henry of Brunswick, to whom they belonged, for 50,000 crowns, it is affirmed that his Majesty will give him freely the entire ransom, for having been the originator and a good mediator of the treaty of peace.

All the poor French who have fallen into his Majesty's hands, in number many thousands, scattered over these provinces, and placed in the fortresses of the towns, suffering great misery and living in poverty, will now be released, those who were in the towns through which the Duchess of Lorraine passed having been already set at liberty.

By letters from England of the 28th ultimo it is heard that Parliament had adjourned till after Easter. On the day the letter was written certain Catholics were by the Queen's orders to meet others of the contrary party about some articles relating to the changes of the religion; but the result (*la reuscita*) of the proceedings of Parliament would make it appear that the Queen has determined not to adopt either in documents or otherwise the title of "Head of the Church," but to act like the Princes of Germany, who use the power and not the title (*che usano la potestà, et non il titolo*).

Brussels, 9th April 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 11. **58.** Il Schifanoya to the Castellan of Mantua.

Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

I have not sooner answered your letter, having been absent in country, 20 miles hence, at the obsequies of my Lord St. John, who was my master (*padrone*). While in these parts I will not fail to write to you, especially as I see by your letters that their Excellencies show satisfaction with my devotion and good will.

At the demand of the Protestants, before Parliament recommenced, a disputation was appointed between them and the Catholics in public in Westminster Abbey, each side electing eight [delegates], one of the eight alone on either side having to reply. The articles for dispute had been formally settled, the first being "*De Ceremoniis*"; and besides what was alleged by word of mouth, reasons in writing were to be delivered to as many of the Lords of the Council and of the Parliament as were present at the disputation.

The poor Catholics believed that the affair was to proceed loyally, without the deceit and fraud which were finally discovered. By order of the Lords (*per commissione delli Signori*) first of all the Dean of St. Paul's, by name Doctor Cole, spoke on behalf of the Catholics, supposing that his adversary, an arch-heretic, the Doctor Corné (*sic*), would reply to his arguments, against which the latter said not one word to the purpose, but commenced reading with great vehemence a book of the heretics composed long ago, deafening the audience with false doctrines, which to the vulgar seemed pious, and worthy to be put in execution. The first chapter purported

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that the law of God and the service in the churches ought to be performed (*fatto*) in a language understood by all the people, and that the use of any other but the native tongue was contrary to the will and precept of God. This the Catholics denied, and the Protestants having to prove their case continued to read their book for a long while. Then the Lords rose, and all the people [departed], their ears being full of this Protestant book, and a more impious one cannot be either found or even imagined.

For the second meeting, the Catholics, not having had time to compose a book, wrote what little they could by Divine inspiration, and returned to the usual place, where the Bishops, most especially those of Winchester [John Whyte] and Lincoln [Thomas Watson], commenced by reprehending the procedure at the first sitting, and urged that this was not the way to enlighten the people and to extirpate heresy; that still less was it the way to discuss the precepts of God, and to distinguish the false doctrine from the true; that on no account would they submit to such proceedings; that if the Protestants chose to dispute about matters of faith and religion, *servatis servandis*, the Bishops were there for that purpose; and they insisted that at this second conference the Protestants should be the first to speak, as the Catholics had done at the first [sitting]; saying, "Who can doubt that the people, who depart with the last words said in their heads, will always give more credit to what they remember than to what they have forgotten?"

The Protestants not giving ear to this, there was a very stormy debate, in such wise that the two good Bishops, inflamed with ardent zeal for God, said most boldly that they would not consent [to do otherwise], nor ever change their opinion from any fear, expatiating on many matters, which it would be tedious to narrate.

They were answered that this was the will of the Queen,* and that they would be punished for their disobedience. By command therefore of three of the chief members of the Council, viz., the Earl of Bedford, the Marquis of Northampton, and Master [Sir Thomas] Parry, Treasurer [of the Household], the two Bishops were sent prisoners to the Tower, and the rest of the Bishops and the Dean [of St. Paul's], with two other prelates, were ordered not to leave London, and to present themselves every day to the Council, as they now do.

Your Lordship will see what a sad story this is.

The peace was subsequently published here, and immediately after the proclamation a stringent order was promulgated, forbidding in future the performance in the hostels and taverns of certain plays and games on holidays, which used to be held in abuse and derision of the Catholic religion, of the mass, of the Saints, and finally of God; so that some persons say things will yet return to their former state, if not from love at least by force, owing to this blessed peace and close alliance between the two principal and most powerful Kings in the world. The populace believe that this peace, together with the marriage made, will ruin them; and the heretics tremble to hear that a "Council General" is to be held for the extirpation of the many evil plants which now exist.

* "Religione"; evidently a mistake for *Regina*.

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A statute has been enacted in Parliament limiting the revenues of Bishops to (I believe) 500*l.* annually, and it seems to me that the Bishops will be deprived of all impropriated benefices, a great number of which the good and holy Queen Mary had restored to them.

The title of "Supreme Head of the Church" passed through the two Houses, but her Majesty is expected for some reason not to accept it.

I will give no advice to your Lordship about continuing my correspondence, but I hope your Lordship will not allow me to labour for nothing. Since the death of my master, and loss of his salary, though I am content to undertake the fatigue of writing, my means do not admit of my paying the postage of letters, and the cost of paper, wax, string, and ink. I therefore pray you to consider my poverty. I shall remain here till I have a reply from the Queen to a petition with which I lately presented her, and until I have a reply from your Lordship, whom God save and prosper. Recommend me to Signor Cornacchia, Signor Calzone, and all the Lords of the Chancery [of Mantua].

London, 11th April 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Italian.*]

April 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

59. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday I visited the Bishop of Arras, who spoke to me in conformity with what I had heard from the Duke of Alva and Don Ruy Gomez, telling me of this King's good will, he being entirely bent on quiet, and to use the Bishop's own words, "averse to scandalous intrigue," but in case it arose, he knew how to make those who were the cause repent; having arrived at the conclusion that this peace ought to be most gratifying to every Christian prince, and not render any of them suspicious. The only thing he told me, in addition to what I had heard from the Duke of Alva and Don Ruy Gomez, was, that when the King of France should withdraw his garrisons and protection from the places in Tuscany, they must submit themselves to the Duke of Florence, *but many persons are of a contrary opinion, declaring that there is some secret understanding between France and Spain.*

Nothing has been lately heard about the interview between the two Kings, but now a report circulates that possibly on the arrival of the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable something may be said on the subject, as the French greatly desire the meeting. The lodging for those personages is now being prepared, and from it a corridor (*un ponte*) has been made which extends to the Palace.

In like manner as, before the peace took place, there were many conjectures about the mode in which it might be concluded, so now lest it prove eternal there is no lack of speculation about where war may next break out, some naming England, some Italy, some say against Sultan Soliman, and some against the Moors, towards which last idea the Spaniards would chiefly incline from the advantage that would result to them; but all this is talk, and at the present time the debts are very heavy, and the means of finding the money, most especially

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for an unnecessary and aggressive war, is so difficult, that it ought to incline the most restless spirits towards peace and repose.

The attendants of the Duke of Savoy say that on the arrival from Rome of the dispensation he will go to France to solemnise his marriage (*a far le nozze*), having in the meanwhile sent the Count of Stroppiana to perform an office with the King of France and Madame Marguerite, who judiciously requested her brother to place the fortresses retained by him at her husband's free disposal, saying that, if he suspects the Duke, his Majesty ought not to marry her to him, as she should be uneasy, and that if he has no suspicion of him she cannot comprehend why these fortresses are retained; so his Majesty bade her be cheerful, as, if the Duke behaved well to his wife, it is possible that the fortresses may be given him before the expiration of the three years.

It has not yet been determined who is to rule these Provinces when his Catholic Majesty goes to Spain, report varying on the subject. Mention is made of the Duchess of Lorraine, who by this treaty has gained fresh merit and repute; others say that, after consummating his marriage and holding a Diet of his States, the Duke of Savoy will return hither; but the majority incline towards the Duke of Parma, though his Excellency, when discussing this topic with me, said that his relationship with King Philip* gave rise to this report, and that nothing whatever had been settled, but that at any rate the arrangement of his affairs in Italy required his presence there, after which, should his Majesty desire to make use of him, he would come. But whoever may be appointed, his rule will not last long, for everybody says that shortly after the King's arrival in Spain he will send hither Don Carlos, some personage being nominated to advise him, and at all events the Bishop of Arras will remain.

This prelate told me he was advised from Venice of the receipt there of letters from Constantinople, purporting that Sultan Soliman's second son, Bajazet, had rebelled, having already mustered 30,000 cavalry, with many other particulars about this matter.

Brussels, 14th April 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

60. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

All these Provinces have been convoked, that they may consider about providing payment for the debts contracted by his Majesty in his late necessities, which amount to a very considerable sum, as confirmed by everybody, and much time will be required for their liquidation.

King Philip has given the Duke of Parma leave to go to Italy, it being considered certain that after arranging his affairs, he will return to this Court to remain as Governor of these Provinces; *for*

* Having married Margaret of Austria, the illegitimate daughter of the Emperor Charles V., the Duke of Parma was the King's brother-in-law.

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it has been told me that Don Ruy Gomez and the Duke of Francavilla promise to obtain this appointment for him if he desires it; so he has sent to his brother [Cardinal Alessandro Farnese?] and to his wife [Margaret of Austria] to have their opinion, he being very much inclined to accept the office, unless the necessities of his State compel him to remain at home. His Excellency explained to me one day his reasons for going to Italy: that he was only recently possessed of his State, and that the war and many disturbances had never given him time to investigate his affairs; and that he distrusted his neighbour the Duke of Ferrara. He also remarked that although his brother the Cardinal [Alessandro ?] Farnese might superintend his affairs, yet, in the event of the Holy See being vacant, he (the Cardinal) would have to go to Rome, and there would be no one to conduct the government in his stead. But he then added that, notwithstanding all this, should King Philip choose, he would overcome all obstacles, and would come to serve him, as he knew that this government of the Low Countries was, in fact, illustrious and honourable. His attendants consider it quite certain that the King Catholic, who still has the citadel of Piacenza in his hands, will give the Duke free possession of it, and that before the Duke's departure his Majesty will grant him this grace.

The Emperor Charles the Fifth granted to the Duke's father, together with the town of Novara, certain privileges, which are constantly infringed by the Government of Milan, who daily lay fresh taxes on that place; so his Excellency has requested King Philip, should he not think it advantageous for the duchy of Milan that he should hold Novara with such ample privileges, to allow him to exchange it for Pontremoli and Casal Maggiore; but it is not known whether he will be gratified in this matter.

It is reported that his Majesty will marry his Excellency's only son, the Prince of Parma, to a daughter of the Duchess of Lorraine, wishing thus to demonstrate his gratitude to her for the assistance she rendered in effecting the treaty of peace.

This youth is 13 years of age, possesses brilliant abilities, is admirably educated, and is of great promise; and having been sent hither as security for his father's good faith, he has rendered himself so extremely agreeable to the King that his Majesty evinces his great affection for him in various ways.

Letters from England, dated the 4th, state that the sittings of Parliament had been resumed, in which it was proposed that when bishoprics fell vacant the Queen was to be authorised to take of their possessions as much as should please her, in exchange for certain benefices appropriated to the Crown under Henry VIII., and restored to the clergy under Queen Mary; but the restitutions [have been] revoked under the present Queen by Parliament.

The eight Catholics, with as many others of the opposite party, held a conference, at which three articles were proposed for disputation—Church ceremonies, the administration of the sacraments, and the mass; but the contest upon the first article was so violent, the Catholics not being allowed to reply to what was said by their adversaries, that they separated without any decision; and the

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end was that the Queen's Council sent the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, and two of the eight Catholics, to the Tower, and commanded the other six not to quit London, and to present themselves at the Court every day.

Brussels, 16th April 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

61. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

During the last ten days the Court has been on its way from Cussy (*sic*) in Picardy, to Fontainebleau, where not only these Princes but even the ministers choose to have every convenience; so the King has been much alone, and intent solely on sending to receive the oath of peace in Flanders and England. For Flanders he has appointed the Cardinal of Lorraine alone, and not the other Commissioners, as was at first reported. The Cardinal will depart apparently on the 25th, accompanied not only by a great number of gentlemen, prelates, and lords (*signori*), who form part of his household in ordinary, but by five or six of the greatest Princes of the Court, such as the Dukes de Longueville and de Nemours, the Grand Prior de Guise, and the two younger brothers, who have usually all of them a great number of retainers; and it is also said that he will be accompanied by the Prince of Ferrara and his brother; so that never did any other Prince depart this kingdom accompanied in such array as will his Right Reverend Lordship, who has told the Princes and the others that the more they exert themselves to be well horsed (*parer meglio a cavallo*), and sumptuously clad and ornamented, the better will he be pleased; so nothing is talked of here, but handsome and costly apparel.

The Constable's eldest son [François de Montmorency] and M. de Vielleville, knight of the order of St. Michael and Governor of Metz, have been appointed to England, and they are to be followed by many other lords and gentlemen, the Constable's dependants. The Duke of Alva and Don Ruy Gomez are expected from Flanders, but the latter, after swearing to the peace, will depart postwise for Spain. They will be accompanied by the Prince of Orange and Count d'Egmont, who are to remain as hostages until after the surrender of the Spanish fortresses, his most Christian Majesty having agreed first to restore those of France; and through the coming of those two personages they will conclude the marriage of the Queen Catholic, and settle the time and place of her being sent to and received by King Philip.

In the meanwhile the personages who arrive here from Flanders on their way to Spain, dutifully pay their respects to the affianced bride, and acknowledge her for their Queen and mistress; and the day before yesterday the wife of Secretary Erasso arrived here from Spain on her way to Flanders, having been ordered by her husband thus to do so before she left Spain; a proof that very long before the news was published he (Erasso) knew of the King Catholic's resolution about this marriage.

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This lady was received with much honour by his most Christian Majesty and Queen Catherine de' Medici, they both honouring her greatly; and concerning this topic of marriage I will not omit to tell your Serenity that Secretary L'Aubespine, who was one of the four secretaries at the Conference, and perhaps the principal, lately informed the Legate here that it is also agreed to give his most Christian Majesty's third daughter, Madame Marguerite, a child some five or six years old, who was promised heretofore to the Prince of Ferrara, to the Prince of Spain, King Philip's son, and that this marriage will soon be announced.

The Duke of Savoy has already sent hither his agent (*homo suo*), the Count of Stroppiana, to the most Christian King, to the Queen, and to "Madame" his consort, but the Count has not yet appeared at the Court, being detained in Paris by certain affairs of his own; and although the Duke has announced his intention of being here in person at the end of this month, he is not expected to appear until the oath shall have been taken by one side and the other, and such restitutions made as were agreed to.

Both at the Court, and in all the other towns of the kingdom likewise, this peace was published to the trumpets' sound, and proclaimed by the royal heralds with demonstrations of universal joy, as witnessed by the bonfires (*li fuoghi*) and the public taverns prepared in the streets.

Moret, 18th April 1559.

[*Italian.*]

April 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

62. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Concerning the affairs of Tuscany I hear that Chiapino [*Vitelli*] *can obtain no decision, and when he pressed Don Ruy Gomez that it would be for his Majesty's advantage for the fortresses to pass into the hands of the Duke of Florence, he received for answer that it would be well to delay the matter for six months or a year, and then discuss it. The Ambassador from Florence has been robbed of a packet of letters sent to him by his Duke, and I understand that the robbers were two Spaniards who went to ask for the packet at the post office in the Ambassador's name.*

A fresh and stringent demand has been made of the Ambassador from Ferrara, in the names of his Majesty, the Duke of Savoy, and the Bishop of Arras, for compensation for certain damages sustained by them.

The coming hither of the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable is deferred until the 8th of next month, and this will also delay the restitution of the fortresses, which was to have commenced within one month after the conclusion of the peace, but now it will not take place until King Philip's hostages go to France.

For this reason likewise the Duke of Parma postponed his departure from a wish to see those personages, who will be accompanied by the Prince of Ferrara and the Duke de Nemours; *so it is said that on this occasion King Philip may reconcile the Duke of Parma to the Prince of Ferrara, and consequently to Duke Hercules, his father.*

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It is asserted that the Duke de Nemours will marry the eldest of the Duchess of Lorraine's two daughters, he being the cousin (*germano*) of the Duke of Savoy, and his heir presumptive. It is also reported that the youngest daughter of the Duchess of Lorraine will be given to the Prince of Parma, *but the Duke's gentlemen say they do not believe it, because she is lame of one foot.*

The Duke of Savoy is making great preparation for his journey to France, because he desires to appear in most superb array (*perchè vuole comparer superbissimamente*). He will take with him 100 gentlemen, besides those of his household, all of whom he will clothe in velvet and gold lace. He has also sent tailors to France to take the measures of several personages, that he may dress them according to the custom of that Court on wedding ceremonies.

His Majesty has made a free gift to Marshal St. André of his ransom.

Letters of the 11th from England announce that the peace had been proclaimed, and that on the same day certain plays usually performed daily in the hostels and taverns in derision of the clergy were prohibited, *and that they (the English) were much afraid that this peace had been made to the prejudice and detriment of that kingdom.* A gentleman* who used to write all the events of those parts to a friend of mine, who subsequently communicated them to me, will by this time have departed thence; so henceforth I shall have difficulty in imparting any important English news to your Serenity, yet it would be well at the present time to have sure advices from those parts, but I do not know to whom to apply, not being acquainted with anyone suited for such purpose, as the merchants are cautious about writing news.

The Ambassador Vargas† found it difficult to have audience of his Majesty until five days after his arrival, because he was suspected of having failed to do his duty about rendering Don Juan de Figueroa acceptable to the Pope, in order that he might remain at Rome himself. He is now canvassing not to return to Italy, but to be appointed by the King President of the Council of Justice of Castille at Valladolid.

The Duke of Savoy has at length given me the treaty, but under promise of restoring it to him, as I did.

Brussels, 22nd April 1559.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

63. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of England, being at length convinced how ill she provides for her security by never having come to any conclusion about her marriage with King Philip, now that the peace is made, and that his Majesty has given his word to take another wife, is so dissatisfied and alarmed lest some evil befall her through this peace

* Qu. Il Schifanoya.

† Vargas had been sent Ambassador to Rome in September, 1558. See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 393.

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and alliance, that at present she would on any terms gladly persuade his Majesty to break the promise made to France, and to take her for wife. Owing to this circumstance it is now confirmed to me from several quarters that whereas it was before in her power to dictate the conditions to his Catholic Majesty, so at present through the medium of the Count de Feria she offers King Philip her acceptance of whatever conditions and compacts may please him, provided she become his wife. This news causes much comment at the Court, where many persons incline towards this arrangement, it being asserted that two of his Majesty's councillors are of this opinion; one, the Count de Feria, who urges it to the utmost, promising that the Queen will turn Catholic, and the other, Don Juan Manrique; it seeming to them that the opportunity ought not to be lost for acquiring so great and noble a kingdom, most especially from the danger of its falling into other hands, which might cause the loss of these Provinces. With regard to France, they say that the most Christian King ought with reason to be more content (più contentarsi) *that his daughter should marry Don Carlos in preference to King Philip, as the children born of the Prince of Spain would succeed to all the Crowns and States* [*of the monarchy*], *which, should the Prince live, would not happen to those born of his Majesty; and that even were the King of France to be unreasonable, and choose to envy and impede the welfare and grandeur of Spain, they would be better able to wage war than heretofore, because to King Philip's fortresses there would be added those of England, so that he could dispose of them at his option. This much only has been related to me, because as yet it is not known that any decision has been taken; but it is believed that King Philip will never allow himself to be persuaded by any person or for any cause to do a thing which would disturb the peace and quiet so earnestly desired by him. For it is manifest that nothing would give greater offence to the French than such a decision; it being very evident that if there is one single article in the treaty of Cateau Cambresis advantageous for France, it is the one stipulating the marriage of the King Catholic to the daughter of his most Christian Majesty; nor could anything offend the French more than to cancel that article by this matrimonial alliance with the Queen of England, on whose kingdom they are known to have a design, this intention being specially maintained by the Constable Montmorency, who hopes to put King Philip to sleep with matrimony* (di adormentar il serenissimo Re col matrimonio), *they in the meanwhile doing their own business.*

I hear on good authority that they are greatly apprehensive here lest the Pope, who disapproved of the peace, seek to disturb it by availing himself of the affairs of England, as he might easily do, by proclaiming the Queen a bastard and a heretic, and that the kingdom had lapsed to the Queen Dauphine; as the French would suppose they had very just cause to go and conquer it, and King Philip would be compelled to suffer the loss of that kingdom, as it is considered certain it would be lost from want of fortresses, troops, and counsel; or else he would have to recommence the war. His Majesty has therefore sent orders to Cardinal Pacheco, first of all to perform every sort of office with the Pope, narrating to him the entire

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negotiation of the peace, and giving him the treaty; after which, he is to let him know that on the conclusion of the peace the Queen of England will remain Catholic.

It is heard that the Constable will not come to Brussels, the Cardinal of Lorraine coming alone at the time mentioned in my last.

Brussels, 23rd April 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 25. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

64. Il Schifanoya to Ottaviano Vivaldino, Mantuan Ambassador with King Philip.

Last week * I wrote fully to your Lordship from Dover by Signor Giovanni Francesco Stella touching my private affairs, and on my return to London I find that Parliament has come to no further conclusion about the title "*Supremum Caput in Terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*," because her Majesty does not wish it; but they have settled for her to be Governess-General of spiritual and temporal matters in this kingdom, and they have already deprived all the bishops of their temporal revenues and estates, leaving them only the spiritual benefices and revenues, adding thereto the benefices impropriated by the Crown, which according to my belief they will never obtain, and they will thus remain very poor.

With regard to officiating and changing the service of the Church nothing more has been done, but it is supposed that everything will return as in the time of King Edward to the English tongue; and already in the Lower House they have carried the Bill to expel all friars and monks, nuns and hospitallers, destroying everything (*et gia nella Casa Bassa havevano portata la cedula di cacciar tutti i frati e monaci, monache et hospitalieri, destruendo tutto*), and assigning the revenues to the Queen, who will gain but little in the end; for they all make demands of her, some for a piece of land, some for a garden, some for a house, and some for the fee simple of estates for their residence (*et chi il territorio, overo fondo delli luochi per accomodarsi*); nor can she refuse, not having anything else to give them, from the poverty of the Crown; so for this reason everything will go to the bad. There is no doubt of the Bill passing, as it favours personal interests, and also because they will not hear mention made of friars or nuns, whom they call rabble (*canaglia*), and because they are near the end of Parliament, all being weary of remaining so long here at great cost and inconvenience; and therefore, in order to return to their homes, they will pass any evil thing, unless God give them more sense than they have evinced hitherto.

It is thought Parliament will close in a fortnight, all business ending at the same time. (*Si tiene che fornira*† *il Parlamento, et il termine*† *tutti insieme, fra quindici dì.*)

Last Sunday was the festival of St. George, the patron of London, and of the Order of the Garter, when the Knights of the Order

* Letter not found. † *sic.*

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kept the feast as usual with the accustomed ceremonies and vestments, only 11 being present out of the whole number, which is 26, the rest being either dead or invalided. They made the procession through the whole Court in their usual robes, not preceded by the cross, her Majesty being present; and this was the first procession that she has accompanied. It is true that she asked where the crosses were, and was told that being of gold and silver they were kept in the Tower. She desired them to be sent for, but as the Tower was too far off, and the time late, they hastily sent to Westminster for some, but found that those had in like manner been removed for safety; so without further scruple the procession was made *sine cruce*. After mass they dined all together in their usual manner, each of them being served with a dish in the Presence Chamber, her Majesty being in their presence, but in a separate place, having appointed the Earl of Arundel her Vicegerent. On the morrow mass for the dead was sung, all the Knights attending it, and her Majesty was also to have been present, but she changed her mind, objecting perhaps to the mass for the dead.

Her Majesty gave the Order to three Peers, viz., the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Robert Dudley, her Majesty's Master of the Horse, and the Earl of Rutland, who were received by all the Chapter. The Earl of Bedford [Francis Russell, 2nd Earl] had been thought of, but his election did not take place. It was also said that they would give back [the garter] to the Marquis of Northampton; but I hear that the Chapter held this proposal to be contrary to their statutes, so it is supposed that her Majesty will give him a dispensation when she shall have obtained full power from Parliament.

The Knights of the Garter appeared in the Chapel, robed as they were, garter on leg and the St George round their necks, and placed themselves lower than all, even outside the choir, where the others stood in their places, with their arms painted on card and affixed to their seats (*et tenero il luogo di sotto d'a tutti, anzi fuora del coro, dove stavano gli altri nelli suoi luochi, con le sue arme dipinti sopra della carta, &c.*)

Mass for the dead was sung as usual, except that they said the Epistle and Gospel in English, and that they did not elevate the host.

The deceased knights of this year were proclaimed, and the others [absentees] excused for not being present, by the heralds, and the priests having said the "*De Profundis*," they all went to their houses, having arranged amongst themselves the day when they were bound to perform this solemnity for the dead at their principal Church at Windsor.

Pray send this to the Castellan [of Mantua], as I have not time to write to him, being also a little fatigued by the journey from Dover. I shall be glad if your Lordship will inform me when the person whom his Excellency [the Duke of Mantua] will send to congratulate that King (*quella Maestà*) [Philip], will arrive; and whether you have seen the hackneys of Signor Stella, and which one of them you like best. Their purchaser was master of the stable to the Cardinal [Pole?]; he can obtain a similar one, if the money be

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forthcoming. You can write to me by means of the Venetian Ambassador, who writes to Monsignor Priuli every week.

London, 25th April 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

In a P.S. he announces the appointment of Ambassadors to France and King Philip (as elsewhere).

[*Italian.*]

April 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

65. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The day after to-morrow the Cardinal of Lorraine will depart hence, so as to arrive at Brussels on the 10th May, and he will return hither postwise immediately. The Duke of Savoy is expected here on the 10th or 12th, and two days hence the Constable's son, M. de Damville, will be sent to meet him. On the arrival of his Excellency's household the marriage will be concluded, as also that of the Queen Catholic with regard to "giving the hand," or to use the French term "*faire les fiançailles*," which is not expected to take place before the 8th or 10th of June, though great expenditure is already being incurred by preparing jousts, tournaments, masquerades, balls, and all other solemnities, especially a comedy which is being arranged by the Cardinal of Lorraine at a cost of 30,000 or 40,000 francs, so that this marriage may terminate with such stately pomp as is becoming. The like commencement of expenditure is also witnessed on the part of the Duke, who has already sent hither tailors (*sarti*) to take the measures of the gowns, not only for "Madame" his consort, and for all her ladies, but also for a great part of those of the Court, as his Highness's dependants; and not only for these ladies, but, as customary here, his tailors also took the measures of the King in person, of the King-Dauphin, and of 20 of these Princes and chief personages; all these gowns will be most exceptional and costly. To "Madame" the Duke sent a present lately, through Count Stroppiana, of 8,000 crowns annual revenue (in addition to the 12,000 assigned to her by the marriage contract), so that besides her own she may enjoy and dispose of 20,000 crowns annually; and he has given her the two towns of Santhia and Chierasco in Piedmont, which, being given to her, will perhaps not be dismantled. The most Christian King has also ordered for his sister a present of tapestries linens, cloths of silk of various sorts, bed trimmings, and other domestic furniture (*et altri mobili per bisogno della sua casa*), to the amount of no less than 60,000 crowns.

Montmorency and Vielleville are also in readiness to depart for England next week for the purpose of swearing to the peace. They will be accompanied by M. de Canaples, the Marquis de Nesle, M. de Tarpa (*sic*), son of the Cardinal of Sens, and the Provost of Paris, to remain as hostages, until his Majesty gives the corresponding security (*la respondentia et sicurtà*) for the 500,000 crowns to which he is bound for retaining Calais; and he is sending as Ambassador to England a "Master of Requests" (*un Mro. di Recheste*), brother of the French Ambassador now accredited to your Serenity, and who in my time resided there as agent during the Ambassador's absence.

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The poor delegates from the Republic of Sienna, which is now reduced to Montalcino (*ritirata in Montalcino*), although assured after the conclusion of the peace by the chief ministers here, and by the King himself, before the Commissioners returned from Cateau Cambresis, that they were to retain their ancient liberty, have been undeceived by the Cardinal of Lorraine, who plainly told them that if they wished to enjoy their property (*che se vogliono goder i beni loro*) they must subject themselves to the government under which the city of Sienna is now held; and that after his most Christian Majesty shall have withdrawn his troops and artillery from Montalcino and those other towns, they likewise must place themselves under Sienna as before (*devano ancor loro ridursi come prima sotto Siena*). *This was, moreover, confirmed to them, much to his shame* (con molta vergogna) *by the Constable, to whom they also had recourse, although shortly before his Excellency, perhaps intentionally* (forsi studiosamente), *said the contrary to me and to others. So the Delegates, seeing themselves abandoned by his most Christian Majesty, and compelled to submit to the person least desired by them* (a chi manco haveriano voluto),* *are in despair, and say that the misery undergone by them for their preservation would at least have deserved that when abandoned by France they might have been left at liberty to dispose of themselves. But it has nevertheless been said by one of the chief Commissioners at the Congress that notwithstanding its having been stipulated* (capitolato) *thus, we shall soon hear that the whole of that State* (*the Siennese*) *united will resume its allegiance to the King Catholic, who, merely keeping for himself the citadel* (la sola cittadella) [*of Sienna—Talamone ?*], *will restore it to its usual Republican form.*

Moret, 26th April 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

66. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The talk about the proposals made to this King by the Queen of England to marry her has not yet ceased, but it is considered certain that his Majesty will not change his mind and his promise; he having been induced by several causes, and principally to avoid any occasion for the disturbance of the peace, which was effected with so much difficulty, either now or a short time hence, by the very great dissatisfaction which the French would feel if he took this course.

His Majesty is nevertheless commended for still retaining the Count de Feria in England, both to avoid making the Queen despair, as she would do if he were recalled, of the King's failing to assist and protect her, and also in order that he may help her to

* Cosmo de' Medici, Duke of Florence; appointed *Grand Duke* by Pope Pius V., 1st September 1569.

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take some better course with regard to religion, and to marry a person not utterly unacceptable here. The Count writes to some of his friends that he has told the Queen plainly that, unless she become Catholic, the King can with difficulty show her favour and give her assistance in her necessities, and he thus became aware that her fears had increased, which might reserve her for a better future.

In the matter of her marriage it is not yet known what will happen, the suitors named being numerous, including Prince Ferdinand, the Emperor's son, the new King of Denmark, and the Duke of Holstein (Alsatia). *She shows herself inclined to marry in England, unless she be deterred by the danger which threatens her, and the necessity for finding fresh defenders.*

It is evident that the Ambassador from Florence has had no decision about the affairs of Tuscany. The Ambassador and his household (li sui di casa) *complain bitterly of the King's confessor* for having performed evil offices in this matter.*

The Count of Stroppiana, who was sent by the Duke of Savoy to France, has returned thence, having been very well received by the King, who gave him a gold chain worth 500 crowns, and by the rest of the Court, especially by Madame Marguerite, his mistress (*sua Signora*), who made him many presents.

Yesterday morning the brother of the Datary also arrived from Rome with the dispensation for the Duke of Savoy's marriage. It is said that he will go to France on the 22nd of next month, and in the meanwhile he is intent on arranging everything necessary for his appearance with great pomp at that Court. I hear that in apparel for himself alone and for others he is spending upwards of 60,000 crowns, and that the apparel which he has to give to the most Christian King, to the Queen his wife [Catherine de' Medici], and to the King Dauphin, will cost 15,000 crowns.

One of the chief gentlemen of the Duke of Savoy told me that the Count of Stroppiana was charged by the Duke to watch well the French King's inclination towards him, the pleasure felt by his Majesty in giving him his sister, and what hope he could have of obtaining some of the five fortresses held by France in Piedmont; so the Count having reported that he knew the King to be well inclined towards the Duke, and extremely satisfied with this relationship contracted between them, he believed there were fair hopes that on the Duke's going to France, and consummating the marriage, his Majesty would make him a present of some one of those fortresses, but that were King Philip to give up the two fortresses that he holds there, his most Christian Majesty would do the like by two others. The Duke therefore applied to the Catholic King to see whether his Majesty would give him these two fortresses, as the French would then surrender him as many more, and he was told in reply, to go to France and to try first of all if he could get free possession of any fortress, as subsequently King Philip will not fail to do what he could in the other matter.

* Bernardo de Fresneda. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," March 14th, 1558, Brussels, p. 364.)

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The Duke of Ferrara has written to his Ambassador to keep on the watch [to ascertain] whether, besides the public treaty, there be another private one between the two Kings, and principally whether it contains anything against him or against your Serenity. This Ferrarese Ambassador, after showing me the [identical] letter received from his Duke, added that the Ambassador from Florence sighing deeply (con grandi sospiri) *assured him of the existence of a secret treaty, in which mention is made of the marriage of the most Christian King's third daughter, and of things prejudicial to various interests.*

I cannot assert that what the Ambassador from Florence says is true, because his discourse rarely proves candid and open, and it is possible that being moved by the suspicion which he has reason to entertain of some plot against his Duke, he uttered these words to elicit whether the Ambassador from Ferrara knew anything, for it has always been believed here that between the two Kings there is some secret understanding, which as yet cannot be ascertained; and my Secretary, when conversing on this subject with one of the chief attendants of the Duke of Savoy, was told by him that when King Philip shall have sent to conclude his marriage, and after restitution of the fortresses by one side and the other, the will of France and Spain about the affairs of Tuscany will then be known.

The Cardinal of Lorraine is expected here on the 10th May, on which same day the Count of Stroppiana says that he also will return to Brussels. *I understand there are still some differences remaining between the two Kings about the reciprocal restitution of the fortresses, which might easily be removed on the coming of the Cardinal of Lorraine. Count Stroppiana also says that he will not be accompanied by the Duke de Nemours [Jacques de Savoie] and the Prince of Ferrara, Stroppiana having dissuaded the Duke, partly because it is undignified for one who is of the house of Savoy and might easily succeed to that State, to accompany the Cardinal as his dependant, and also because the Duke of Savoy, having contracted a close friendship with the Constable Montmorency, would not wish it to be possibly diminished through the favour conferred by his cousin on the house of Guise. I do not know what cause may have induced the Prince of Ferrara to change his original intention, but I heard the Ambassador from Florence complain of a report in circulation that he was coming at the persuasion and by the command of his father-in-law the Duke of Florence,* and not of his own free will* (et non mosso da se stesso), *which circumstance he said would render his coming hither less conciliatory.*

Last week a brave and very fortunate mariner, by name Pedro Melendes, was sent postwise to Spain to prepare the fleet, and he is expected to be off this coast by the 8th of August, though he has promised to be here much sooner, his Majesty having determined to go to Spain by sea. *The reply to the request which the French intend to make, that his Majesty will pass through France, has already been prepared, and it informs them that the Kings of Spain have never*

* Don Alfonso of Este, Prince of Ferrara, married Lucrezia de' Medici, daughter of Duke Cosmo in June 1558.

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been accustomed to seek (a trovar) *their wives, but that their wives should always be brought to them, not only to their own country, but to the royal residence; and that this same custom has been observed even with wives taken by them from Portugal, notwithstanding that kingdom is so near them.*

I hear that the agent of the Pope's nephews who came to this King gave his Majesty to understand that he had commission and authority from the Duke of Paliano to cede to him all the rights that the Duke might have to that State, and that the Duke would make the cession should his Majesty choose to ordain that according to the promise made by him there be assigned to the Duke the principality of Rossano and the other revenues. He requested that this proposal might be kept secret, so that the Pope should not hear of it. I am told that the King, therefore, determined to do nothing in the matter, suspecting that if it were divulged, as it assuredly would have been, not only would his Holiness not approve, but would rather raise fresh difficulties.

Brussels, 30th April 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

67. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The French refused to come hither until King Philip's hostages were sent to France, but at length the two Kings agreed that the former and the latter were to depart upon the same day, viz., the 15th of next month. I understand that the hostages required by the French will be the Duke of Alva, the Prince of Orange, the Count d'Egmont, and the Count de Feria, who is in England.

I am also informed that his Majesty is despatching Don Juan de Yvara (*Givara*) to Montalcino and other fortresses in Tuscany, which are to be given up by the French; and it is reported to-day that between this time and the arrival here of the Cardinal of Lorraine, King Philip may possibly go to Antwerp.

Brussels, 1st May 1559.

[*Italian.*]

May 2. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

68. Il Schifanoya to the Castellan of Mantua.

Parliament will rise this week, the two Houses having enacted that all the convents and monasteries of friars, monks, nuns, and Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem are to be suppressed as heretofore, and all these religious to be expelled. Such of them who will take the oath against the Pontifical authority, and approve the new laws, abjuring their own professions, are to receive pensions for their maintenance; but the greater part of them have left the kingdom in order not to take such oath.

Some persons assert that Parliament cannot end so soon, as they have commenced considering about a successor [to the Crown], concerning which matter there is very great difficulty, but they will probably refer it to the Queen, authorising her to make a will and elect successors as her father Henry VIII. did.

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Here three Ambassadors are preparing to go to France; they will be my Lord Great Chamberlain, Doctor Wotton, and one Nicholas Throckmorton, knight; the two former to take the oath and confirm the peace; the third to reside with his most Christian Majesty. It is understood that in like manner Ambassadors are coming [from France] for the same purpose, and that the Bishop of Orleans will remain [here]. Both embassies will depart at the same time, so as to meet on the road.

Some say that by the coming of Mons. de la Marque, valet of the Chamber to his most Christian Majesty, who was here the other day by post, this expense has been spared to both parties; and now he has been sent back. Also at the same time a gentleman came by post from Calais, having been sent by the Vidâme [of Chartres], Lieutenant and Governor of Calais, and an Ambassador from Scotland; but nothing is known about their negotiations.

It is said Master [Sir John] Masone will go to the Catholic King; he was formerly Ambassador to the late Emperor [Charles V.]. Master [Sir Thomas] Challoner (*Scialoner*) will go to the present Emperor [Ferdinand I.].

The Count de Feria will very soon depart hence, owing to the anticipated confinement of the beautiful Lady [Jane] Dormer, who was greatly beloved by him, and is now his wife, they having been married secretly. He wishes to take her to Flanders before the event, if he can obtain leave from his King.

Here nothing is said of marriage, the Queen amusing herself by going here and there for pastime by (*per*) the beautiful River Thames, and the other evening she supped at Lord Pembroke's house; and every day there are dances at the Court.

The two bishops are still in the Tower, and the rest are very dissatisfied, but still firm in their holy purpose of losing life and property rather than abjure; so God will encourage them, as also all the clergy, not only in London, but throughout the kingdom.

My departure hence depends on that of Monsignor Priuli, with whom I am living now, and I think it will not take place for two or three months, as he is much occupied (*travagliato*), and very weak owing to his quartan, which does not leave him; and also because he has not yet executed the bequests of his Cardinal [Pole].

London, 2nd May 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

69. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The demonstrations and performance of plays by the London populace (*dal popolo in Londra*) in the hostels and taverns, which as written by me had been prohibited by the Queen,* were, according to the account given me by a trustworthy person who has come hither from those parts, so vituperative and abominable that it was marvellous they should so long have been tolerated, *for they brought*

* See letter dated Brussels, 22nd April 1559.

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upon the stage all personages whom they wished to revile, however exalted their station, and amongst the rest, in one play, they represented King Philip, the late Queen of England, and Cardinal Pole, reasoning together about such things as they imagined might have been said by them in the matter of religion; so that they did not spare any living person, saying whatever they fancied about them. After the aforesaid prohibition it seemed that the fear caused by the news of the peace and of King Philip's determination to marry the daughter of his most Christian Majesty had greatly disquieted everybody, but subsequently it has become daily known more and more that their affection for religion exceeds their fear (ma dappoi ogni giorno piu si è conosciuto in loro, maggior del timore, l'affetto nella religione), as in the Lower House fresh measures (*cose nove*) have been proposed, and they talk about expelling the friars and nuns, the result being very doubtful.

The Queen would still wish to some extent to feign to profess the Catholic religion, but she can conceal herself no longer. On St. George's Day [23rd April], the patron saint of the Knights of the Garter, she attended the ceremony then performed, never having appeared at any other. During the procession not a single cross was displayed, and when the Queen asked where the crosses were, she was answered, that being of silver and gold they were deposited in the Tower, and could not be produced. On the morrow mass was sung as usual for the souls of the deceased knights, but the Queen, who was to have been present, altered her mind, and the mass was said without the elevation of the Host. With the consent of the Chapter, the Queen created the Earl of Arundel her Vice-gerent, and three new knights, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Rutland, and Lord Robert Dudley, Master of the Horse, and son of the late Duke of Northumberland, *a very handsome young man* (giovane bellissimo), *towards whom in various ways the Queen evinces such affection and inclination that many persons believe that if his wife, who has been ailing for some time, were perchance to die, the Queen might easily take him for her husband.*

Her Majesty is sending as Ambassadors to France, to sign the peace and swear to it, Lord William Howard of Effingham, her Chamberlain, and Dr. Wotton, who was Ambassador there heretofore. Her Ambassador resident there is to be Nicholas Throckmorton. To King Philip she has designated Master Masone (*Mastro Masson*), who is a member of the Council,* and who for a long while was Ambassador with the deceased Emperor.†

The coming of the French Lords, being near at hand, has put a stop to the current talk and speeches that the Queen might still become the wife of this King; but much comment has been made about the trick of the French in taking for hostage the Count de Feria, who supported this policy and counselled the Queen accordingly. The French, by removing him from England, where he had authority to say and remind her of what they did not wish, seem to have

* Sir John Masone had been one of Queen Mary's councillors, but his name does not appear in the list of those of her successor.

† See Foreign Calendar and Venetian Calendar, "Mary."

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thought that the Queen both in religion and in matrimony might the more easily rush headlong into some most fatal course, as it is affirmed that by Count de Feria's advice she abstained from taking the title of Head of the Church, and from many other evil ideas, which she might have already carried into effect.

Brussels, 4th May 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

70. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Savoy is sending a commissary to the most Christian King, that he may go in company with the one elected by his Majesty to receive the places to be restored, the Count of Stroppiana having brought back word that on the arrival of the Duke's agent the King would immediately give orders to commence the restitution, although King Philip's hostages had not yet arrived in France. The Duke purposes departing for France at the end of this month, and after consummating his marriage will return hither to resign the government of these Provinces, and then go to Savoy, remaining there for a month or two to arrange his affairs, and he will then proceed to Piedmont, where he has determined to make Mondovi his capital.

He is now sending a gentleman to Rome to thank the Pope for the speedy despatch of the dispensation for his marriage, and to beseech him to take Cardinal Caraffa again into favour, a result extremely desired by him.

These Provinces are preparing a present for him on his departure amounting to 40,000 or 50,000 crowns, *but the Duke, owing to the many expenses which have been incurred by him, and which continue, is already debtor to the amount of* 300,000 *crowns. It was proposed to the Catholic King to send Stefano Doria to Monte Alcino, but the Duke of Alva opposed it, saying it would make the Duke of Florence too suspicious were his Majesty to send a Genoese, the city of Genoa being jealous of his greatness; so it has been determined to send Don Juan de Yvara* (Givara), *though the purport of his commission is unknown even to himself, but he has been heard to say to certain personages that if he believed the King was sending him to surrender the places left by the French into the hands of the Duke of Florence, he would not go, although he might expect a handsome present from the Duke. The talk of the Ambassador from Florence on this topic is now so vacillating as to show clearly that he does not know what the result of the matter will be.*

The Order of the Fleece has been restored to the Duke of Parma, who, as was intended, has promised his Majesty in case of need to come and serve him here. The King is said to have determined that in case of war he is to be Captain-General in these Provinces, but in time of peace he is to remain in Italy in his own State, and for his departure he merely awaits the decision about his affairs, which his Majesty is expected to despatch from hour to hour, as he

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wishes him to return to Italy speedily, that the King's sister, who is to remain Governess [of the Low Countries], may come hither, and remain some days with his Majesty before the departure for Spain, in order that he may acquaint her with his will and pleasure.

The principal personages of these Provinces have heard most unwillingly his Majesty's determination that his sister was to remain to govern them, and amongst each other they use very excited language, bewailing their lot as well nigh a fatality that they should always be ruled by women, and now by a proud and illegitimate one (et hora da una non legittima, altiera), *who until lately was the adherent of France, to whom all their secrets and deficiences will be known when the Duke of Savoy takes possession of his State, and hereafter will be communicated to Italy. They say in short that at any rate, if they were to be ruled by a woman, they would have been much better satisfied with the Duchess of Lorraine, who was born of royal parentage on both sides, and who had long resided in these Provinces and was much more affable and gracious to the aristocracy of the country. The King however has always inclined towards his sister, most especially because it does not seem to him that he can make very sure of the Duchess of Lorraine, as her son on every account is dependent on France. The Duchess of Lorraine however feels this decision with more regret than any she experienced in all her many adversities, it seeming to her that, having exerted herself so indefatigably and with her whole soul in negotiating this peace, taking part in everything and adjusting the disputes that occurred, everybody admitting that it was concluded chiefly through her, her dignity and reputation should have been held in greater account.*

The German soldiers on these frontiers have refused to quit the places where they now are until they have received all their arrears of pay; so endeavours are being made to obtain the sum required from these States, who have already disbursed 200,000 florins on account of the subsidy. With this money and something additional part of the 2,000 "Blacksmiths" under the Counts Mansfeldt and Schwartzburg will be paid and disbanded, but they keep in pay the six German regiments, as also the cavalry and infantry of these Provinces.

Count d'Aremberg has gone back to Augsburg, taking with him bills of exchange for the money promised by these Provinces to the Emperor in 1556 at the Diet of Ratisbon as subsidy against the Turks; they having been unable hitherto to pay what they owed by reason of the war waged by them.

Brussels, 7th May 1559.*

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* From the 7th until the 26th May 1559, there are no despatches from Paulo Tiepolo in the Venetian Archives, and their loss is to be regretted, as they probably detailed minutely the negotiations at Brussels between King Philip and the Cardinal of Lorraine.

1559. May 10. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

71. Il Schifanoya to the Castellan of Mantua.

On Monday last Parliament rose, and her Majesty went there after dinner by boat (*barca*), not wishing to ride (*cavalcar*) with the pomp customary and usual at the opening and rising of Parliament. Everything was assented to by her Majesty, and so all questions of religion will go to ruin (*a basso*). Already in many churches of London the crucifixes have been broken, the figures of the Saints defaced, and the altars denuded. Westminster Abbey, with the monks, and the rest of the monasteries and friaries, will be appropriated to the Crown, pensions being given for their maintenance to those who will swear to and approve the laws. The bishops, deans, and other prelates and beneficed clergy will likewise be confirmed, if they will take the oath against the Pope and against their consciences. From what I hear there will be few who will do so, the greater part of them having determined rather to lose all, and even to die if need be. Within a week all the Acts of the Parliament will be issued in print, and of the heads and articles of these you shall be notified.

On Ascension Day, while the procession of the parish under the greater church of St. Paul was going round the precincts (*sagrato*) with a large company of people, a rascally lad-servant (*un furfante garzone*) of these new printers against the Catholics violently and publicly took the cross out of the hand of the bearer, and struck it on the ground two or three times, breaking it into a thousand pieces. He was not molested, and nothing was said to him, save by some good men, who said to him, "Begone, you scoundrel;" but no one attempted to hinder him. Then he took a small figure from the said cross, and went off, saying, as he showed it to the women, that he was carrying away the Devil's guts (horrible and wicked words). Little less was done in another parish of London by two scoundrels, who, when the procession was about to issue forth from the church, placed themselves at the gate with naked swords in their hands, swearing that the ecclesiastics should not carry such an abomination, and that if they came forth, they should never reenter.

Thus your Lordship may see how the affairs of God and of the religion are faring. I say nothing about the painted stories and lampoons (*le istorie dipinte, et strambotti composti*), and innumerable books, which are sold publicly, in English, Latin, and French against the Pope, cardinals, bishops, and in fact against all the Catholics and pious people, and against the Christian religion, as it is a shame and reproach to have already written about them to your Lordship.

Yesterday the three Ambassadors departed hence, viz., the Great Chamberlain [Lord William Howard], Doctor Wotton, and [Sir] Nicholas Throckmorton, with a very grand and noble company. Those from France are expected here after the feasts of Pentecost, which they will keep in Calais. Preparations are being made to lodge them in the Palace of Lambeth, late of the most reverend Cardinal Pole, of good memory. Meanwhile her Majesty will go to Greenwich, to give time for cleansing the Palace of Whitehall, where she now is; and then she will return directly.

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The day before yesterday there came Sir William Pickering (*Mro. Piccherin*), who is regarded by all the people as the future husband of her Majesty. He remains at home (*in casa*), courted by many Lords of the Council, and by very many other Lords and Knights. He has not yet appeared at Court. It was said that they wished to settle in Parliament what title they should give him, and what dignity; but nothing was done. Many deem this to be a sign that she will marry Prince Ferdinand, but as yet there is no foundation for this, although some one writes it from Flanders. Meanwhile my Lord Robert Dudley is in very great favour, and very intimate (*priva molto*) with her Majesty. On this subject I ought to report the opinion of many, but I doubt whether my letters may not miscarry, or be read; wherefore it is better to keep silence than to speak ill (*mal parlare*).

I desire to know whether my letters have reached you, as it is more than a month since I have heard from you or from Signor Ottaviano [Vivaldino], or from any one at Mantua.

London, 10th May 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Italian.*]

May 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

72. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Messieurs de Montmorency and Vielleville, who have been appointed to swear to the peace in England, departed yesterday, taking with them the Ambassador who is to reside there [Gilles de Noailles] and the four hostages; they were accompanied by upwards of 300 horsemen. News has also been received that for this same purpose the English delegates (*deputati*) likewise, namely, Lord William [Howard], Lord Chamberlain, and Dr. Wotton, who before the war resided here for a long while as Ambassador, have already crossed the Channel, they in like manner bringing with them one of the Thockmortons, Master of Requests (*Mastro di Rechieste*); and the Queen, to reciprocate the office already performed by the most Christian King, who sent a gentleman to visit her with congratulations on the peace, has also sent another individual,* who has been well received, the King giving him a gold chain of the value of 600 crowns, such being the amount of the present received by the French envoy.

The Ambassadors from Mont'Alcino, perceiving their stay here to be fruitless, have taken leave, and the Corsicans also will have to adapt themselves to the same necessity, although they sent two of their chief citizens to protest against the great wrong done them by France, who made herself master of the island by force, without either being called or requested; and now, after having maintained her in possession of it, at the risk of their lives and property, they are restored to the Genoese, who will chastise them with every sort of punishment. They are now told that such offices will be performed with the Ambassador from Genoa, as to secure their property; but neither the Corsicans nor the inhabitants of Mont'Alcino can place

* Sir George Howard, Knt. (See Foreign Calendar, 3 May 1559, p. 236.)

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much reliance on these fair words, *as I know on good authority that the chief intention of the King and the Constable is to gratify the King Catholic, and to have the best understanding they can with him, for the sole purpose of his doing the same on his part, not caring in the least for other Princes; and I hear through several channels that there is doubtless a secret understanding between their Majesties, about which it is very difficult, not to say impossible, to obtain any knowledge except through the result itself.*

On account of religion many families have departed in secret from the town of Meaux, ten leagues hence, and retired into Switzerland with such effects as they could remove, abandoning their houses and real property, from fear of legal proceedings, owing to disputes with other inhabitants of the same town, which almost led to an insurrection. These circumstances cause great trouble, which is increased daily by hearing that for the same cause, Lower Normandy, Poitou, Limosin, Saintonge, and almost the whole of Guienne and Gascony are freely exercising the Lutheran rites, preachers having been killed in several places, images destroyed, and many excesses committed with regard to the sacrament. After the marriages, and when the restitutions shall have been effected according to the peace, his Majesty has determined to go into those parts principally to make provision. He will also reform his household and judicial matters, and above all those of the finances with these receivers and treasurers, it being said that since the Constable's absence there is a deficit of several millions of francs.

Paris, 15th May 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

73. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday evening the English delegates (*deputati*) arrived with a less numerous company than was said for they did not exceed 150 horsemen. The Master of the Horse (*il gran scudier*)* was sent to meet them the day before, and yesterday they were met by many gentlemen servants, and of his Majesty's chamber. Before dismounting at their lodging, which is one of the principal ones (in Paris) and of those nearest to the Court, thus booted as they were, they went to pay their respects to the most Christian King and Queen, who both received them with demonstrations of ancient familiarity, they having been known in this kingdom for a long while. This afternoon, they were conducted from their lodging by M. de Montpensier and other noblemen, and presented themselves to the King with letters of credence, and being lodged at the King's cost they will remain amusing themselves until Sunday next, the 28th, when they will swear to the peace in the due form, in the Church of "Notre Dame."

* This Master of the Horse, Comte de Brienne (Foreign Calendar, 24th May 1559, p. 276), was also styled "M. de Boissy" (Foreign Calendar, 8th July 1559, p. 364 (5)).

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A report, which for a long while was secretly circulated through the Court, has lately been renewed through the advices of the French Ambassadors in Germany at the Diet, that it has been determined in the Diet to demand the restitution of all the towns of the Empire, whether occupied by the King Catholic, meaning Cambrai, or by the King of France, commencing with Metz; and as for this cause the Diet is said to be mustering troops, some stir is expected in that quarter.

It is also said, but in secret, that the King of Navarre is intent on engaging all such captains and military officials as arrive in Guienne and Gascony, where he rules, either to secure himself against any insurrection that might arise on account of religion, which is heard to be daily more and more in commotion, or for some other design of his, he being very dissatisfied with the peace.

Paris, 24th May 1559.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

74. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Lorraine departed hence last Monday, having been dismissed by the King very graciously and lovingly, and his Majesty having presented him with a service of gold and silver plate worth about 15,000 crowns. He has left here a very high character for being an adroit and prudent negotiator, and above all an eloquent one. The King also gave Marshal St. André, besides his ransom, a jewel valued at 4,000 crowns, and to the Bishop of Orleans a gold cup containing 1,000 golden reals, the equivalent of about 18,000 crowns; the Secretary de l'Aubespine also receiving a handsome present from his Catholic Majesty. It is understood that the most Christian King will do the like by the Commissioners who represented King Philip at the Conference.

When the Constable was released, he agreed to (*fece taglia di*) a ransom of 200,000 crowns, of which he paid 60,000 in ready money, and shortly afterwards gave merchants' security for other 90,000; so it is asserted that the Duke of Savoy, who receives this ransom, will discharge him from payment of the remaining 50,000.

A few days ago Mons. Danville [Henri de Montmorency], the Constable's second son, came hither with a very noble company of some 60 gentlemen, almost all of them being young men of his own age, and they were very richly clad. I can say nothing certain about the cause of their coming, some persons being of opinion that the Cardinal of Lorraine having come on business, the most Christian King sent M. Danville to pay a mere complimentary visit, the Constable having thus desired to have a share in the concluding offices performed here in the name of his most Christian Majesty; though others maintain that Danville had some other unknown business; but it is untrue that he had many interviews with his Majesty, and he was three days at Antwerp.

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Concerning the interview of the two Kings, I have heard on very good authority that nothing is settled, but that it will perhaps be discussed on the arrival of the hostages in France, and that should it take place it would be shortly before King Philip's embarkation; but here I see little inclination towards this result, nor do I hear any person commend its being carried into effect.

From what his Majesty himself says he will at any rate embark in the middle of August, as he wishes to arrive in Spain as soon as possible.

The personages who are going as hostages to France will depart hence on the 2nd of June, but the Count de Feria, who is expected from day to day, on his return from England, will remain here with his Majesty until the most Christian King sends for him.

Certain advice has been received of the death in prison of Christian, ex-King of Denmark; so his daughter the Duchess of Lorraine has put her household into mourning, and has withdrawn from Brussels into a convent.

The most Christian King has sent to King Philip by Marco Antonio Sidonio, an agreeable and facetious Venetian, the portrait of his Majesty's daughter, who is to be the wife of the Catholic King, which the latter received very willingly, and has had it placed in his bedchamber.

By his prompt witticisms this Marco Antonio has marvellous means of rendering himself agreeable to sovereigns and great personages. King Henry on two occasions made him presents amounting both together to 1,000 crowns ready money, and gave him a chain worth 500. Many Princes and Lords of the French Court also made him presents, and now his most Christian Majesty has commissioned him to get up a grand play, which will cost some 25,000 crowns.

Here also he renders himself most agreeable to the King Catholic and all the chief personages of the Court; so before his departure he expects a considerable present; his Majesty having made him promise to come to Spain with the bride, that there also they may have the advantage of his plays and other entertainments.

Brussels, 26th May 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

75. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

This day has at length witnessed the departure of Chiapino, Vitelli, who, having come hither to condole on the Emperor's death, remained until now, seeking the advantage of his master, the Duke of Florence, nor would he go away until he had certain indication of what might ensue.

I hear from the retinue of the Duke of Savoy, and also from the nephew of the French Ambassador, that an attack may be made on Geneva the moment the Duke is reinstated, both to recover that city, which he alleges belongs to him, as also to deprive the heretics of Italy and France of that convenient seat of refuge; which seizure, if effected, might cause some new and important war.

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Advices have been received from Spain that at Valladolid, ten of the principal noblemen of that Province (Leon) have been burnt for heresy.

Four days ago news arrived from Rome that the Pope, at King Philip's request, had consented to free these Provinces from the spiritual jurisdiction of Cologne and Rheims, and to erect in them three archbishoprics and some bishoprics, which gives very great satisfaction here, it being hoped by means of these bishoprics to suppress heresy, which is but too rife. His Majesty will have the nomination of these archbishoprics and bishoprics, with the exception of Cambrai, Mechlin, and Antwerp.

Stefano Doria is gone to Nice, of which place he was of late King Philip's governor, and he takes funds with him to pay its garrison, they being creditors for twenty-three arrears of pay, and his orders are that after satisfying this liability, he is to pay the balance to the Commissioners of the Duke of Savoy.

The King has graciously rewarded several Spanish noblemen, not only with Commanderies, but also with ready money; and besides the Commandery of 16,000 crowns revenue conceded to the Count de Feria, he gave his brother Don Alonso d'Anguillara 50,000 crowns. To the Duke of Alva he gave 160,000 crowns, either on the Treasury of Naples, or on the first moneys from the Indies; to the Duke of Sessa 140,000 crowns, 50,000 on the Treasury of Naples, and for the 90,000 he is to have 9,000 crowns revenue at Milan until the liquidation of that sum; to Don Juan Pimentel, of His Majesty's chamber, 30,000 crowns; to the heirs of Don Diego de Azevedo 150,000 crowns, to be levied in the Indies; and lesser sums to other persons.

On the day of Corpus Domini the King made his usual procession, to which the Ambassadors of the Emperor, of the King of France, of Florence, and I also, were invited. In the order of march the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Alva preceded his Majesty, who was placed between the Ambassadors of the Emperor and of the King of France, and was followed by the Ambassador of Florence, alone, and after him came the Knights of the Fleece.

Brussels, 28th May 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

76. Giovanni Michel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday the most Christian King swore solemnly to the peace between his Majesty and the Kingdom of England, after mass had been sung in the Church of Notre Dame by the Bishop of Paris. Besides the English delegates (*deputati*), there were present all the Princes and the Knights of the Order of St. Michael, in more costly array than usual. We ambassadors were all invited, especially for the purpose of being registered as witnesses. To do moreover greater honour to the said delegates, in conformity with the King Catholic's treatment of the French delegates (*deputati*) at Brussels, the most Christian King willed that they should dine at his own table. After

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dinner, when they were about to take leave, they received a courier with an express commission from their Queen, by no means to omit administering the same oath to the King [Dauphin] and Queen Dauphiness, as Kings and masters (*patroni*) of Scotland, the peace having been agreed to with that kingdom as well as with this; and thus was it done on the same day in the private chapel of the Louvre, where her Majesty lodges, after evensong had been sung.

After this ceremony they then took leave to depart to-morrow, having received to-day very noble and most costly presents, the Lord Chamberlain, who is considered the principal delegate, having had a service of silver, valued at 7,000 crowns of the sun; Dr. Wotton, who is the second delegate, receiving a service of silver plate, worth from 4,000 to 5,000 crowns; the third delegate [Throckmorton] being Ambassador resident.

I did not fail to show the delegates marks of the friendship subsisting between you and the Crown of England, which they acknowledged very gratefully, testifying to the reciprocity of their Queen, who, from what they told me, will henceforth commence pressing (*strignere*) the affairs of her marriage, an Ambassador having lately come to her from the Emperor to propose his son, the Archduke Ferdinando,* although they say they do not know whether her Majesty inclines towards a foreigner, or a native Englishmen, because she has hitherto shown herself averse to marriage.

On the day before the Cardinal of Lorraine arrived from Brussels, with all the Princes and noblemen who had followed him, except the Duke of Lorraine, who remained at a short distance hence, as on account of the death of the late King of Denmark, father of the Duchess, his mother, he would not appear, nor allow his retinue to be seen except in mourning.

Not only the Cardinal of Lorraine, but all his attendants, expatiate on their cordial reception during their stay at Brussels by the King Catholic and his Court, and on the noble present made to the Cardinal of a rare object, a ship of rock crystal, to which were appended five or six rare jewelled ornaments, together with a service of gold plate, which altogether, including the ship, is estimated at from 28,000 to 30 000 crowns. The Bishop of Orleans [Jean de Morvilliers], who accompanied the Cardinal, and was present at the Conference [of Cateau Cambresis], also received a service of silver, worth 6,000 or 7,000 crowns.

Here also they are therefore preparing to do the like by the Spanish delegates, who are expected here at the latest on the 8th or 10th of June. So to-morrow, the most Christian King departs hence for Ecouen (*Equan*), a place of the Constable's five leagues hence, with the whole Court, where they will remain, until the lodgings in this town have been renovated; and to give time to prepare the palace of the Louvre and other neighbouring residences for the more honourable reception and lodging of the Duke of Alva and the other

* See also "Foreign Calendar," date 10th June, 1559, p. 307. (Throckmorton to the Council.)

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Spanish delegates (*deputati*), and especially for the person of the Duke of Savoy.

Paris, 29th May 1559.

[*Italian.*]

May 30. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

77. Il Schifanoya to the Castellan of Mantua.

On the 23rd instant, the French Ambassadors arrived here. They were received at Dover by Lord Cobham, with a very honourable company. On the morrow he took them to his house, and entertained them with hunting and hawking for two days. They then went to Gravesend, where they found the Admiral with another company of lords and gentlemen, and a fair preparation of barges, to take them by the Thames to London. On arriving at the Tower they found awaiting them the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex [Thomas Fitzwalter], the Marquis of Northampton [William Parr], my Lord Robert [Dudley], her Majesty's Master of the Horse, with many other lords, earls, and barons, and in short all the nobility of the Court, well mounted and apparelled. The Duke and the Marquis placed M. de Montmorency between them, the rest doing the like by the others according to their rank, and proceeded along the wide street of Cheapside to their lodgings in the houses near St. Paul's belonging to the Bishop of London, the Dean, Master Peter Vannes, and other gentlemen thereabouts. The Ambassadors were preceded by a great number of their own gentlemen and of Englishmen, there being a great concourse of people in the streets, though it rained a little. On dismounting they found their lodgings excellently provided with convenient rooms and provisions for making good cheer.

On the morrow, Wednesday the 24th, after dinner, accompanied *ut supra*, they went to the Court at Whitehall Palace, where the Queen now resides, and having entered the great hall on the ground floor, hung with very choice tapestries, with the canopy, throne, and royal cushions, they were received by the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Steward, with all the rest of the Lords of the Privy Council, and mounting the stairs they went to kiss [hands] and do reverence to the Queen, who received them very joyfully and graciously, going to meet them as far as the guard chamber at the head of the stairs (*doppo le scale*); and being conducted to the presence chamber, they presented their credentials, and explained their embassy, everybody standing. After conversing for an hour her Majesty withdrew, and they were taken to the Park of the said Palace to see a pair of bucks killed, one by dogs, the other by archers, very much to their diversion till the hour for supper, to which the Queen had invited them. Meanwhile a sumptuous feast was being prepared in the garden of the said place (*loco*), under the long and wide gallery on the ground floor (*galeria terena*), which was all hung with gold and silver brocade, and divided into three apartments, in the centre of which was the table prepared for her Majesty, and at a short distance from it another for the Ambassadors. There was also a table 54 paces in length for the other lords, gentlemen, and ladies. The whole gallery was closed in with wreaths of flowers and leaves of most beautiful designs, which gave a very sweet odour and were marvellous to

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behold, having been prepared in less than two evenings so as to keep them fresh.

On returning from the hunt at 6 p.m. they entered the garden by a private gate, where they were met by her Majesty, dressed entirely in purple velvet, with so much gold and so many pearls and jewels that it added much to her beauty. She took M. de Montmorency with her right hand and M. de Vielleville with the left, and they walked in the private orchard (*broletto*) for more than a full hour, her Majesty speaking with them most sweetly and familiarly in French, as readily as she does Italian, Latin, and Greek, all which tongues she uses at pleasure, and in so loud a tone as to be heard by everybody. From what I myself heard, she discoursed about her tribulations in past times, saying that if the love which the people bore her had not been so great, they [the late sovereigns ?] would have put her to death when they placed her in the Tower; and she thanked God, &c.

The supper hour having arrived, the trumpets sounded, and her Majesty went to the door of the gallery, which was however an artificial one made of flowers, leaves, and roses. In the two corners of the gallery were two semicircular cupboards, laden with most precious and costly drinking cups of gold and of rock crystal and other jewels. The Queen, having washed her hands, and being at table under her canopy, insisted on having M. de Montmorency at her little table, which stood crosswise at the head of the other tables. On the same platform, at the second table, the other two Ambassadors were seated, with the younger son of the Constable. At the large table all the rest of the French lords and gentlemen sat on one side, and on the other all the ladies, of whom there was no small number, and who required so much space on account of the farthingales they wore that there was not room for all; so part of the Privy Chamber ate on the ground on the rushes, being excellently served by lords and cavaliers, who gave them courage and company at their repast. (*Alla gran tavola sedettero tutt' il resto de' Signori et gentil' homini Francesi da un lato, et dall' altro tutte le Damme, quale erano non picciol numero, et perchè tengono molto loco rispetto alli loro verdugali che vestono, non vi potero capir tutte; ma parte della Camera privata mangiorno in terra sulli rusci, serviti eccellentemente da Signori et Cavalieri, che gli facevano corraggio, et anco compagnia in mangiare, cosi servendo.*)

The banquet was wonderful for large and excellent joints, but the delicacies and cleanliness customary in Italy were wanting. It lasted for two hours, with music of several sorts. After supper, the tables being removed, they danced till the eleventh hour of the night, and when her Majesty retired everybody went to their lodgings.

Next day they returned to the Court in full dress (*pontificalmente vestiti*), with the collar of St. Michael, being preceded by the captains and others, all in pompous array, to take the oath. They went into the chapel of the Palace, where, in presence of the Queen, M. de Montmorency promised, swore, &c., and afterwards the other two (Ambassadors) [did the same], with the ceremonies, &c. Montmorency swore twice, once for France, and again for Scotland; and he offered

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to take the Communion, that being Corpus Christi Day, which festival was celebrated all over the world, except in England, but her Majesty did not wish it; so they were not much edified by this [omission], or by seeing the people working all over London, and the shops open on that day.

They remained all that day at the Court, and dined and supped with the Queen, not in the garden, but in the large wing (*ala*) of the Palace, and being seen to do so publicly, they were honoured by everybody.

It was arranged for the morrow to go on a pleasure excursion to Hampton Court, to see that stupendous place, which is so replete with every convenience, and then in the evening they were to lodge at Richmond, but they were disturbed and kept indoors by the coming of the hostages on that day, they not having been able to cross the Channel all together from Boulogne and Calais, owing to the diversity of the winds.

Next day, Saturday, the Ambassadors went to present them [the hostages], and at the same time to take leave to depart on the following day; and so all of them departed, M. de Noailles, brother of the Bishop, who is Ambassador at Venice, and the hostages remaining They were accompanied to Gravesend and the seaside by many persons, and from what I hear they were very well satisfied both with the kingdom and their reception.

An Ambassador from the Emperor arrived here two days ago, and had audience yesterday. Many say he is come to treat the marriage with Prince Ferdinand, and that a greater personage will follow with precious gifts, should the reply to this one be hopeful. He came postwise, and is lodged at Durham Place.

[Jane] Dormer, Countess de Feria, also lodges in the same place; she keeps table and house there with her mother Mistress Clarentius, "etc., tutte del suo latino," and the Bishop dell' Aquila, who remained here as Ambassador for King Philip after the departure of the Count de Feria. The Count departed a fortnight ago, and it has not yet been heard what present the Queen made him at his departure, saving that he asked of her as a special favour, instead of gifts, a passport for passage to Flanders of all the monks, friars, and nuns now here, who were required to renounce their profession, swear against the Pope, and observe the articles lately enacted against the Christian and Catholic Church, besides being expelled and driven out of their monasteries and convents, had they been men to consent to this, but they had determined to die rather than change their purpose.

The Queen did not act thus with the French Lords, to whom she made gifts more than splendid, viz.

To Mons. de Montmorency: a tankard (*boccale*) and bason of gold of the value of 1,400 [crowns], equivalent to 5,600 "di questi" [English crowns?]; 15 cups of silver gilt with 5 covers, worth 700 [crowns] = 2,800; two dozen spoons and "pironi"* of silver, gilt and worked superbly; two of the best and most beautiful hackneys that were in her stall; divers dogs—mastiffs, great and small, hounds (*scureiri*), and setters—a quantity of every sort.

* "Piron," in the Venetian dialect, is the term for "fork."

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To Mons. de Vielleville: the same [articles], but of less value, and without spoons, "pironi," hackneys, or dogs.

To the brother of Mons. de Montmorency: most valuable clothes, which had belonged to King Edward her brother, and suitable to his person, he being of the same age [as that King was].

To all the principal gentlemen: a chain of gold each, according to their qualities.

I have nothing else to tell you, save that, with regard to religion, they live (*si vive*) in all respects in the Lutheran fashion, in all the churches of London, except St. Paul's, which still keeps firm in its former state until the day of St. John the Baptist (24th June), when the period prescribed by Parliament expires, the Act being in the press, and soon about to appear; but the Council nevertheless sent twice or thrice to summon the Bishop of London [Edmund Bonner], to give him orders to remove the service of the mass and of the Divine office in that church; but he answered them intrepidly, "I possess three things, soul, body, and property (*robba*); of the two [last] you can dispose at your pleasure, but as to the soul God alone can command me."

He remains constant about body and property, and again to day he has been called to the Council, but I do not yet know what they said to him. All the Bishops are likewise disposed to await their sentence and decision, and many other prelates after them; which sentence and decision will soon be known. In the interval the false preachers do not fail to preach publicly in all the churches, demanding their revenues.

London, 30th May 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

Names of the French gentlemen who came in the Embassy to England:—

Mons. de Montmorency, with a train of 30 gentlemen.
Mons. de Vielleville, with a train of 6 gentlemen.
The [resident] Ambassador, Mons. de Noailles the Councillor, and his train.
The hostages: Mons. de Candale, Mons. Marquis de Neste, Mons. Marquis de Iran, Mons. de Mantouller (*sic*).
Gentlemen of the King's Chamber (34 names).
And divers others, including the Governors of places in Picardy.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

78. Il Schifanoya to the Castellan of Mantua.

The Council summoned the Bishop of London, and requested him earnestly with loving exhortations to resign the Bishopric to one Master Grindal, telling him that such was the will of her Majesty; and yesterday the Dean and Chancellors of St. Paul's, by commission of the Queen, were to make the election, to which they would by no means consent, neither would the Bishop, although they offered him a very good pension for life (*et con gran preghiere et essortationi amorevoli volevano pur indurlo a far resignatione del Vescovato ad uno chiamato Mro. Grindal, dicendoli che questa era la mente di Sua Maestà; et hieri dovevano il Decano et gli Cancellieri di San Paulo per commissione della Regina far la elettione, alla quale non voranno per modo alcuno consentir, si come il Vescovo ha fatto, non ostante etc.*); to which he intrepidly replied that he would never

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do so, and preferred death. He was answered, "Consider well your case, and how you will live." He rejoined, "It is true nothing else remains to me, but I hope in God, who will not fail me, and in my friends, by so much the more as I shall be able to gain my livelihood by teaching children, which profession I did not disdain to exercise although I was a bishop; and should I not find anyone willing to accept my teaching, I am Doctor in the Laws, and will resume the study of what I have long forgotten, and will thus gain my bread; and should this not succeed, I know how to labour with my hands in gardens and orchards, as in planting, grafting, sowing, &c., as well as any gardener in this kingdom; and should this also be insufficient, I desire no other grace, favour, or privilege from her Majesty than what she grants to the mendicants who go through London from door to door, begging, that I may do the like if necessary."

When the Council heard this his final determination, they said, "Well, we have nothing more to do with you for the present, so her Majesty will provide herself with another bishop;" and she has done so. The poor Bishop has taken sanctuary in Westminster Abbey, to avoid molestation from many persons who demand considerable sums of money from him; but the Abbey cannot last long, as the Abbot made a similar reply, when it was offered to him to remain securely in his Abbey with his habit, and the monks to live together as they have done till now, provided that he would celebrate in his church the divine offices and mass, administering the sacraments in the same manner as in the other churches of London, and that he would take the oath like the other servants, officials, pensioners, and dependants of the Crown, and acknowledge this establishment (*erettione*) as from the hands of her Majesty. To these things the Abbot would by no means consent; so after St. John's Day, the term fixed by Parliament for all persons to consent and swear to all the statutes and laws, or to lose what they have, all of them will go about their business (*andaranno per i fatti loro*), though no one can leave the kingdom.

The Count de Feria had obtained permission to take to Flanders all the religious. Since his departure this concession has been limited to those who were in being at the time of other schism, and who are very few in number.

The Emperor's Ambassador has not yet obtained any reply, it being known that he is negotiating the marriage, and has already spoken twice to her Majesty, though she did not show him much favour (*ma non gli ha fatto molte carezze*), it being believed on the contrary that she is very reserved, and procrastinates.

All the bishops are expecting hourly to be deprived not only of their revenues, but also of their dignities, and everybody marvels at so much constancy. The Bishop of Ely abandons 15,000 crowns revenue, the Archbishop of York, late Lord Chancellor of England, little less, and all the others in proportion to their grade.

I hear that owing to this great constancy it is determined in secret to proceed more adroitly in enforcing the oath [to observe] the Statutes, and many will perhaps be exempted from it, most especially the nobility, perhaps from fear of some insurrection.

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They have appointed the inquisitors, who will commence visiting the churches; and after St. John's Day all who do not go to church to hear their sermons and office will be fined, the first time, one shilling, the second, one pound [sterling], and the third by confiscation of all property and perpetual imprisonment; so that everybody, if not from devotion, at least from fear, will have to go, and from what I hear no person of any condition will be excused.

I have heard to-day that a married priest, named Parker, who was Chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn, has been made Archbishop of Canterbury.

London, 6th June 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Italian.*]

June 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

79. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Last week the three hostages departed for France, going separately to make a greater display of their retinue, the Prince of Orange having with him some 600 horsemen, the Duke of Alva, 400, and the Count d'Egmont as many more, besides many other persons who went apart from them.

The departure of the Duke of Savoy is said to be postponed because the clothes and liveries are not finished, but he told me that he waited to hear whether the places on the frontiers had been consigned by the Admiral of France to Count Mega, as Governor of Hainault, and to Count Mansfeldt, as Governor of Luxemburg. *The Duke's attendants complain much of the grievous practices which are carried on by the French in Piedmont, and although complaints of these were sent to Madame Marguerite, they are not sure that they will be in any way remedied.*

The Duke has asked King Philip to let him have Vercelli, which is one of the two fortresses retained by his Majesty in Piedmont, alleging that he could reside more conveniently there than elsewhere, and that the King might take Santhia in exchange for Vercelli. The King promised him compliance with this request, so Vercelli will be the capital city instead of Mondovi.

The Ambassador from Mantua has been promised by King Philip that he will leave the places held by him in the territory of Montferrat without dismantling any of them.

By the last letters despatched to Rome King Philip besought the Pope, who is understood to bear the Queen of England very great ill-will, and to meditate proceedings against her, to suspend his judgment, and not to issue any act until the result of the negotiation for her marriage to the Archduke Charles be known; *about which I understand that very little is hoped, but King Philip willingly avails himself of any opportunity to gain time, as for reasons of state policy no determination made by his Holiness can please him.*

The Ambassador from France tells me that the Duke of Florence has offered King Philip a considerable sum of money if he will guarantee him the places in Tuscany.

By letter from England of the 29th ultimo, it is heard that the French Ambassadors who went to confirm the peace were honour-

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ably received and treated by the Queen, who more than once banqueted and entertained them with dances and hunting, making an ample and gracious demonstration towards them, and most especially towards M. de Montmorency, the chief of the Embassy, and the Constable's eldest son. They remained five days in London, and departed well satisfied, as the Queen presented (*fece donar*) to M. de Montmorency gold and silver, ambling nags, and dogs, valued at 10,000 crowns; to M. de Vielleville to the amount of from 3,000 to 4,000; to a young man, the brother of M. de Montmorency, the very valuable clothes of the late King Edward; and to each of the chief gentlemen a gold chain, the chains being of various weights, according to the degrees of the receivers.

The four hostages sent by the most Christian King have remained in England according to the treaty, and as Ambassador Resident with the Queen he has appointed M. [Gilles] de Noailles, brother of the Ambassador with your Serenity. The affairs of the religion were in a very bad state; they had already made the change in all the churches in London, except in St. Paul's, which still continued in its pristine state, being able to do so until the day of St. John the Baptist (24th June), the term enacted by Parliament, when they are to renounce the Catholic religion and its rites; but certain bishops and other men of worth are disposed to forfeit property and life rather than do what would cause the eternal damnation of their souls.

When the Count de Feria left England,* it is understood that the Queen made him no present, nor even until now is she heard to have given him any, but it is indeed known that on his departure he as a special favour obtained leave by entreaty for the friars and nuns to cross over to Flanders, they being compelled either to quit the cloister and renounce their profession, or be subjected to such grievous punishment as would have been inflicted on them.

It was quite true that the Count de Feria in a transport of love took for his wife Jane Dormer, maid of honour to Queen Mary, about which so much complaint has been made. He kept the matter secret as long as he could, but after returning to Brussels it was necessary to divulge it. By this marriage he will have lost upwards of 40,000 crowns revenue, which by wedding his niece he would have had as her dowry, for which purpose he had already obtained the dispensation.

We are to move to Ghent on the 10th July, and not to return to Brussels. His Majesty is intent on concluding a variety of negotiations, being determined to depart for Spain in the middle of August, although many persons say it is impossible for him to do it; *and the Duke of Savoy, who told it me himself, counselled him not to leave these Provinces until after seeing the Queen of England*

* In Foreign Calendar 1558–59, p. 287, entry 781, it is seen that the Count de Feria left England on his return to Brussels on the Tuesday preceding the 28th May 1559, "with his company," without any special mention of his wife, Jane Dormer, who returned to England in July 1559, on a mission to Queen Elizabeth from King Philip, with her kinsman Don Juan de Ayala, as recorded in the same Calendar, pp. 367, 422, on which last page allusion is made to her pregnancy.

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Brussels, 11th June 1559.

[*Italian: the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 13. Epistolæ Poli, V., 350.

80. Alvise Priuli to Lodovico Beccatello, Archbishop of Ragusa.

Although ill of my quartan malady, and harassed and overwhelmed by the grievous death of such a master and father [Cardinal Pole], and by the heavy burden it pleased him to lay on me in the execution of his will about distributing the effects, all of which he left to poor relations, orphans, and servants, and for other alms and charitable purposes, it had nevertheless been my intention to write to your most reverend Lordship immediately, as becoming your union with that sainted soul and with me likewise, but so many extraordinary accidents befell me on account of these bequests (*queste spoglie*) as also from other circumstances, that, infirm as I was, the necessity for occupying myself with the transaction of much business, which did not admit of delay, made me think that I might reasonably defer performing this office with your Lordship, most especially as I knew that the whole catastrophe would have been written to you by our friend the Abbate Gerio. Subsequently my health became much worse, not only from one quartan fever but from two, and sometimes three, which kept me for two months in one room without ever going out of it; but by the grace of our Lord God, notwithstanding every molestation, and the constant troubles I had to undergo in performance of so charitable and sacred a duty, I nevertheless during the last two months have remained with but a single or fourth day ague, which as the better season approached diminished gradually, and the paroxysm which I was expecting never appeared; a thing to surprise any one who considers my age,† and so many other things of a nature to crush and cause the death of a man in the prime of his life, and of much stronger mind and body than I am. Our Lord God, however, has chosen to effect this in me, His most unworthy servant, for the sake as I am firmly convinced of one who was always so grateful to Him. Oh! how many things I should have and should wish to communicate on this subject to your Lordship by word of mouth, as it is my intention; and if His Divine Majesty grants me the grace, according to my hope and intention, not only to depart hence speedily, but also to continue my journey towards Italy without delay, it will be beyond measure agreeable to me; and I shall venture to avail myself of your Lordship's most courteous suggestion that I should give you notice of

* Qu. for the marriage of the Duke of Savoy.
† He was 62 years old.

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my arrival there, that you may take the trouble of crossing over to Venice.* I had reserved my letters to you and to some other very dear friends and lords of mine, until I got to Flanders; but having been anticipated by your most loving one of the 7th April, I could not defer answering it, but shall not fail nevertheless to write to you again when I have crossed the Channel, as I propose and hope to do at any rate before the end of this month. Were I able without failing in my other important duties, and did I but find myself free from certain becoming respects, your Lordship may believe me that to come straight to you for the purpose perhaps of ending my days with you, and with our most worthy Dom Crisostomo, would give me very great satisfaction, as I bring with me a very good quantity of the remains and most precious memorials of the mental faculties and piety left by that sainted soul, which I have preserved, and are and will continue to be kept by me with all due care, in the hope that true and perpetual praise may revert not only to him, but also to the glory of God, and to the edification, moreover, of this his country, which requires it so greatly, and likewise to that of the rest of Christendom. And who knows but that Divine Providence may some day open the road for me to realise this my design.† I promise your Lordship that I should willingly prefer Zara in such company to any other place in Italy. Again and again was I wont to ponder, with that sainted soul, the especial providence and paternal care demonstrated by our Lord God towards your Lordship, by interrupting the ways which might have made you swerve from your residence; and although my opinion of your piety and other rare qualities, if it had chanced otherwise, would have made me rejoice, hoping that our Lord God might give you cause and opportunity to employ yourself more to His service, this my joy and exultation would nevertheless not have been *sine timore et tremore.* Your Lordship's prudence and experience of others will, I am sure, have inspired you with the same fear, knowing how perilous are the favours of the world and of great princes, even to those who with their whole heart, and not feignedly, are proceeding in the path of piety for the service of God. The mirror that your Lordship presents to me, and of which my most holy father and master made constant use in all his wordly troubles and various vicissitudes, will I trust be incessantly placed before your own eyes, and by means of that most holy cross I am thus able to soothe and alleviate the bitterness and anguish of your present affliction. In the whole course of my life never did I so fully know and experience the uses of adversity, *et quod prope est Dominus his, qui tribulato sunt corde,* so that through his grace *accedant ad illum, qui tales invitat, Venite ad me, omnes,* &c., as I have done during these last months. Would that I were able to write your Lordship not only a letter but a large volume on this subject, *ad mutuam nostram consolationem;* but I hope our Lord God will grant me the means for telling you by word of mouth what I should have wished to communicate by letter. Together with the one received from you, I got another from our

* From Ragusa, where Lodovico Beccatello resided, in the Archiepiscopal Palace.

† This allusion to a biography of Cardinal Pole was realised by Beccatello.

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reverend and well beloved (*dolcissimo*) Dom Crisostomo, replete with his usual piety and affection, and of suggestions brief but full of substance and spirit, and which, together with those of your Lordship, may God grant me the grace to know how to follow, and carry them into effect. I think I may venture not to send him any further reply, praying your Lordship to communicate this present one to him, as I am certain you would have done at any rate, and I recommend myself with my whole heart to your holy and devout prayers and his.

Of our foreign associates, for such I call them although they are Englishmen, the only ones remaining here are Giambatista Binardi (*sic*), Enrico [Henry Penning], and Lilio [Lesley].* They are most anxious to accompany me to Italy, but I greatly doubt whether Leslie will be able to gratify this wish of his, being much harassed by hectic fever, which first seized him some two years ago. The last who departed hence was our Gian-Francesco Stella, who went in obedience to the commands of his father, he having recalled him very urgently and wished him to come speedily, he being very much grieved by the death of another son, Gian-Francesco's only brother. The Burgundian left us some two months ago with the quartan malady, from which he also had suffered long and most severely. He is at Brussels, and intended to return to his native country, in the hope of a more immediate and easier cure; he would then go back to serve the Duchess of Parma, who, as your Lordship will have already heard, is coming to rule the Provinces of Flanders with the same authority as the late Queen Maria of Hungary. The rest of our aforesaid company went away all together some six months ago, and performed the journey and arrived all safe in Italy, with the exception of Messer Federico Ferro and Messer Battista Riva, who remained indisposed at Augsburg, but we heard subsequently that they likewise soon recovered and are in Italy, as I am sure your Lordship will have already heard from Messer Federico; nor will I now dilate by telling you anything more, again recommending myself with all affection to you and to the Reverend D. Cristostomo, saluting lovingly our Messer Girolamo Amalteo, and praying our Lord God to deign to preserve you and them in His grace, and in all prosperity.

London, 13th June 1559.

Most affectionate servant, ALVISE PRIULI.

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

81. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Fresh advices have been received from England in date of the 6th, with news that the Bishop of London [Edmund Bonner] had been deprived of his bishopric, which was given to one Master Grindal by name. The poor Bishop, having many creditors, had retired to an abbey, and there was much fear about his personal

* See Priuli's letter to Giberti, Cod. XXIV., CLX. p. 205 verso, line 22 (in St. Mark's Library), where the name is written Leslie or Lesle.

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safety, he having been the individual who, during the reign of Queen Mary, persecuted the heretics more than anyone else.

As Archbishop of Canterbury they have elected a married priest called Master Parker, Chaplain of Queen Anne Boleyn, mother of the Queen.

The Queen had appointed the Inquisitors (*li inquisitori*), who, after the day of St. John the Baptist, will commence visiting the churches, and punishing whoever will not go to church to hear their preaching and offices (*le loro prediche, et officij*). For the first offence they are to be fined one shilling sterling (*un soldo della moneta di quel paese*), for the second one pound, and for the third they are even to forfeit their property. But by reason of the great constancy shown by the Bishops and certain other individuals, it was said that the Queen had secretly determined to proceed more adroitly in enforcing the oath to observe the Act of Parliament, and especially with regard to the nobility, for fear of some insurrection.

No one under suspicion in matters of religion is allowed to leave the kingdom, as many persons would voluntarily renounce their property to avoid remaining where they are compelled to believe against their conscience.

The Count de Feria entreated permission, which was granted him, for all the friars and nuns to depart; but now it is said that this permission is to be modified, and only to apply to those who had been friars and nuns at the time of the other schism, and who are very few in number as compared with those of the present time.

The Emperor's Ambassador* has had two audiences of the Queen, but does not seem to have been well received by her; so his negotiation about the marriage is believed not to proceed very favourably.

The Queen's daily arrangements are musical performances and other entertainments (*feste*), and she takes marvellous pleasure in seeing people dance.

News has been received here of the consignment of Marienburg, and it is believed that by this time all the places in the duchy of Luxemburg will have been restored.

Yesterday the Duke of Savoy departed with about 60 gentlemen, and as many more servants, dressed by him in so stately a livery of silk and gold lace, that the like is not known ever to have been made, and the cost incurred by him for this and other clothes, both for himself and as presents, is said to amount to 150,000 crowns. He travels postwise, but very slowly, so that it will take him five or six days to arrive at the French Court, where at the same time all the chief nobility of these Provinces will arrive, for the chief personages who remained here are few in comparison with those who accompanied the Duke and the hostages.

An accident that occurred greatly diminished the pleasure caused by the sight of so gorgeous a pageant, for one of the gentlemen in the Duke's company, Captain Bortolamio dalla Croce by name, a brave soldier, on his way to the palace dressed in the livery, was suddenly attacked and slain by one of his enemies.

* Baron Caspar Preyner; see Foreign Calendar, 2nd June 1559, p. 298.

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The hostages were to arrive in Paris to-day, and owing to their delay, the solemnisation of the marriage of this King has been postponed until the 22nd of this month, three or four days after which ceremony that of the Duke of Savoy will take place.

The German soldiers who were on these frontiers are disbanded from to day, all the suspicions hitherto entertained having ceased in every quarter.

With this letter I send the list of individuals condemned by the Inquisition in Spain.

Brussels, 16th June 1559.

[*Enclosure in preceding :*]

List of Individuals tried and condemned by the Inquisition at Valladolid on the 21st May 1559, Trinity Sunday, in the presence of the most Serene Prince of Spain* and Princess of Portugal, Governess (of Spain).

The Doctor Augustino de Cazalla, his Majesty's preacher and chaplain, was degraded and burnt, and all his property confiscated.

Francisco de Buiero, priest, brother of Cazalla, was degraded and burnt, and all his property confiscated.

Juan Buiero, brother of the aforesaid, sentenced to confiscation of his property, to perpetual imprisonment, to wear the habit of St. Benedict, to be disqualified from holding any office whatever, under penalty of being burnt for any contravention, to hear mass in the church which will be assigned him, and to confess and communicate on the three Easters.†

Doña Costanza de Buiero, sister of the aforesaid, sentenced in like manner.

Doña Leonora de Buiero, mother of all the aforesaid, being already deceased, they drew her statue to the scaffold, sentencing her property to be confiscated, and her bones, which had been buried in the Monastery of St. Benedict at Valladolid, to be burnt with the statue ; and as all the heretics assembled in her house, they sentenced it to be levelled with the ground, an inscription on marble indicating the cause why it had been razed, and forbidding its restoration or removal of the marble at any time under penalty of most severe excommunication, and of banishment from all the realms of Spain.

The priest, Maestro Alfonso Perez, was degraded and burnt, and his property confiscated. He was a man of forbidding appearance.

Doña Francisca de Zuñica had the same sentence as was passed on Juan Buiero.

Don Pedro Sarmiento, son of the Marquis de Ponza, was sentenced in like manner, and deprived of the Commandery of Calatrava, and the site of his perpetual imprisonment will be assigned him.

Doña Mencia de Figueroa, his wife, is condemned to the same punishment.

Don Luis de Roxas, the nephew and heir (*successore*) of the Marquis de Ponza, is sentenced never to leave Spain, nor to enter

* Don Carlos, born 19th November 1545 ; this seems to have been his first appearance in public.

† *Et confessisi, communichisi le tre Pasque ;* namely, the Epiphany, Easter Sunday and Whit Sunday.

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Valladolid, or any place where the Catholic King holds his Court; his property to be confiscated, and he himself is declared ineligible to offices. On the day of the *Auto-da-fé*, he ascended the scaffold in the habit of St. Benedict, and with a wax torch in his hand.

Doña Anna Henriquez de Roxas, daughter of the Marquis de Alcañizes, who had her property confiscated, went to the scaffold in the habit of St. Benedict, and with a wax torch.

Juan de Ullea de Toro, a Knight of St. John, was sentenced to the same punishment as Juan Buiero, and deprived of the Order of Knight of St. John.

Doña Maria de Roxas, a professed nun, daughter of the Marquis de Ponza, was sentenced to confiscation of her property, and to go to the scaffold in the habit of St. Benedict, and with a candle, to be deprived of a vote, either active or passive, and of all the offices of her Order, and to be the last in the choir and refectory.

Doña Juana de Silva, wife of Juan de Bivero (*sic*) (? Buiero), sentenced to confiscation of her property, and to imprisonment, and without exemption to wear always the habit of St. Benedict.

Antonio Dominiquez de Pedrosa sentenced to three years' imprisonment in a Benedictine monastery, and to confiscation of his property.

Leonor de Cisneros de Toro condemned to the same punishment.

Maria Sayavedra de Zamoza sentenced to imprisonment for life, declared ineligible to any office, to hear mass and sermon, and to confess and communicate on the three Easters, under penalty of being burnt.

Juan Garcia, goldsmith, sentenced to confiscation of his property and to be burnt.

Anthony Fason (*sic*), an Englishman, sentenced to carry a wax candle, to wear the habit of St. Benedict in the monastery to be appointed him, without going out of it, and to confess and communicate and (to hear) mass.

Christoforo de Ocampo de Zamoza, sentenced to confiscation of his property and to be burnt.

Isabella Dominiquez, sentenced to confiscation of her property and to imprisonment for life.

Daniel della Quadra, ploughman, sentenced to imprisonment for life in a Benedictine monastery.

Christoforo de Padilla de Zamoza, one of the first authors and head of the Lutheran sect, sentenced to confiscation of his property and to be burnt.

The Bachelor Herezuello de Torro, sentenced to confiscation of his property and to be burnt. He was burnt alive, as he persevered in his heresy, remaining gagged the whole time, not having ever chosen to acknowledge the Holy Church of Rome.*

Caterina Roman, sentenced to the confiscation of her property and to the fire.

The like sentence was passed on Doña Caterina de Ortega, daughter of the Treasurer.

* From this paragraph it may be inferred that the other victims condemned to capital punishment were first strangled on the scaffold, after which their remains were committed to the flames.

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The like sentence was passed on the Licentiate Francisco de Herrera, of Jewish lineage; and on

Isabella de Strada de Pedrosa, and on Juana Velasquez de Pedrosa.

The property of the Portuguese Gonzalo Vaiz was confiscated to the Treasury, he himself being burnt for Judaism (*per Giudeo*).

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Original Letter, Mantuan Archives.

82. Il Schifanoya to Ottaviano Vivaldino, Mantuan Ambassador with King Philip.

The Queen, in consideration of my quality and service, has promised me a small pension on St. John's [Priory], although I am certain the patent (*le parole*) is not made.* I will endeavour to obtain a final resolution before I depart, but this will be difficult, as the Court is at Greenwich, and about to remove further off, her Majesty intending to pass this hot weather in the pleasure of visiting several of her places; and as I am by nature very unlucky, I do not hope for much.

The [Mantuan ?] Ambassador [in France ?], by one of our couriers who returned two days ago from France, offers to place me in the service of the Cardinal of Tournon, if that of Signor Lodovico [Gonzaga ?] does not please me. I shall return home by way of Paris, that being the shortest, being compelled to do so by poverty, though I have a great desire to see your Lordship.

Here the only fresh intelligence is that six or eight Bishops have been deprived not only of their bishoprics but of all their other revenues, being bound also not to depart from England, and not to preach or exhort whatever in public or private, and still less to write anything against the orders and statutes of this Parliament, nor to [give occasion to] insurrection or any other scandalous act, under pain of perpetual imprisonment; [the Queen's ministers] demanding security and promise to be given by one [bishop] for the other. Thus they will continue depriving every one, not only the bishops, but the deans, archdeacons, and other prelates who will not consent to their abuses, nor take the oath, the form of which is enclosed, translated into our tongue, and I think I never saw the like. Yesterday these good reverend fathers underwent their deprivation, and received orders where they are to dwell, before the Council, which assembled here in London in the house of a sheriff for this purpose; they being humble, abject, and habited like simple and poor priests—a sight which would have grieved you. But, in the words of Paul, *Ibant gaudentes a conspectu concilii*, &c., being followed by a wonderful concourse of the common people, some of whom said one thing, and some another; but the Bishops tolerated everything patiently, for the love of Christ. I send you a list of those who remain to be deprived, and of those who are dead, not one turncoat having yet been found.

The Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely, your Lordship's friend, remain for the last to be summoned, in hope of gaining them, all possible temptations not wanting, being such rare men as they are, and necessary in affairs [of state]; but there is no doubt of their faith and constancy, both of them having spoken so candidly in Parliament, and still persevering in their integrity.

* No such patent is enrolled on the Patent Rolls.

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The Abbot of Westminster with all his monks did the like, and are therefore now deprived of the revenues of the monastery and of all the rest of their property.

We have no longer masses anywhere except in the houses of the French and Spanish Ambassadors. All the friars and monks of every sort having received their passport, some of them have gone away, and will be followed by the others, although the Carthusians do not choose to depart till they are compelled to do so by force, which will soon be used.

Bishops deprived:—London, Worcester, Chester, Carlisle, Lichfield, Llandaff, Winchester (in the Tower), Lincoln (in the Tower).

Bishops dead:—Canterbury, *i.e.* Cardinal Pole; Rochester, Norwich, Chichester, Oxford, Salisbury, Gloucester, Bristol, Hereford, Bangor.

Bishops living, and not yet deprived:—York, Ely, Exeter, Bath, St. Asaph, Durham, Peterborough, St. David's, Man (*Mona Insula*).

Of the two Bishops in the Tower, Lincoln was released, being allowed ten days to decide about taking the oath or being deprived; and the other, Winchester, was confined there for having told the Lords of the Council, perhaps more boldly (*arditamente*) than necessary, that in his church he would not tolerate this new mode of officiating, as it was heretical and schismatic. "Then," they replied, "is the Queen heretical and schismatic?" And thus in anger they sent him back to the Tower.

The Emperor's Ambassador continues to go very often to the Court, and is much honoured (*carezzato*) by her Majesty. Sometimes they converse together very pleasantly at great length; but what will be the result of the negociation is not known, there being such great difference (*spariglia*) in religion.

Before leaving London her Majesty was blooded from one foot and from one arm, but what her infirmity is, is not known. Many persons say things which I should not dare to write; but they say that on arriving at Greenwich she landed as cheerful as she ever was, and is now in good health. (*Sua Maestà, nanzi partisse di Londra, fu sanguinata da un piede et da un brazzo, et non si sa la sua infermità: molti dicono delle cose che non mi basteria l'animo di scriverle; pero dicono che arrivò a Granuccio, et sbarcò tanto alegra quanto mai fosse, et che hora sta bene.*)

The French hostages are intent on making good cheer, banqueting first one and then the other of the English lords and ladies of this Court, sometimes in the house of their Ambassador, who dwells in the house lately inhabited by the Dean of St. Paul's [Cole], where we were formerly lodged.

(Desires to be remembered to the Ambr. Tiepolo, &c.)

London, 27th June 1559. [*Signed*] Il Schifanoya.

[*Enclosure in the preceding letter:*]

Form of the General Oath decreed (*fatto*) in Parliament, acknowledging the Queen as supreme Governess of this Kingdom in all things both spiritual or ecclesiastical and temporal, renouncing all foreign jurisdiction, and promising to be faithful to the Queen, her heirs, and successors, &c.

[*Italian.*]

1559.
July 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

83. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.*

I wrote yesterday, by way of Milan, the state of the most Christian King's indisposition, and how the hope of his life increased, although last night his Majesty was rather feverish, but this morning being without any fever, having slept for four or five hours, the regret which would have been caused by its continuance is in part alleviated. The pain at the back of his neck has greatly diminished, this being attributed to the application of certain cupping glasses.

Paris, 5th July 1559.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

84. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish fleet, on board of which his Majesty intends to cross, has arrived, and today its admiral came into this city.

There has been a question lately of taking the Bishop of Arras to Spain, concerning which many Cabinet Councils were held, it seeming that by reason of his experience and intelligence it would be well to have him about his Majesty's person, but it was at length determined that his presence in these Provinces was necessary on account of the counsel he might from time to time afford to the Lady Governess.

A few days ago King Philip authorised his most Christian Majesty to raise a loan on the Mart at Antwerp, where he obtained 400,000 crowns.

It is heard from France that King Henry's life is in very great danger, and that he can scarcely recover, which causes great regret here, by so much the more as it is doubtful what might take place in case of his demise.

The stir about religion has again revived at Antwerp, for one day lately upwards of 1,000 persons went forth from that city into the woods to hear the preaching of their deceivers. As almost every week some one is burnt in the towns of these Provinces, it is surprising that this fire cannot be quenched, and that it should break out again more and more daily.

On Sunday it had been intended to commence holding a Chapter of the Knights of the Fleece, but owing to the illness of the most Christian King it will possibly be deferred.

Ghent, 10th July 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

85. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The most Christian King, by name Francis II., as known to your Serenity, immediately after the death of his father commenced

* The despatches which were doubtless written by Tiepolo from Brussels, and by Michiel from Paris, giving details of the tilting match on the 30th June 1559, which caused the death of Henry II. on the 10th July, no longer exist in the Venetian Archives.

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arranging the mode of government, and as he is but a youth (having entered his 16th year last January), and therefore has need of support and counsel, he wills that, together with the ministers for affairs, the Queen, his mother, shall not only participate in, but superintend everything, and that all matters be referred and addressed to her, he continuing more than ever to bear her that reverence and respect which were extreme at all times. To console her he has also made the liberal demonstration of presenting her with all that lapses to his most Christian Majesty, on this new accession, through the confirmation of offices, and renewal of fiefs, privileges, and the like, which are supposed to yield more than a million of gold.

The King has called to the Government the Chancellor Ollivieri [François Ollivier de Lenville], who has been living here at hand in retirement in his own house ever since the late King deprived him of his authority. His Majesty has also willed that M. de Roucherolle (*sic*), his ancient and very confidential servant, who sleeps in his chamber, be also honoured at this commencement as his father had honoured the Marshal de St. André, whom he however does not exclude from the said Council, but wills that the Duke de Guise be at the head of military matters, and that he command the army. State negotiations (*cose di negotij*) are to be transacted by the Cardinal of Lorraine, to whom his Majesty caused to be consigned all the seals, which at the death of the late King had been placed in the hands of the Secretary l'Aubespine by the Constable, whose authority has commenced diminishing openly, for they have removed him from the chamber he inhabited near his Majesty's, and placed in it the Cardinal of Lorraine, giving the Constable another chamber, the furthest off, in the lower part of the palace. The King called the Constable into his presence yesterday afternoon, and told him that although he had lost so good a master, he would nevertheless still find the same good will in his present Majesty in any need he might experience, as in the King, his father; and that he was to attend as before to the performance of his offices as Grand Master and Constable. The King also invited him to attend with the others at the deliberations which are being held about the re-construction of the Government; but the Constable excused himself by saying that from old age and weariness he would retire after the great obsequies, with his Majesty's good grace. It does not seem that the King made any opposition to this, but tacitly accepted his excuses, after having given him many other fair words, the Cardinal of Lorraine being present during the whole time. Then his Majesty sent the Constable back to take custody of the corpse. This nobleman thus all at once, after a service exceeding 40 years, is disconsolate and dissatisfied, though externally he exhibits incredible and admirable constancy and mental fortitude, it never having been seen that the very great grief which is felt by him internally, and which may be supposed to exceed that of all the others, caused him to shed a tear; bearing always the same countenance, and having always before him the corpse of the deceased King, whom he ruled (*reteneva*) when alive. It has been remarked as a strange thing that since the death of the King, when everybody appeared at Court, not only

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were none of the Constable's sons, brothers-in-law, and nephews seen there, but not even any of his dependants, however inferior their grade.

The King's corpse, embalmed and arrayed, has been carried into the church of Notre Dame, where it will remain for 40 days, as usual; and at the palace morning and evening his effigy is presented with the ordinary table service, which is placed before him in the same order and as ceremoniously as when he was alive; the viands being then distributed amongst the poor.

After the expiration of the 40 days, the obsequies will be performed in the church of St. Denis, where the present King will be crowned; and then he will go to Rheims to be anointed and consecrated.

His Majesty has given the Duchess of Valentinois to understand that he has forgotten and forgiven all the injuries and offences done to him and to the Queen, his mother, and that henceforth she is to remain in retirement, and live as far from the Court as possible, enjoying however all her property and revenues in security, without fear of molestation; but when she was required to give account of many articles of jewellery which had belonged to the King, her humble reply purported that these articles existed, and that although the King had given them to her, not only these, but whatever else she possessed, were at the Queen's and his Majesty's disposal, nor does she wish to retain even her life without their Majesty's good grace. Thus the Duchess, although supposed to be immensely rich, remains dishonoured and an exile.

The Princes of the blood, such as the two brothers the Cardinal de Bourbon and the Prince de Condé, with the Duke de Montpensier and the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yonne, went immediately to his Majesty, and said that as he was of an age to rule, they, for the union, quiet, and maintenance of the Crown, would willingly obey all those whom he had placed in the Government. The King of Navarre is absent, but would have already arrived, had it not been for an ulcer in his lower parts (but not a dangerous one), which causes him to travel slowly, and for the most part in a litter.

Besides Don Ruy Gomez, who brought many valuable jewels as a present [for the Queen of Spain], the Marquis of Berghes arrived the day before the King's death. He was sent by the King Catholic to visit the Queen, his consort, as also her father. Both these noblemen will return to Flanders the day after to-morrow, Don Ruy Gomez having already had his present as one of the Delegates (*Deputati*) at the negotiation for the peace; its value being from 23,000 to 24,000 crowns, in silver gilt vases. The hostages who remain here are the Duke of Alva and the Prince of Orange, until the entire restitution be made by Spain; the French having to restore what they hold in Corsica and Tuscany. The Duke of Savoy on the day before the King's death made his most tearful marriage, consummating it on that same night, and having no time to lose is still enjoying the fruits of it, though deeply grieved by this catastrophe; nor will he depart hence, until he hears that Cocconato [Matteo da Coconà] has had possession of his state.

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Some days ago, M. de Montpesat, who had been sent to bring the Scottish Earl of Arran, returned with an account of his having taken flight and withdrawn to England, which will increase the disturbances of Scotland, which is agitated (*sollevato*) by the same cause of religion. During the late King's lifetime it had been intended to send M. de la Brosse to that kingdom [Scotland] with 100 [men-at-arms] and eight companies of infantry; to be followed shortly afterwards by the Marquis [d'Elbœuf ?] as Governor-General. It is not known at present whether this and other orders will be cancelled.

Paris, 12th July 1559.

[*Italian.*]

July 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

86. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

In remodelling the Government his most Christian Majesty has determined, by the advice of his mother and of the Guise family, to admit into the Council of Affairs, not only the Dukes of Savoy and Lorraine, the one his uncle and the other his brother-in-law, and the Prince of Ferrara, likewise his brother in-law, but also others of his most intimate and ancient servants, viz., M. de Lansac, heretofore his governor, M. de la Brosse, lieutenant of his men-at-arms, and M. de Sourdis, who in the time of King Francis, as the person who slept in his chamber, had a seat in that Council.

This arrangement has caused both envy and no little anger on the part of certain other Princes, especially these of the blood royal, the Duke de Montpensier, and the Princes of Condé and Roche-sur-Yon, to whom it seemed that by reason of the interest they have in the Crown this privilege ought not to be extended to foreigners. The fact very speedily convinced them and others that they are merely honoured externally, it having been remarked from the first day that before the "Council of Affairs" assembles, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke de Guise with the Chancellor meet first, either in the King's chamber or in that of the Queen-mother, where they discuss privately all matters of the greatest importance, without communicating their deliberations to others. For this purpose the Queen-mother now inhabits the apartments beneath the King's, so that they may more easily have communication with each other by means of a private staircase at all hours and without being perceived by any one.

I am told by a trustworthy person that the Prince of Ferrara, deeming himself insufficiently honoured, has in great wrath complained to his sister, the Duchess de Guise, telling her that he is held in no more account now than he was in the lifetime of the late King, and that if the Duke de Guise and the Cardinal [*Louis de Lorraine*] *think to feed him with smoke, they deceive themselves, as he will soon free himself, and seek support from another quarter where he has great offers; so his sister with great difficulty made him promise he would not make any disturbance with the King or with the Queen-mother, and it seems that they have not only given him hope but a promise that the Duke de Guise and the Cardinal will do whatever they can for him.*

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Together with this reform of the Council of Affairs, his most Christian Majesty has deprived the Admiral [Gaspar Comte de Coligny, Seigneur de Chastillon] the Constable's nephew, of the government of Picardy, and given it to the Prince of Condé; and has also deprived the Duke de Bouillon, the son of Madame de Valentinois' daughter, of the government of Normandy, and given it to the Duke de Nemours as compensation for not having appointed him a member of the Council of Affairs, of which proceeding he had complained greatly. By fair words his Majesty pacified the latter, but owing to the clamour made by the Duke de Montpensier, Bouillon's father-in-law,—who said freely that if his son-in-law was deprived of that government contrary to the promise made to him, when by the advice and assistance of these Guises he made this matrimonial alliance, he (Montpensier) would depart from the Court, never again to return,—for the present no further change will be made, and the adherents of the Duke de Nemours say that instead of the government of Normandy he has been promised that of Britany, hitherto held by the Duke d'Etampes; besides which, the King will pay all his debts, which are considerable, for although poor he is by nature very prodigal. The Constable's brother-in-law, the Count of Tenda, has been deprived of the government of Provence, which has been given to the Grand Prior, the brother of these Guises, to unite in his person both military and naval command, he being General of the fleet; but this decision, it is thought, may be suspended. M. d'Andelot, the Admiral's brother and nephew of the Constable, has also been deprived of the command of the French infantry, which, as his ancient office, had been given back to him after he recanted in the matter of religion, and it has been conferred on M. de Martigues, the favourite and dependant of the Duke de Guise. Thus they do not scruple openly to degrade these persons, who depend on the Constable; but his Excellency himself, who no longer appears at the Court, except in the afternoon, and as privately as he can, adheres to his determination about complete retirement after the obsequies, which will be performed on the 10th of August; and the consecration and coronation will take place on the 1st of September.

Paris, 16th July 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

87. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Savoy departed hence to-day on his way back to the King Catholic, with the determination to return hither as soon as he can; and then, accompanied by his Consort, he will proceed to his State, news of its consignment and restitution being expected hourly, the present King having confirmed all that was granted by his father. I hear that during the lifetime of the late King the Duke was promised forthwith two of the five reserved fortresses, namely Chieri and Villanuova d'Asti, whereas it is now heard that he will not be thus gratified, but that they will not swerve in the

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least from the other terms of the treaty; *which makes the Duke feel much more bitterly the death of the late King, the affection and relationship with the present one being less close than with the former, through the great hopes given him* [*by the late King*], *with the assistance and instrumentality of the Constable, who had no other object than that of bringing him forward, and making him as great as he possibly could, not only on the Constable's own account, but to raise an obstacle and counterpoise to this house of Guise.* Nevertheless, the present King gives the Duke very fair words indeed, not only saying that he shall consider him as his uncle, always trusting to him his person and his crown (*stato*), but also as his father, referring to his experience and judgment all such matters as shall have need of counsel.

I visited the Duke at the hour appointed for the Ambassadors, but owing to his many occupations, both before and after the catastrophe, causing him to be always with the King and Queen in person, I had no opportunity for speaking to him; so it did not seem to us consistent with dignity, not having any business with him, to return after the first time.

With the said Duke there also departed the Prince of Orange, he being one of the four hostages, and having given his "parole" to the most Christian King to return whenever called for. Don Ruy Gomez still remains here, in hourly expectation of a courier from his King with the decision whether, without returning to Flanders, he may go hence direct through France to Spain; and the same courier is also expected to bring the announcement of what is to be done by the Queen Catholic, who it is said will be accompanied by the Cardinal de Guise, in lieu of the Cardinal of Chastillon [Odet de Coligny].

The most Christian King, to remain more at liberty and free from business, and to shelter himself from this excessive heat, which commenced unexpectedly six days ago, has withdrawn for three days with the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke de Guise to a place six leagues hence; so the audience assigned me for yesterday has been deferred till he returns.

The Queen of England sent hither the son of her Lord Chamberlain with a very loving letter to visit and congratulate the late most Christian King on the advices she had received of his improvement and that he was considered out of danger; but as the messenger did not arrive until three days ago, the office destined for the father was performed by him yesterday with the son. He also brought the latest news of the insurrections in Scotland, but they are kept secret here, namely, that the Queen Regent was reduced to extremities, being besieged in the Castle of Dunbar, and that her opponents were one of the bastards of the late King, her husband, and the Earl of Argyle [Archibald Campbell], who had mustered upwards of 20,000 men; so it is much feared that the reinforcement which was to have been sent hence will either not arrive in time or find great difficulty in landing, the said persons having occupied the harbours and made themselves masters of the greater part of the ships. It is heard that the son of the Earl of Arran had not arrived in England, so the report of his having got to Geneva may

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be true; and in his stead they brought a young brother of his, who is still here, and allowed to go about everywhere.

Concerning matters of religion, a very severe proclamation was lately issued here against all heretics. Persons knowing not only of heretics, but of those suspected of heresy, and who do not inform against them, are subject to the same penalties as the principals.

Concerning the marriage of the Queen of England, the same messenger, who came lately from England, says, and his statement is confirmed by the Ambassador, that they are expecting an Ambassador from the Emperor, besides the one already there, indicating that the negotiation with his Imperial Majesty is closer than it has been hitherto; but another Ambassador is also awaited from the King of Sweden, to treat the same matter.

Paris, 18th July 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

88. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

This King continues firmly determined to embark on the 8th proximo, and nothing but some great accident could delay him for an hour, such anxiety does he evince to proceed speedily in Spain; but with all the haste made here, and notwithstanding the reward promised to the artificers, it is impossible to prepare the church for the obsequies [of the King of France] by the 25th as intended, so they are necessarily postponed till the 27th, but the 29th remains fixed for holding the Chapter of the Order of the Fleece.

To-morrow your Serenity's Ambassador da Mula will make his entry, and it is fortunate that he has not delayed longer, as on the next day the Duchess of Parma will arrive, and subsequently the Duke of Savoy and the Prince of Orange, who will keep the whole Court occupied in going forth to meet them, and then come the obsequies and the Chapter; but immediately after the obsequies I hope the King will give him audience.

According to report, the Duke of Alva will go to Spain, having already obtained permission from both Kings. Don Ruy Gomez will in like manner go thither by land, but King Philip has commissioned him first of all to stay some days in France, lest it appear that the personages resident there in his Majesty's name depart thence all at once.

150,000 crowns have arrived at Antwerp as a remittance from France for this King, on account of his consort's dower, according to the agreements made.

Three days ago (on her entrance into this city) King Philip gave the Duchess of Lorraine 61,000 ducats, namely 40,000 as compensation for 4,000 ducats revenue already promised her, and 21,000 for the three journeys which she had to make for this treaty of peace, at the rate of 7,000 crowns for each journey. Besides this, as she was not satisfied with the Governorship of Lecce, which had been promised to her with an annual revenue of 6,000 crowns, she will have to be provided with an equivalent elsewhere.

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After many difficulties the King of Denmark, having been victorious over his enemies, conquered the island (*sic*) of Dithmarsen, making the inhabitants give up all their arms, levying a fine of 120,000 crowns, and subjecting them also to a certain annual tribute.

The Count de Feria has inquired of Don Diego de la Chaux if he would serve King Philip with your Serenity. He was for a long while Ambassador from the King of the Romans at Rome, and arrived here a few days ago from the Emperor's Court, wishing to obtain some honourable employment; and were he to accept this offer, I think your Serenity would be well served from what I saw of him at the Court of the King of the Romans; so I show him every sort of civility, he visiting me occasionally, and seeming to be much my friend.

Ghent, 22nd July 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

89. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de l'Hôpital, late Governor of Madame Marguerite, Duchess of Savoy, has been admitted to the Privy Council, and it is said that the Cardinal de Chastillon and the Duke d'Etampes will be removed from it. I am also told that these Guises, as their apology for these deprivations and new orders, always tell the injured parties that it is the will of the Queen-mother, from which the most Christian King cannot dissent. The Constable's nephew, the Admiral, owing to the Constable's and his own exertions, has been restored to the government of Picardy, and they have sent him to inspect the whole of that frontier, and also to Calais to examine the repairs of that fortress, and in case he find them well executed, according to the designs, he is to give orders to continue and complete the works.

A few days ago, after the departure of the Court, the Constable, in a long conversation with the Duke of Alva, told him of his intention to retire from the Court; and the Duke being of a contrary opinion, said that the sons of kings, although usually wont to love their father's ministers less than they love other persons, cannot do otherwise than esteem them, and gave him besides many other reasons, the regard he ought to have for his children; so it seems that owing to the Duke of Alva the Constable has changed his mind, and, as said by many of his adherents, has almost determined to return to the Court, to perform the same constant service for the Queen-mother (who has called and invited him) as he was accustomed to do for the most Christian King, her husband, seeing in fact that she can do as she pleases, having now commenced transacting business immediately after dinner for two consecutive hours in his Majesty's chamber, although they do not omit as usual to assemble also in the morning, but only for one hour, in the royal chamber; so all decisions are made in the afternoon in presence of the Queen-mother.

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Shortly before the late King's death the Duke of Alva requested his permission to return to the King Catholic on "parole," upon giving security for 200,000 crowns to return whenever called; and this was apparently promised him; but now, when the Court departed, on his repeating that request, he was answered that the other two hostages, the Count d'Egmont and the Prince of Orange, having departed, he must be pleased to wait his due term, after the restitutions have been effected, but time was asked to speak about this matter with the Queen-mother, who, I am told, has confirmed the resolution not to give the Duke leave.

Concerning the restitutions, a secretary has come from M. de Boissac from Piedmont to tell the King that he had thought it well not to consign possession of Savoy and Piedmont to Coconato the Duke [of Savoy]'s agent, until he had a fresh order from his Majesty, the commission to Coconato being in the name of the late King; so it was necessary to send him a fresh order immediately, with the present King's confirmation for the same person, and with the same commission.

The Ambassador from England [Sir Nicholas Throckmorton] tells me that by his last advices thence (though not the public ones) the Scots had notified to the Queen Regent, she having retired into Dunbar, that if she would remove from the island all the French ministers and soldiers, they would obey her as their lady and mistress, and would maintain her in that grade and dignity which became her, as otherwise they would endeavour to expel her by force; nor will they tolerate, as hitherto, the introduction of foreigners and their garrisons. For this reason here they are hastening the departure of the infantry and cavalry, having already prepared the ships for this purpose at Dieppe, that they may set sail on the 15th or 16th of next month; and the day before yesterday an express was sent through England to warn the Queen Regent to temporise with fair words, so as not to further exasperate that people until the arrival of the troops destined for her.

Concerning the marriage of the Queen of England, I hear as a great secret, through the most intimate and confidential servants of the Duke de Nemours, that the Duke of Savoy spoke more than once to Nemours about this marriage, giving him hope that that Queen may probably choose him; and the day before the Duke of Savoy departed hence he promised to send to her in England one of his confidential attendants to treat this affair; so that from the Duke of Savoy's promises Nemours has great hopes of succeeding, as in the time of the late King, and with his consent, he entered upon the same negotiation and made very good progress from the inclination which the Queen evinced towards him; although subsequently during the King's lifetime, the Constable thwarted the whole negotiation, perhaps for some end and hidden design of his Majesty to invade that island; it being rumoured now, more than ever, that the first war or aggressive undertaking will be that one, though it will not indeed be so soon.

Paris, 30th July 1559.

[*Italian.*]

1559. Aug. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

90. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Navarre has arrived at his town of Vendôme, three days' journey hence, where he has stopped, expecting his brothers, the Cardinal de Bourbon and the Prince of Condé, and his cousins, the Duke de Montpensier and the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, who are all of the blood royal, to meet him, and then they will come hither all together. I hear from a confidant of the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, that on arriving at the Court, the King of Navarre purposes to visit the most Christian King and the Queen-mother, to let them know the general opinion, that by reason of his Majesty's tender age the seal called by them the "Cachet," which in all sorts of letters, writings, and other public Acts represents the sign manual and the King's own name precisely as if written in his own hand, should not remain in the possession of any one but the King of Navarre, who cannot be deprived of it, he residing at the Court whilst his most Christian Majesty is so young.

So far as in his power, the King of Navarre desires that the Constable having been so good and loyal a servant to the late King, should retain during his lifetime his offices of Great Master and Constable, from the exercise of which he is now entirely deprived, as they are performed by the Duke de Guise; and he desires to know the cause of this deprivation. This design of the King of Navarre and of these other Princes having been discovered, I know not how, by the Queen-mother, it seems that she sent lately for the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, and in gentle language complained to him of his wishing to turn this kingdom upside down and rebel with the others, to the detriment of the King and her son, who on account of his tender age deserved support and not oppression from his kingfolk of the blood royal; adding that the past misfortunes of France, and this last one of the King's death, were alas more than sufficient, without now adding a civil war, which would never end; and with many tears, crying almost the whole time, she expostulated thus with the Prince, as having apparently more spirit than the others, and showing more resentment. His reply to the Queen, as he told my informant, was that he had never imagined, still less done, anything to the detriment of this Crown, and that he should always conduct himself thus; but that it appeared strange to him to see the Princes of the blood, to whom above all others, on the occurrence of such an unforeseen event as the accession of a young king, the Government and administration appertained, compelled to obey their inferiors; wherefore he had complained, and should always continue to do so, because either from distrust or ignorance all the Princes of the blood had been excluded from the new administration; though with regard to himself, to comfort the Queen, he assured her that he would never be the cause of any disturbance or novelty in the kingdom. The same confidant added that on the coming of the King of Navarre, peccant humours will soon develop themselves unless he and his adherents obtain satisfaction. In the meanwhile the Guises purpose going in person, as a mark of respect and reverence for Navarre, to meet him as far in advance as they can, and bring him to the

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Court; and they do not fail in every possible way to conciliate Navarre's adherents. I hear that they place great reliance on the inconstancy, levity, and vanity of Navarre, and hope not only to cajole him, but to gain him over entirely to their side. They already intend to remove the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon from the Court, by giving him the charge to accompany the Queen Catholic to Spain in lieu of his brother the Duke de Montpensier. The Prince has been seen with M. d'Andelot [François de Coligny], the Constable's nephew, whom he formerly hated mortally, although they had been reconciled previously; and he has several times held long conferences, not only with the Constable's nephew, but with the latter's brother the Admiral [Gaspar de Coligny].

Paris, 2nd August 1559.

[*Italian; in cipher throughout, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

91. PAULO TIEPOLO and his Colleague Extraordinary MARC' ANTONIO DA MULA, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Chapter of the "Fleece," which we attended, was held during three days from morning till night with the usual solemnities; and the King, having retired with the Knights, made the election of 14, such being the number of vacancies, but the names have not yet been published.

The Prince of Ferrara arrived here postwise with some 50 attendants; the Duke of Savoy and almost all the chief personages of this Court went to meet him; he was lodged by the Duke of Savoy, caressed by his Majesty, and banqueted by the nobility of these Provinces; and he departed last night for Antwerp, from which city he will return to France; but before his departure he visited the Duchess of Parma, a remarkable circumstance, because the Dukes of Ferrara and Parma have never been reconciled.

They are expecting here Monsr. de Condé, brother of the King of Navarre, on a mission from the King of France, to reciprocate the office performed with his most Christian Majesty by the Duke of Arcos [Ponce de Leon].

Some days ago the Count de Feria sent to bring (*levar*) the wife he married in England,* who crossed to Bruges with a numerous company, being followed by many English Catholics, who with this opportunity left (*si sono levati*) their country. She was then met by a great part of this Court, everybody by doing her honour seeking to ingratiate themselves with the Count, who seems greatly to love and esteem her. She will remain for some months in these Provinces on account of her pregnancy, and the Count, as he himself told us, also hopes to obtain leave from his Majesty to remain to keep her company; and should he have to cross over to Spain, he will

* Namely, Jane Dormer. See *ante*; and also Foreign Calendar. date 27th July, 1595, p. 422.

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return immediately; *which determination displeases the Duchess of Parma, who knows that if he remains here, he will have a great share in the government of these Provinces.*

A gentleman, by name Sir Thomas Challoner (*Mro. Thomas Scialonier*), is come from England to reside as Ambassador at this Court. We hear from those parts that amongst all the bishops there the only one who would take the form of oath which I, Paulo, sent to your Serenity, was the Bishop of Llandaff [Anthony Kitchin]. With that sole exception, all the others, being deprived of their sees, are reduced to most abject poverty and distress, being dependent on relations and friends for their maintenance. The two [Winchester and Lincoln] who were put in the Tower have been set at liberty, and placed in the same condition as the others.

On the Queen's "progress" through the island, the only Ambassador she took with her was the Emperor's, towards whom she made many demonstrations, whence a general opinion arose that the matrimonial negotiation with the Archduke Charles was very far advanced; *but the Imperial Ambassador resident here* told us that when the Queen was talking to his colleague in England on this subject, her Majesty said that she could never bring herself to take for her husband a person she had never known, as before determining to take him she must for at least half a year associate with him, and acquaint herself with his manners and mode of life, in order to ascertain whether they were comformable to her disposition.

In a long conversation *during a visit paid to me, Marc' Antonio, by Sir Thomas Challoner,* he said it was incredible that the Queen would take the Archduke Charles for her husband; and with regard to another topic he said, remembering that your Serenity was always accustomed to accredit an Ambassador to England, the English Crown doing the like by the Republic, in demonstration of the good friendship between both Princes, he knew not why these Ambassadors were no longer sent at present; adding that he spoke as of himself, not having any commission to mention the matter to me. I answered him that so far as can be seen, and according to ancient history; there had always been good friendship between the Crown of England and your Serenity, and I assured him that now you bore her Majesty the same good will, and that you would also continue to do so.

The Ambassador of the King of Denmark in England, to demonstrate his King's love for Queen Elizabeth, wore upon his gown (*veste*) a crimson velvet heart pierced by an arrow.

The Ambassador Vargas told me this morning that he has been appointed Ambassador to the Emperor with an annual salary of 5,600 ducats, and also that King Philip had made him a member of his Council with a gratuity of 4,000 crowns for his outfit, though he did not yet know the precise sum, as the whole was not yet settled; and he requested me not to speak to anyone about this last particular.

Ghent, 5th August 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1559. Aug. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

92. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador Mula departed yesterday afternoon, the King having presented him with a chain.

Of the 14 Knights of the Fleece to be elected these Provinces insisted on having seven, because they said that such was the number of vacancies caused by the demise of their countrymen, in which number they included the Emperor Charles V., as he was born in Flanders. They had no difficulty in obtaining their demand, as all the other members of the Chapter, with the exception of the King, the Duke of Savoy, and Signor Antonio Doria, belonged to these States, and combined to stay the progress of the election until the seven individuals required by them were appointed, in which number however were comprised the Prince of Sulmona, he being of the House of Savoy. The King of France was also elected, and the new Italian Knights were the Duke of Urbino and Marc' Antonio Colonna. Nothing positive is known about the others, except that the King of Portugal was elected, though, as he is too young, the Order will not be sent to him until two years hence.* The three vacant knighthoods are referred (*sono rimessi in petto*) to the King Catholic, and there is talk (*si ragiona*) about Don Carlos and two Spaniards, but for the present his Majesty will not proclaim them.

Last night the King departed for Zealand, where the fleet is; he will await a fair wind for his passage, being most anxious to arrive in Spain.

It remains for me to give you a slight sketch of the state in which these Provinces remain, they being in such confusion that words can scarcely describe it, his Majesty's excessive haste to arrive in Spain having impeded the dispatch and adjustment of many necessary matters.

At present in these Provinces there is no amount of foreign cavalry, the few Spanish light horse having been lately disbanded, and I understand that the rest of the light horse, although they are of this country, are also to be disbanded, being some 600 in number; so that only the cavalry of the men-at-arms, who are in like manner Flemings, in number 800, will be kept, but they make 4,000 horses, viz. 300 men-at-arms, 2,400 archers, all fighting men, and 800 useless pages.

Of foreign infantry there is also in pay a regiment of Germans, which will soon be disbanded, and a force of about 3,000, which the King did all he could to leave here, both for the greater security of the frontiers, they being experienced veterans, as also from the difficulty of finding a place whither to send them. He first tried to make the Provinces accept them willingly in their present state, and to give them pay; *but having heard subsequently of the universal dissatisfaction caused by the great insolence of these troops, and by reason of the unspeakable hatred borne to the Spanish nation, the King thought to remedy this* by placing them under Flemish commanders. After incorporating this Spanish infantry force into 16 companies, the King appointed the Prince of Orange to be General of one half of them, giving the like charge of the other half to the

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Count d'Egmont, with a public declaration that his Majesty would provide for their pay with the moneys of Spain, and that they should be paid monthly, so that, receiving their stipend, they might live without molesting others.

Both Orange and Egmont, however, to avoid unpopularity, declined the command offered them; nor did the country remain quiet, for on the day before the Catholic King had decided to depart a deputation from the United Provinces presented him with a writing reminding his Majesty that when he took the oath tendered him by these Provinces, he swore amongst other things not to keep foreign troops contrary to their will; and they gave him clearly to understand that if these troops remained, there was risk of some great disturbance, implying that all the Spanish soldiers would be cut to pieces by the populace, as said publicly throughout these Provinces by every description of persons, all demonstrating open enmity against these troops, and even the dregs of the populace vowing to be revenged on them. On this account his Majesty has not only been compelled to stay here a day longer against his will, but to promise and assure the Provinces that within two months he will remove this infantry corps, and I hear on good authority that the King will have them sent to Spain with the intention of their serving in Africa; so instead of the Germans, who are to be disbanded, and of the Spaniards, who will be removed, Flemish infantry will garrison these frontiers. On these terms the States have promised to grant all his Majesty's demands, as written by me heretofore.

Those who remain as Governors of Provinces are as follows:— In Burgundy, Monsr. de Vergi (*sic*); in Luxemburg, Count Mansfeldt; in Friesland, Count d'Aremberg; in Guelderland, Count Horne; in Hainault and Cambrai, Count de Meghen; in Limburg and Fochemont (*sic*), the Count d'Ourende (*sic*); in Namur, M. de Barlamont; in Lille, Douai and Orsi (*sic*), M. de Corrieres; in Tournai, M. de Montagni (*sic*); in Flanders and Artois, his Majesty lately appointed (*dechiarito*) the Count d'Egmont; and in Holland and Zealand, the Prince of Orange; for Admiral of the sea, Count Horne.

Three days ago his Majesty made the Provinces acknowledge for their Governess the Duchess of Parma, whose authority will be much limited, both because greater authority than usual has been conceded to Governors of particular provinces, as also because his Majesty has appointed her certain councillors, namely, the Prince of Orange, the Count d'Egmont, the Bishop of Arras and some others of these Provinces, besides the Count de Feria, who remains here for some time, and the Ambassador Vargas, who was lately made a member of the Council of State, and who will not so speedily assume his post of Ambassador in Germany, *because in this political confusion and disorder the Spaniards wish to have their share in the government of Flanders.* King Philip has made a present of 50,000 crowns to the Count d'Egmont, of 40,000 to the Prince of Orange, of 20,000 to Count Horne, of 15,000 and 2,000 crowns revenue to the Marquis

* Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, born on the 20th January 1554, and who was killed in Africa fighting against the Moors on the 4th August 1578.

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of Berghes, and to certain other individuals according to their quality and deserts ; *but it is impossible to satisfy the craving of these people, who not only complain of what seems to them the smallness of their rewards, but yet more of having been held in less esteem in this matter and in other demonstrations than their deserts entitle them to.*

Ghent, 10th August 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

93. Giovanni Stefano Mazza, Venetian Secretary in the Netherlands, to the Doge and Senate.

My Ambassador [Tiepolo] departed on the 10th instant, and on the same night I embarked to follow his Majesty ; and when I got to the sea I had to wait the whole day and the next night from want of boats for my conveyance to the island. On the morning of my arrival his Majesty left Middleburgh to visit other places, where he will remain until the weather becomes fair for his passage to Spain. Having been to these places before, he does not go for the purpose of inspecting them, but to comfort the inhabitants by his presence in the act of departure, and perhaps to induce them to repeat the demonstrations made by them on his first visit, when they gave him a considerable sum of money. Another reason for his Majesty's change of place is to avoid the petitioners who pursue him ; so orders have been given not to lodge any one at Middleburgh, where the cost of everything is so exorbitant that they cannot stay there ; and those who are to pass to Spain remain on board their ships, praying for a fair wind.

The Duchess of Parma, the Bishop of Arras, the Count de Feria Signor Vargas, and almost all the others who have not to proceed to Spain, remained at Ghent. The Duke of Savoy was the only person who accompanied his Majesty.

Four days ago news arrived from Rome of the death of Don Juan de Figueroa. The Secretary of the Ambassador Vargas, who is here to urge the appointment to the new embassy of his Ambassador, said that the Pope wishes for Vargas, and urges the Catholic King to accredit him to his Holiness ; but others declare that the Count de Luna, late Ambassador to the Emperor, who arrived here the other day and went directly to the King, is come in time to have this post.

A friend of mine tells me on very good authority that the Queen of England, becoming rather suspicious about the great number of ships [*in Philip's service*], *is fitting out a fleet and troops to protect the coast, in order to secure herself* (fa armata et gente da metter alle marine per assicurarsi).

Some thousand Spanish soldiers have arrived here at Middleburgh from the frontiers, and will be placed on board the ships, which are upwards of 100, including those from Spain, in number 25, as also many Flemish vessels hired by his Majesty, the rest being merchantmen.

It was hoped last night that with the waning moon the weather would settle, but the gale continuing, as it has done every day of

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late, contrary for his Majesty's voyage, the mariners and those who have experience of these seas greatly doubt whether, during the whole of this month and some days of the next one, there will be fair weather.

Middleburgh, 18th August 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

94. Giovanni Capello, Knight, and Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Alva with all his attendants departed hence on the 17th, on his way through France to Spain, without awaiting the return of the other two hostages, as besides his promise in his own hand not to go out of the kingdom until the fortresses of St. Quentin, Ham, and Châtelet were restored, he had the same promise given by the King Catholic in an autograph letter from his Majesty. The restitution will not be long delayed, by reason of the orders sent lately to Corsica for the consignment of that island, which is all that remains for France to restore; and the Governor of Picardy, the Admiral, has been charged to proceed to St. Quentin to receive the consignment of that place and of the other fortresses.

On the 18th the King of Navarre, accompanied by all the Princes of the blood royal, who went to bring him from Vendôme, arrived at the Court, and was met not only by all its members but by the most Christian King in person, who, under pretence of hunting, went in the direction from which the King of Navarre was coming, and hitherto he has been well received by his Majesty, and greatly honoured by the Guises, who treat him with the utmost respect, it being also remarked that he never appears in public within the precincts of the Court unless accompanied by all the princes of the blood; though in this brief space of time it cannot yet be seen whether he will choose to have a principal charge in the Government, or assume greater authority than he has usually had hitherto.

On the termination of the obsequies, the Constable went to the Court, and had a long conference with the Queen-mother, when he represented how he had served the Kings Francis and Henry for 40 years and upwards, and alluded to the assiduity and importance of his negotiations in ruling so great a kingdom with fidelity and diligence, as became both a minister and vassal; praying her Majesty that, since his last act of duty had been to entomb the body of the late King, she would give him leave to seek repose and retire to his own home, and beseeching her to protect his children.

To this the Queen replied in very loving words, that she left him entirely at liberty, telling him that she herself also, by reason of this same catastrophe, had determined to live what remained to her of life as privately as possible; and she promised not to fail rendering all assistance and favour to his affairs, and to obtain the same favour from the King. It was observed that the Constable with much prudence and judgment addressed himself to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke de Guise, that they might intercede with his Majesty, who with fair words evinced satisfaction

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with any determination formed by the Constable, who left the Court, and retired to his seat at Chantilly, though he said that, as one of the twelve peers of France, besides his other two offices of Constable and Great Master, he shall not fail to be at Rheims for his Majesty's coronation.

The Queen Catholic rejoiced greatly, as did the whole Court, at the honours conferred by her Consort on the Prince of Condé, who had been sent by this King [to King Philip], and he returned two days ago, having had a handsome present. The Queen is anxiously expecting hourly news of the King Catholic's embarkation and departure; and this week she commenced being served by her own ministers and officials, and is still intent on forming her household, no longer making use of her mother's, as she did previously.

The tears and lamentations for the death of the King have been renewed by the last office performed to-day in public by the Queen-mother, who, having had solemn mass sung in the chapel of the palace of St. Germain, went out according to custom after the 40 days, in deep mourning, accompanied by her daughters, with all the Princesses and ladies of the Court, everybody being much distressed, and the Queen's tears whilst in the chapel never ceasing. Her Majesty has now left off deep mourning, and will wear what is usually worn by widows.

Paris, 21st August 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

95. Giovanni Capello, Knight, and Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Announce the death of Pope Paul IV., and the illness of Capello.

Paris, 27th August 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

96. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 5th the Cardinal [Louis] de Lorraine departed from Villers-Cotterets for Rheims, to give orders for the consecration and coronation of his most Christian Majesty, who, unless prevented by a slight headache which he had yesterday, will go two days hence to La Fère in Tardenois, where the Constable has been waiting for several days to receive and lodge him. His most Christian Majesty will be accompanied by the King of Navarre, who during his brief stay at the Court has thoroughly convinced himself that he cannot have the control of the government, and that the decision of the King and of the Queen-mother is to give it to the Lords de Guise; so he has made up his mind not to take the slightest share in the government, and he scarcely ever enters the Council of State; and it is said that after the consecration he will return to his government in Gascony, and that the Duke de Montpensier will act in like manner. The other two Princes of the blood, Condé and Roche-sur-Yon, are appointed to accompany the Queen Catholic to Spain, in lieu of the Cardinal [Charles] de Guise; so that in one way or another they will all leave the Court. I am also told, as a secret, that it having

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come to the knowledge of the Cardinal [Louis] de Lorraine that the Prince of Condé had uttered certain words to the dishonour of his Right Reverend Lordship with regard to his arrogant mode of proceeding in the government, the Cardinal complained purposely to an individual that the latter might repeat this to the Prince, who went to apologise to his Right Reverend Lordship, saying he was not aware of having ever spoken against him, when the Cardinal replied briefly, but in very haughty language, saying, "Monseigneur! as I know you to be a gentleman and a prince, I therefore believe that you did not say anything which you yourself well know to be untrue, and most especially against me, to whom you have so many reasons to be obliged;" and with this he left him.

Besides the two Cardinals Strozzi and [Charles] de Guise, the Cardinal de Sens also departed for Rome, two days ago, and from the person who had read the identical instruction given here to the Cardinal [Charles] de Guise, and who confided it to me in confidence, I learn that by the first article he is commissioned in the new election of the Pope to do his utmost for the Cardinal of Ferrara, and to use all his power to defeat the Cardinal of Carpi; that as second candidate he is to support Tournon; and as third, the Cardinal of Mantua. This information would seem incredible had it not been confirmed to me by the Ambassador from Mantua, and from the lips of Ludovic Gonzaga, the Duke's brother, who is here. This was the opinion of the Cardinal [Louis] de Lorraine, to whom it seems that the world being tired and sickened by seeing popes without authority and of low extraction, for the benefit also of the See Apostolic it is necessary to make a prince by birth pope, that he may have authority not only with the cardinals, but also with other potentates. For the fourth, Cardinal [Charles] de Guise was to propose Cardinal Pisani; for the fifth, Crispo, and for the sixth, San Giorgio; no mention being made of the other cardinals.

The Ambassador from England resident at this Court [Throckmorton] is informed by letters received thence two days ago, that the Emperor's Ambassador continually insisting on a reply from that Queen about the marriage of the Archduke Charles, she at length said that she thanked his Imperial Majesty for the honour he did her, and that when she should have to take a husband, she would prefer forming relationship with the house of Austria, and especially with that Archduke, to any other [house] soever, but that many considerations had induced her not to think of marrying yet awhile (*per hora*). Nevertheless the Imperial Ambassador did not talk of departing, as he was awaiting [a reply from] the Emperor by a gentleman whom he had despatched. . . . .*

On the day before the same reply was also given to the Ambassadors from the King of Sweden, who were sent there for this cause, and had already taken leave. So it was reported at the English Court that the Queen commenced giving ear more than she had done to those who spoke to her in favour of the Scottish Earl of Arran, who lately took flight hence on account of the religion.

* The sense of the last clause is doubtful, owing to corrosion of the MS.

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The English Ambassador says he is advised about the affairs of Scotland that the Queen Regent, seeing herself reduced to extremities by the insurgents, had taken the expedient of treating an agreement with them, for the purpose of gaining time, at least until the arrival of the troops sent to her from hence under the command of M. de la Brosse, promising them to consent to their living under such form of religion as they might think fit until the decision of a Council General. By this it seemed they were in great part quieted; but subsequently, being warned of the coming of the succour, they appeared on the coast, and succeeded in preventing the troops from approaching it, or landing; so M. de la Brosse was compelled to retire elsewhere. With him was sent hence the Bishop of Amiens [Nicole de Pellève], a man of letters, with six doctors and theologians of the Sorbonne, to endeavour by disputations and arguments to dissuade those people from their opinions about religion.

His most Christian Majesty, not being yet fully satisfied with the many honours conferred by him on the Queen-mother, in public and private, has now issued a proclamation to the effect that in all writings and public Acts of importance the following words be inserted: "It having thus pleased the Queen, my mother and lady, I also, approving her opinion in all things, am content, and thus command that," &c.

Paris, 8th September 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

97. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

This afternoon at 5 p.m., the most noble Capello breathed his last and passed to a better life, to the extreme sorrow not only of all of us, but of this whole city; a loss which must sadden your Serenity, by reason of his great prudence and judgment, and on account of the great esteem which he had obtained for himself wherever he was employed.

His attendants will take the body to Italy, and his secretary will obtain from the King and the Duke of Savoy a full licence to pass, so that they may obtain every assistance and convenience for conveyance of the effects, which amount to 10 or 12 loads of great value, there being amongst them upwards of from 6,000 to 7,000 crowns worth of wrought silver.

Paris, 16th September 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

98. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 18th, the most Christian King was consecrated and crowned with the usual ceremonies and solemnities.

This morning, the Court was to move to Lorraine, and thence by Champagne to Blois, where they will not arrive till the beginning of November; so that all have departed in various directions, even the chief personages, including the King of Navarre, who went a distance of 30 leagues from Rheims to see his sister, the wife of the

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Duke of Nevers, she being seriously indisposed; and the Constable has returned home; so I am compelled to delay my offices of condolence and congratulation longer than I expected.

Last week, by a courier from Spain, it was heard that on the 8th instant, the King Catholic had landed at Laredo, in Biscay, and on the 18th a courier arrived at the Court with an autograph letter from the King Catholic to his Consort replete with affection, saying he would soon send for her, although he could not do so as speedily as he wished, from being compelled to despatch many affairs in those kingdoms.

Two days before the Count d'Egmont arrived from Flanders, and on the 20th the Prince of Orange likewise, both of them being hostages, but as news of the restitution of Corsica is expected hourly, which was the sole cause of delay in effecting the rest of the treaty of peace, they will soon be dismissed. On the evening of the Prince's arrival, as a mark of great honour, he was invited to sup with the most Christian Queen and the Queen-mother; and he is very well received, and much favoured by everybody.

Paris, 22nd September 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

99. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

I arrived in this city last evening, after my very long and most troublesome journey, in which I have suffered greater disasters and inconveniences than in all journeys ever performed by me until now, for to say nothing of many of my horses being rendered unserviceable, and of my mule which has been lamed, almost all my companions have remained on the road owing to the unusual and most intense heat which has prevailed here since the beginning of this month, they having been seized with double tertian ague fits, and with constant fever. I also have suffered not a little from these maladies, and thank God for having preserved me from greater misfortune.

Here at Burgos I had hoped to be comforted with the intelligence that my Secretary, and other attendants who came by sea, would have already gone on to Valladolid to prepare my lodging and other necessaries, so that I might have performed my remaining three or four days' journey forthwith, but I am now advised that they are still at the port of Laredo, as seven of them are grievously indisposed there, the life of one of them being despaired of by the physicians. The Secretary has constant fever, and cannot sleep, his life being in danger; they took blood from both his arms, and he is still in the Doctor's hands. Thus I am compelled to remain here for five or six days, and to send one of my attendants in advance to Valladolid to take a lodging, and to furnish it with household necessaries; but I shall depart as soon as I can, being already but too weary of the inconveniences of inns, besides their cost, to which I have been subjected for well nigh two consecutive months.

On the 25th ultimo, about noon, the Catholic King set sail from Zeeland, and was followed by the whole fleet, amounting to some 60 sail [only], as the merchantmen who were to have accompanied

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him did not choose to lose the opportunity which sprang up four days previously.

His Majesty then divided the fleet into two squadrons, going himself in the first, containing all the Biscayan ships, being followed by the other comprising all the "*urche*."

After one day's sail the wind lulled, so he had to lay to in the middle of the British Channel off the extremity of the island, where he was becalmed during four consecutive days; and at length a fair wind springing up, the King with his convoy pushed forward, the "*urche*" being unable to follow him, not having set sail so speedily. His Majesty made so prosperous a voyage that without much inconvenience he landed at Laredo, and on the 14th he was at Valladolid; but on that very day at Laredo there was such a storm in the harbour there that three of those ships foundered, and the identical one on board of which the King made his passage had its masts greatly damaged. The "*urche*" which remained behind had a more perilous passage, for they were out at sea in that day's gale, which drove them to the coast of Britany, and they were at length compelled to anchor near Vermejo, at the commencement of Biscay, a most dangerous place, nor did they get to Laredo till the 12th, almost all of them being ill from the hardships undergone by them on board, and in the "*urca*" alone, in which the Secretary and my other attendants were on board, more than 100 individuals were on the sick list, three of whom died of their sufferings, including a delegate from Alessandria de Paglia, who was thrown into the sea.

To-day the Prince of Parma* left this city for Vallodolid, and some thousand other individuals, part of whom came by sea and part overland, and the arrivals continue, but as yet no ambassador is known to have made the passage (*sia passato*). The Ambassador from France having arrived here last evening.

On my journey through Guienne and Gascony, from the information obtained from my hosts, and from the fathers of the monasteries to whom I had occasion to go, I heard how much that territory is demoralized and corrupted by these new heresies, introduced partly by students on their return from the Universities, which in France are very corrupt (*corrottissimi*), and in part by preachers from Geneva, who privily by night, or in the most solitary places beyond the walls of cities, teach, preach, and inculcate the most damnable opinions against the Church of Rome. They, moreover, told me that *the inhabitants of Guienne and Gascony believed that Henry II. had made the peace* [*of Cateau Cambresis*] *chiefly to compel them to obey him; so on his death they made great rejoicings, composing hymns giving thanks to God; and in fact the Inquisition no longer proceeds against the heretics as it did in the late King's lifetime. Of this territory* [*of Guienne and Gascony*] *the King of Navarre has the government; he is extremely beloved, the people calling him their father and defender.*

Burgos, 22nd September 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* The future "Great Captain."

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Sept. 23.
Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

100. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Surian, the Secretary of the late most noble Capello, returned from the Court, having obtained a full licence to pass with the effects (*robbe*) of the late Ambassador both from his most Christian Majesty and from the Duke of Savoy. This morning the Secretary and the whole household departed with the body, which when disembowelled was found, besides other disease, to have the liver destroyed, so that had he recovered from this illness, his life must have been but short, which may be some consolation to his family.

My Secretary writes that the Ambassador from England [Sir Nicholas Throckmorton] had told him that by the last advices received there from Scotland, the Queen Regent had capitulated to the Earl of Argyll and the Great Bastard of that kingdom as chiefs of the insurgent Protestants, and conceded the under written articles.

That the Queen granted that in religion all might live according to their own fashion, it not being allowable to molest them in their persons or effects, until the meeting of a general Parliament, on the 10th of next January. That she bound herself, within two months, to remove from office and from governorships all the French ministers, replacing them with native Scots, who were to receive proportionate salaries. That not only would she make all Frenchmen, both soldiers and others, now in Scotland, depart thence, but that henceforth she would not allow Frenchmen of whatsoever condition to enter that kingdom.

It seems that the Queen Regent was induced to consent to this agreement, to her disadvantage and dishonour, from inability to do otherwise, finding herself in such extremity that she feared something worse, and seeing herself besieged in every direction, and that no sort of succour had arrived from hence. After this capitulation was made and signed, the rebels dispersed and retired to their own homes. The Earl of Argyll, however, having subsequently had advice of the arrival from hence of M. de la Brosse with the French troops, and that, contrary to the capitulation, the Queen intended to make them land, and again to take the field with a great part of her former forces, opposed the landing, and still prevents it.

Here in the meanwhile the father of the Earl of Arran has been deprived of the duchy of Châtellerault, which he possessed in this kingdom, for having in this insurrection deserted the Queen Regent, and retired to his own house, though he would not join the rebels; and the youth [his younger] son, who had been living here with the Earl, his brother, was subsequently imprisoned at Vincennes, though at the beginning, after the Earl's flight, he was left at liberty.

It is also written from England that the Earl of Arran is in Scotland, and still continues negotiating his marriage with the Queen of England, who seems to hold back, and does not much press the matter.

Out of this duchy and territory of Châtellerault and that of Bourbon, the most Christian King has assigned 300,000 francs annually for the Queen-mother's maintenance, making thus an

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unusual compliment, because it has never been customary for other widow Queens to have more than 100,000 francs yearly.

The day before the consecration, the Ambassador of the King Catholic resident at this Court presented his Majesty with the Order of the Fleece; so on that day he appeared in the chapel of the palace arrayed in the great mantle and with the habit of that Order, accompanied by the Duke of Savoy and the Count d'Egmont, his fellow knights.

Paris, 23rd September 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

101. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Has heard from his brothers that the Doge and Senate, considering the extraordinary cost incurred by him during this Embassy, which might rather be styled a pilgrimage, have deigned to present him with 300 golden ducats. Assures the Doge and Senate that he will always be ready to risk his life and property for their service.

Valladolid, 4th October 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

102. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassador from the King Catholic is charged adroitly to let the Queen-mother and the most Christian King know that until the spring he cannot send for his bride, because he has to postpone this and all other matters, in order to attend to those of the religion, which are in great disorder, and require to be provided for with alacrity and vigour. For this cause many principal personages in Spain are accused and on their trial; amongst them is the Archbishop of Toledo [Bartolome de Caranza]; and also a Dominican friar, reputed the greatest theologian and preacher in Spain, and a man of the most exemplary life, is in confinement.

The King has sent a gentleman of the chamber to the Queen of England to thank her for her condolence on the death of his father, and better to confirm the renewed friendship, as lately established by the treaty of peace.

The Queen's Ambassador told my Secretary that Count Mansfeldt was sent by the Duke of Saxony to see if she would give ear to marry his brother; and Throckmorton says that of all who have spoken and continue speaking to him on the subject, no one seems to him to have had a better reply than the Count of [Helfenstein ?] The English Ambassador adds that the Queen Regent has sent one of her gentlemen to tell the most Christian King that the Earl of Arran is so beloved in that kingdom, and has so many adherents, that she very greatly fears, although the French troops have landed, that they will do nothing of importance against him, he being at Stirling with 10,000 men, who seem determined to die in the field, or to insist on the observance of what the Queen Regent had stipulated.

Paris, 8th October 1559.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

103. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King of Navarre, who arrived here yesterday, went to-day to his place of La Flèche, in Anjou, to see his wife and take her to the Court, to remain there until the departure of the Queen Catholic, whom he has determined to conduct through Guienne and Gascony, to the confines of Spain, and to do her as much honour as he can.

The same gentleman who was sent from Spain brought word that his Catholic Majesty, besides the Archbishop of Toledo [Bartolome de Caranza] had also caused the arrest of the Archbishop of Saragossa, and moreover of the Count of Nieva, who was going out as Viceroy of the Indies, and had already embarked; all these arrests being on account of religion (*tutti per causa della religione*).

The Duchess of Savoy will depart hence in two days to take leave of the Court at St. Valery, not wishing to go to Blois. Whilst here she was constantly visited by the King of Navarre, by the Constable, and by the Duchess of Valentinois, who came hither for their private affairs, and then retired each to their own homes.

An express has been sent to Rome to the Cardinal de Guise, with a fresh order, not to hasten the election of a Pope, and to disregard being shut up in conclave till Christmas or Easter, if necessary, and still to persist in favouring either Tournon, or Ferrara, or Mantua.

Paris, 16th October 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

104. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

I went to visit the Princess Regent,* who received me graciously, and promised on every occasion to favour your affairs with the King, her brother.

I then went to visit the Prince [Don Carlos]. *During the whole time of my reception he remained very superciliously leaning against the wall without ever returning the salute which I had made him by doffing my bonnet, although being admonished in my presence by his attendant, he desired me to cover, as I should have done of my own accord even had I not been told to do so. At the commencement his frowning countenance was most forbidding* (odiosissimo), *but as I narrated your Serenity's affection for his ancestors, and principally for the King, his father, and your love for himself, owing to your firm opinion that it would always be well reciprocated, and also expatiated on his natural gifts, he by degrees changed and smoothed his brow, so that he gradually softened, and, detaching himself from the wall, spoke more kindly; but he answered me in very few words, his face being always turned towards the attendant who was near him, and he spoke in so low a tone that I could not hear him. He is fourteen years old, of diminutive stature, and suffers much from quartan ague; and of late he has ceased to fulfil the great expectations conceived about him in childhood. With regard to*

* Joanna of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Charles V., and Regent of Spain. also under date of Toledo, 13 March 1560.

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his mode of receiving me, I can only attribute it to his not having had previous notice of my presentation, and to his governor, Don Garcia de Toledo, not having been present; for had he received due notice, he would have treated me with the same graciousness as is demonstrated to your Serenity's Ambassadors by his father, to whom I never present myself without his reciprocating my obeisances, graciously doffing his bonnet four times, namely on my entry, when I approach him, in the act of withdrawing from him, and on my departure; so I choose to believe that for the future I shall be received differently.

His Majesty departed hence on the 9th, immediately after the "*Auto da fe*," and sent me word that he should remain hunting for a month before he went to Toledo, and that in the meanwhile I might suit my convenience; but I have sent to prepare my lodgings at Toledo, to await his Majesty's arrival.

Valladolid, 16th October 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

105. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Ambassador in Spain writes that the King Catholic wishes his bride to commence her journey, so that in the course of next month she may be at Bayonne, where she will be received by the Cardinal of Burgos and the Duke dell' Infantazgo. This has greatly pleased the whole Court, and especially the Queen-mother, who regretted the delay; so they have sent to urge the King of Navarre to prepare for his departure, as he intends to accompany the Queen Catholic to Bayonne, which town is under his jurisdiction; and I am told that by this time he has already arrived at the Court. The Cardinal of Lorraine told my Secretary that the King with the Queen-mother will accompany his sister from Blois to Châtellerault, eight leagues from Poitiers, and five or six days' journey beyond Blois, where he intends to be on All Saint's eve, and to pass all the rest of the winter there.

The Ambassador of the King Catholic [Thomas Perrenot, Seigneur de Champagney*] told my Secretary that he is at the Court to urge the most Christian King to give effect to what yet remains of the treaty of peace with regard to two matters of some importance; the one, to fix the boundaries in the parts of Burgundy near Toul and Verdun, where there are many places to which both sides lay claim; the other, to make all the parliaments of the kingdom, that of Paris included, swear to the treaty of peace; which has not yet been done, notwithstanding the great assiduity used by the Ambassador, who also told the Secretary that he had let the Cardinal of Lorraine know freely his belief that the restitution of St. Quentin and the other remaining fortresses will not be made until these two affairs were settled, seeing them so long delayed.

* Brother of the Bishop of Arras.

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A report circulates at the Court that the Queen-mother has determined to go in person in the spring to see her daughter and the King Catholic in Spain; and discussing this topic also with the Secretary, the Ambassador said to him that it is scarcely credible with how much affection and extraordinary favour she despatches all matters concerning the satisfaction and advantage of his Catholic Majesty; declaring that as long as she lives she will by all possible means not only preserve, but greatly increase, the friendship between these two crowns.

The brother of the Duke de Guise, Marquis d'Elbœuf, is here, to solicit his departure, he having been appointed general in Scotland, where greater reinforcements are required than those already sent, as by the last advices, although they are kept secret, it is heard that since the arrival of M. de la Brosse, with the Bishop of Amiens [Nicole de Pellève], after consulting with the Queen Regent, and three barons, the only ones in the whole kingdom who adhere to her, and are therefore proclaimed by the others to be traitors to their country, they had fortified the harbour called Little [North ?] Leith (*il Porto chiamato Petiglit*), half a league from Edinburgh, to make sure of receiving and of landing in safety such reinforcements as may be sent hence; one of those three barons left to defend it, with the few French troops which arrived lately, with a reinforcement of Scots. The Queen Regent, with the Bishop [Pellève], la Brosse, and the others, had retired into Dunbar Castle from fear of the Scots, who had threatened to attack Leith; and she writes continually to the most Christian King for assistance. It has been determined to send with the Marquis a reinforcement of 2,000 infantry under the command of M. de Martigues, who has been made colonel, for which purpose they are beating the drums, but they raise recruits with great difficulty, as no one will undertake that service, and I hear they have sent to Germany for 20 companies; and should these troops be of no avail, they will send M. de Aumale thither in the spring as general with a much larger force.

Paris, 24th October 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., filza No. 76.

106. Petition of Sir Henry Paget, Knight, to the Chiefs of the Council of Ten, Venice.

Setting forth that he is the son of Lord William [Paget], K.G., and has come to this famous city (Venice) for recreation (*solazzo*), and to acquire the language; and that he is desirous to bear arms suitable to his degree of Knight, together with three servants. Wherefore he prays their Excellencies to grant him and them the grace and favour to bear arms both in this city and in all the territories and places of this Signory, as their Excellencies had done to others of the like degree; promising to retain perpetual memory of such favour.

Oct. 27. Parti Comuni, Consiglio X., filza No. 76.

107. [Motion made in the Council of Ten.]

That licence to bear arms be given to Sir Henry Paget and three servants, he giving a note of their names.

[Ayes,] 14. [Noes,] 0. [Neutral,] 0.

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Nov. 7.
Lettere, Capi, Consiglio X., filza No. 45.

108. LETTERS PATENT of the COUNCIL of TEN.

Granting licence to Sir Henry Paget, as above, and dated 7th Nov. 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

109. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Nothing is attended to here but preparation for the departure of the Queen Catholic, which has been postponed from the 12th till the 16th, because her most important dresses, which are being made in Paris, are not yet finished.

It is secretly reported at the Court that the French troops in Scotland have been roughly handled by the Scots, who are in the field with the chief barons of that kingdom, in number from 20,000 to 25,000, their forces increasing daily; and that the Queen Regent had retired to Dunbar Castle, where she is almost besieged. I hear that of 16 companies of Frenchmen who were there, only eight suffered severely. Ample reinforcements will be sent hence in the spring, as sea voyages at this time of year are inconvenient, long, and dangerous.

Blois, 7th November 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13.
Copy. Venetian Archives.

110. FRANCIS and MARY, King and Queen of France, Scotland, England and Ireland, to [MARY] Queen-widow, Regent of Scotland.

Touching the disturbances in Scotland. Proclamation to be made of pardon to all persons laying down arms, &c.

Blois, [Ides] of November 1559.

[*Copy, enclosed in Michiel's letter of 23rd Nov. Latin.*]*

Nov. 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

111. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty arrived here *incognito* from Valladolid with only five or six attendants, to determine where he is to lodge, and having decided to inhabit the palace, he went for his hunting sport until the 20th instant, when he will make his entry in state.

The Count de Bondias, who had been sent by the King to his Consort, returned with the news that she had commenced her journey, and might be expected here at the beginning of next month. The King will go to meet her at Guadalajara, 20 leagues hence, and they will proceed to this city for the celebration of the marriage.

A few days ago some disturbance took place in the Cathedral here, certain scandalous writings (*polizze*) having been disseminated there by some heretic, when the church had a full congregation; which being communicated to the Inquisition, the church doors were instantly

* There are several other copies of this letter in the Record Office and the British Museum. A full abstract of it is given in the Calendar of Foreign State Papers.

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closed, free egress being granted to all the inhabitants of Toledo; but all foreigners were searched, which operation lasted more than four hours, the individuals arrested being subjected to personal examination to see if they had any of the documents upon them, they being also compelled to give specimens of their handwriting to be compared with the originals; but ultimately the persons arrested were all released, it having been impossible to detect the culprit.

An envoy is come from Mantua in great haste about the affairs of the Popedom, the Marquis of Pescara having also arrived here lately for the purpose of favouring the canvass of the Cardinal of Mantua. The King, however, makes public declaration of being averse to interfere in this election, and that provided they name an honest man Pope he shall be content; which I understand was the reply sent by him to the Cardinal Farnese [Alessandro Farnese ?], who had apologised for opposing Mantua [Ercole Gonzaga], because he did not know the King Catholic's mind. *But I am told that his Majesty's desire and intention would be that the Conclave should elect either Carpi [Rodolfo Pio], Medici [Gianangelo], or Morone [the Vice-Protector of England], if possible. The King would consider it bad news were the Conclave to elect either Mantua or Pacheco. He objects to the former because his connexions in Italy are too powerful, and to the latter because he is of a very illustrious family in Spain, and it has been seen by experience that Spanish Popes have little friendship for their natural sovereigns; but I know nevertheless that Pacheco's relations have obtained letters from his Majesty to individual Cardinals* (a particolari Cardinali) *in his favour, though it is said that his Majesty could not deny them without rendering a great part of Spain hostile to him, and that they will be of little use, unless he performs some other office, as the Cardinals will very well comprehend that his Majesty was compelled by necessity.*

The Marquis of Pescara will be Governor of Milan during the absence of the Duke of Sessa.

Advice has been received that the ship containing his Majesty's state papers, and which was already given up for lost was driven by a storm into Plymouth, and having been much injured, the cargo was landed; and when the vessel has been repaired, it will continue its voyage.*

Toledo, 14th November 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini*].

Nov. 16. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

112. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Marquis d'Elbœuf and M. de Martigues have at length been despatched hence for Scotland. They will embark at Calais, where vessels are laden with victuals and provisions for the Queen Regent and the French troops, who suffer greatly from want of them. News

* See letter dated Toledo, 30th March, 1560.

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came yesterday that the Queen's adherents who are in Little Leith (*Petilit*) had made a sally against the Scots, recovered two pieces of artillery taken from them heretofore, and wounded and severely handled many of the enemy. The siege of that place continues, as every month, according to the obligation of those barons, fresh troops arrive in the neighbourhood with good supplies of provisions, and by relieving their predecessors, who then return home, they thus without great inconvenience all take part in the toil and burden; and it is said that by reason of the number of the barons the siege may continue for many months.

The day after to-morrow the Court will accompany the Queen of Spain as far as Châtellerault, and the Duchess of Savoy will also leave for Nice.

Blois, 16th November 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

113. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 17th the King with the Queen-mother and the Queen of Spain departed for Châtellerault, a journey which at this time of year will occupy five or six days; and he will then return immediately, having left here all three of his brothers and his little sister (*con la picciola sorella*).

I enclose a letter* from the King and from the Queen of Scotland, his wife, written to the Queen Regent, by the opportunity afforded by the Marquis d'Elbœuf's voyage to Scotland, charging her, before having recourse to force, to publish an indult and general pardon for all those, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, who withdraw from the insurgents and return to their ancient obedience; from which letter your Serenity will comprehend the condition of that kingdom, and the great outrages perpetrated by the insurgents. I understand that the Queen Regent, who has long been ill, *though this may be a pretext for removing her thence, where she is detested,* is commissioned on the arrival of her brother, the Marquis, to come home with the ships that took him out; the King and Queen giving him very ample powers to remain as Viceroy and Lieutenant-General, both for the administration of the war and of the government; it being reported now, more than ever, that in the spring the Duke d'Amaule will go with efficient forces. These young Princes, viz., Ludovic Gonzaga, the Duke de Longueville, and others, already talk of following them, accompanied by many noblemen and gentlemen of the Court.

Blois, 23rd November 1559.

Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Dec. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

114. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

When accompanying his sister, the Queen of Spain, the King did not go beyond Châtellerault, and the Queen-mother also stayed

* See 13th November.

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there, and determined to let her go without further hindrance; so on the 25th ultimo they took leave of each other at that place.

The Queen of Spain was attended by the King of Navarre, by his brother the Cardinal de Bourbon [Charles, junior], and by the Prince de la Rochesur-Yon, who will accompany her to Spain, and to present the Order of St. Michael, sent by his most Christain Majesty to the King Catholic; but the King of Navarre and his brother will not cross the frontiers.

The most Christian King arrived here on his return to-day with the intention of remaining here till Carnival, and in the meanwhile the ministers will reform many abuses; but what matters most, they will discuss what concerns the religion, which is assuredly in great disorder, and has need of more than ordinary care and remedy, as from all quarters fresh disturbances are heard of daily, as although in Paris and other cities not a week passes without many persons being burnt alive, a yet greater number being imprisoned, the contagion nevertheless does not cease, but spreads more and more daily. During the three days of the King's stay at Châtellerault the availed himself of the opportunity for calling into his presence and the Queen-mother's all the principal inhabitants of that town, which, having been the ordinary residue of the Earl of Arran, has the reputation of being much infected; and the Cardinal [Louis] de Lorraine made them so very serious an admonition that many were so alarmed as to take flight.

Since the King's return advices received by him from Scotland on his journey have been published, purporting that the French troops who made the sally from Little Leith (*Petilit*) against the Scots had not only killed and wounded many of them, but routed the rest, who were in great number, and following up the victory the same Frenchmen recovered the town of Edinburgh. This rout caused such disunion and discord amongst the Scottish chiefs, that they had already retired, some in one direction and some in another; and overtures for an agreement had commenced, but with such haughtiness and pride on the part of the Scottish barons as to show that they wished to give terms and not to receive them. These advices add that the Lord Chancellor of that kingdom was about to embark, being sent by the majority to try and obtain a general pardon from the King and Queen for the barons on their returning to their former obedience. The Queen Regent had announced this intention to their Majesties, but [desired] that the principal chiefs should not be included in this amnesty.*

Blois, 1st December 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

115. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty has complained to me of the irresolution of the Conclave, blaming the humours of the Cardinals, who ought to have regard solely for the commonweal, most especially at this present

* The latter end of this paragraph is partly illegible in the original.

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time, when, Christendom being at peace, some remedy might be expected for the many disorders of the Roman Catholic religion.

I hear by letters from England that the Duke of Châtellerault *alias* Earl of Arran, about whom I wrote heretofore from Flanders that he had made some stir about religion in Scotland, has entered that kingdom, where he was creating great confusion; but here we are so far away that I can write no news to your Serenity about these matters.

Toledo, 4th December 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

116. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the day before yesterday his most Christian Majesty's Secretary at Rome arrived thence, having been despatched by the Cardinal de Guise, and by the others of the French faction now in conclave, to notify in what state the election of the Pope now is; and from what the Cardinal de Lorraine told me yesterday the choice was reduced to the [Cardinals] Cesis and Araceli, and according to his belief Araceli would have the preference, he being without kinsfolk or dependant, and also a man of letters, who had always led a good life; which was also confirmed to me by the Queen-mother, a proof that this side will not oppose him; the Cardinal of Lorraine adding that he will doubtless be elected at Christmas.

Blois, 6th December 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

117. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Thinks it his duty to report what he has heard about the Conclave.

Cardinal [? Alessandro] Farnese endeavoured to render the Catholic King suspicious of the Cardinal of Mantua [Ercole Gonzaga] by writing to his Majesty that he must be very cautious about favouring that Cardinal, a league having been already formed between him, the French, and the Dukes of Ferrara, Florence, and Urbino.

The Duke of Florence, however, has exculpated himself with the King through his Ambassador, and the Duke of Urbino has also written a letter to his Majesty, showing that this charge was a calumny and invention of Cardinal Farnese to thwart Mantua.

The King laughs at these ebullitions, and says to everybody, "What strange ideas those Cardinals have!" *but he nevertheless does not show himself very favourable to Mantua, whose prospects some think have been injured by the too warm support of the Ambassadors of Florence and Urbino, and by the coming of the Marchese di Pescara, as all these circumstances may increase his Majesty's suspicions, that if he obtained the Popedom he would be too powerful, and above all, that it would not be safe to have the Marchese as Governor of the Milanese.**

* Fernando Francesco d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, had for wife Isabella di Gonzaga.

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Then on the 6th instant the Ambassador from Mantua received complaints to his Majesty of the proceedings of the Ambassador Vargas in disfavour of the Cardinal of Mantua.

The Ambassador complained bitterly to his Majesty of Vargas' conduct, and gave his Majesty to understand that the votes in favour of the Cardinal of Mantua exceed those of all the other candidates, and that favour ought rather to be afforded him, as were he to gain but three votes he would be elected Pope, and his Majesty might make sure of seeing a Pope upon whom he could rely.

The King answered in general terms that he wished for Mantua in preference to all the others, and that he had favoured him so far as his conscience allowed him, but took time to reply about the other matters, and sent to the Duke of Alva, who had not yet come to the Court, being detained by a slight fit of the gout, to have his opinion.

His Majesty is much troubled on this account, as on the one hand he would not wish Mantua to be Pope, and on the other he fears lest all the Gonzaga dependants remain very dissatisfied.

I have seen the copy of a long letter from the Duke of Urbino to Vargas, in which he demonstrated to Vargas that he had failed in his duty, because when he arrived at Rome, having represented the Cardinal of Mantua as his Majesty's adherent, he might have had him elected Pope if he had chosen to influence but slightly the opposite party, which is entirely dependant on his Majesty, and Vargas might thus easily have obtained for Mantua the few votes needed; but when the occasion arose Vargas spoke very coldly in favour of Mantua, and dissuaded [? the Cardinals] from voting for him again. That Vargas had thus tacitly supported Farnese and Caraffa, who told him to his face that they would make a French Pope, but he neither showed his teeth, nor reproved, nor threatened them. That if he had to gratify either of these two parties, he should remember that one was represented by the "Camerlengo" [Guido Ascanio Sforza] and Mantua [Ercole Gonzaga], the other by Farnese and Caraffa; that what the "Camerlengo" had endured for his Majesty's service was notorious; that Mantua had a circle of kinsfolk, who time out of mind had been the servants of the Emperor and King Philip, and that notwithstanding great offers made to him, Mantua would never swerve from his allegiance to his Majesty, having educated two Dukes of Mantua, his nephews, as the devoted servants of his Catholic Majesty; while on the other hand Farnese, not many years ago, was the Emperor's enemy and the ally of France, causing many wars, the expenditure of millions of gold, and much bloodshed; and Caraffa broke the peace, brought the French into Italy, and sowed the seed of a thousand scandalous proceedings.

The Duke of Urbino, therefore, reproached Vargas for setting a bad example to the King's servants by discountenancing in every way those who had done him good service, even to their own detriment, and by favouring his Majesty's enemies and opponents. And he let Vargas know what he thought of this his mode of negotiating, that he might take better counsel, as should he choose there would still be time to do his duty and seek the King's advantage.

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The Ambassador from Urbino showed this letter to several persons, and doubtless to his Majesty likewise, as on this subject he speaks to him very freely and with great warmth.

Toledo, 11th December 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

118. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King and these chief ministers, thinking it undignified for this kingdom to tolerate such long delay about the restitution of St. Quentin and the other fortresses, desired the French minister, resident with the Duchess of Parma, Regent of Flanders, to deliver to her a very peremptory message, demanding consignment of the hostages, &c. within 24 hours; the result of which was, that the Duchess said that, the Spanish ministers in Italy having at length assured her of the entire restitution made by France to those who had claims on her, the French Government would from hour to hour receive advice of a fact which had been so long desired. The French hostages in England are to be replaced, so that those who were sent first may no longer be aggrieved by remaining abroad; and the French Ambassador resident there will also be changed. At Constantinople, the person appointed to visit Sultan Soliman, in this King's name, on his accession, will reside there in lieu of the deceased La Vigne, although he is a youth supposed to have little experience of business and public affairs, being the son of a rich woman, named Dolve, who sells cloths of silk in Paris, but he having been heretofore and being still the favourite and dependant of the Cardinal de Lorraine, as is also his mother, they have given him the place, although any other person, even slightly his superior, would have refused it, as no one goes willingly to Constantinople; and he will depart in a few days.

The French Vice-Chancellor of Scotland has arrived to give a more accurate account of the affairs of that kingdom, and to petition, as written by me, for a general pardon, but having been long on the journey he did not bring any fresh news.

Yesterday morning by letters dated Rome, 3rd instant, the Cardinal [Louis] de Lorraine made known, what is kept very secret, that the candidature of the Cardinal of Ferrara was proceeding so well that in the course of that week they hoped to elect him Pope, having gained Cardinal Caraffa.

To attend better to hawking, in which he greatly delights (though his father did not), and to other field sports, the most Christian King has retired till Christmas to the palace of Chambord, four leagues hence, and besides the Queen-mother and the Queen, his wife, he has made the Chancellor and the Privy Council go thither, to arrange his finances for next year.

Blois, 13th December 1559.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 15.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

119. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen was to be at the frontiers on the 15th instant, and will keep Christmas at Pampeluna, being unable to reach Guadalaxara, where the King will wait for her before the 12th January. The Cardinal of Burgos, and the Duke dell' Infantazgo, have gone to meet her. They are incurring vast expenditure, it being asserted that this journey will cost the Duke upwards of 150,000 crowns, he having chosen to exceed every ordinary term of magnificence, for it is said that he has had the cords for girthing the baggage mules made of silk and gold, with a thousand other superfluities scarcely credible until they are seen.

I hear from the French Ambassador that in a great skirmish in Scotland the French troops had so routed the Earl of Arran that with difficulty he saved himself, but that having got into one of his strongholds (*terra forte*), he demanded of the Queen (Regent) that she should grant to him and to all those people the Interim conceded heretofore by the Emperor to Germany, showing (*mostrando*) that with this he would remain satisfied.*

The Queen of England still remained undecided about her marriage, though amongst all the competitors she showed most inclination for the Prince [Archduke] Charles. The Duke of Finland, second son of the King of Sweden, is with her. He came to favour the suit of his elder brother, and then proposed himself, but the man's manners did not please the Queen. The second son also of the late Duke John Frederick of Saxony, who heretofore was proposed to the Queen by the French, *but who was subsequently deserted by them because they wished her to marry an Englishman, that she might not depend on foreigners and their assistance,* had not relinquished his pretensions, as he had sent a Count Mansfeldt† to propose to the Queen. The King of Denmark in like manner has not failed to exert himself, *but the general opinion is that if the affairs of the Earl of Arran prosper, he will prevail over all competitors.*

Toledo, 15th December 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 22.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

120. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is reported that the Duke of Florence is sending the Prince his son to this Court, *the cause being to obtain the hand of the Princess [of Portugal], his Majesty's sister, and I know on very good authority that a person, who thought to please the Princess, said a good word to her about this alliance, to which she showed herself utterly averse, being inclined towards a higher connexion. It is asserted that she has a design on the Prince of Spain [Don Carlos], her nephew, who*

* The Interim of Augsburg, granted by the Emperor Charles V. in 1548.
† Volrad Count Mansfeldt. (See Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1559–60. Index.)

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seems very fond of her, although some years younger than she is, and on this account the Prince's governors never allow him to remain alone with the Princess, perhaps by the King's order.

Toledo, 22nd December 1559.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

121. List of King Philip's Council. [*Enclosed in the preceding.*]

(1.) Councillors of State who were in Flanders.

Don Antonio de Toledo, Cavallarrizzo Maggior.

The Duke of Francavilla, President of the Council of Justice.

The Duke of Alva, Maggiordomo Maggior.—He has not yet come to the Court.

Don Ruy Gomez de Silva, Cameriero Maggior.—He is ill at Madrid.

Don Juan Maurique de Lara, Maggiordomo.—He has not yet come to the Court.

The Count de Feria.—He remained in Flanders.

The Bishop of Arras.—He remained in Flanders.

Don Francisco Vargas.—He went Ambassador to Rome.

(2.) Councillors of State who were in Spain.

The Archbishop of Seville, General of the Inquisition.—He is considered a man of worth, rather than very learned or experienced in worldly affairs.

Don Garcia de Toledo, Maggiordomo, and Governor of the Prince.—He has never been out of Spain, so far as I can learn.

Don Gutierre Lopez de Padilla, Maggiordomo.—He held high office in Piedmont.

The Regent Figueroa.—He was heretofore Regent in Naples and Syndic Major in Milan.

Don Luis de Ayala, Commendator Maggior of Alcantara.—He wrote the history of the war of Germany waged by the Emperor against the Protestants; and was Captain-General of light horse in Flanders.

The Archbishop of Toledo.—He is in prison on a charge of heresy.

Don Juan Vaschez de Alolina (sic).—A pupil of Covos; first he was secretary of the Empress, then of the Emperor, and of the King, for affairs of state in Spain; and now he has great authority with his Majesty, who has made him his councillor.

Don Gonzalo Perez.—He is Secretary of State for the affairs of Italy; but custom causes those also of Germany, France, and England to pass through his hands.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

122. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Levis, who returned from Venice three days ago, delivered to me your Serenity's of the 9th instant, desiring me to thank his

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Majesty for having sent such a gentleman to announce his accession; so I made this announcement to the King, who said briefly what had been told me more in full by the Cardinal [Louis] de Lorraine, and by the Queen-mother. I urged all of them, especially the Cardinal, to despatch the lawsuit pending here between Don Agustin Ragazzoni and the Admiralty, so often recommended by me, and no longer to permit Ragazzoni by his adversaries' chicanery to be subjected to delay in so clear a case, as proved by the testimony not only of your Serenity, but of the French Ambassadors themselves, who were in England at the time. The King and the Queen-mother said they would give orders accordingly to the Cardinal of Lorraine.*

Blois, 30th December 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 30. Epistolæ Poli, V., 353, 354.

123. ALVISE PRIULI to LODOVICO BECCATELLO, ARCHBISHOP OF RAGUSA.

Last summer, in England, I answered† your Lordship's letter, which accompanied one from Father Crisostomo, and I addressed my reply to the care of Messer Niccolò di Nali.

Our Abbate Gerio having subsequently left Flanders, I have had no further news of him or of you. After they had lasted full eight months (*ben otto mesi*), I at length got rid of my many quartan fevers, but they left me very weak, and with other remains of so serious and protracted a malady. At the beginning of September I relapsed again into a quartan fever, but by God's grace, contrary to the opinion of many persons, it subsided after the ninth paroxysm. But both before and at that time, and since also, I never had any lack of divers troubles and chicanery (*mai non mi mancarono diversi intrichi e travagli*) on account of this blessed executorship, from some of which having at length extricated myself as well as I could, I obtained leave to depart, as I did on the 16th ultimo, and came hither to Paris with the convenience of a litter, though not without much toil, and peril also; so that I determined not to continue my journey towards Italy before the commencement of spring, in which resolve I am yet more confirmed, having within the last few days had an attack of jaundice, which the physicians say is the frequent result of prolonged quartan maladies, most especially with elderly persons, and they were of opinion that I should not recover so speedily; but by the grace of God my health improved, and this convalescence continues, so that I hope soon to be quite cured. Should this come to pass I intend going as far as Orleans for the rest of the winter, as a place better suited to this season, and near Blois, where our most noble and very dear Messer Giovanni Michiel is, the Signory's ambassador resident with the most

* Jacopo Ragazzoni, the brother of Agustin, was a Venetian merchant established in England from the time of Henry VIII., until 1558, when he returned to Venice. The lawsuit recorded in this despatch has been alluded to in Vol. 6, part 2, Venetian Calendar, date 12 to 22 April, and 11 May 1557, when, *before* the breaking out of the war between England and France, goods shipped by the Ragazzoni firm in London had been seized by French pirates.

† See 13th June 1559.

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Christian King, so that I shall be easily able to go and see him, and enjoy his most agreeable and affectionate society. Should it please our Lord God that I arrive in Italy, I hope one day or another again to see your Lordship, and to remain some days with you. During this interval I will not fail to give you news of myself and my condition, in like manner as I wish to hear of yours. I address this letter to my brother, the Magnifico Messer Antonio, who will easily find means to forward it, and should you write to me and transmit your letter in like manner, you may be sure that I shall get it.

I do not think it necessary to write anything further to our most kind Dom Crisostomo, knowing that your Lordship will communicate this to him, before the receipt of which, I fancy we shall have a new Pope.* May it please the goodness of God that he may be such an one as is required by the many and great wants of Christendom. Having nothing else to say at present, I recommend myself heartily to you and our said good Father, praying you not to forget me in your devout prayers. Our Messer Enrico [Henry Penning] is here in my company, with the determination to come with me into Italy, and with all affection he kisses your Lordship's hand.

Paris, 30th December 1559.

Most affectionate servant, ALVISE PRIULI.

[*Italian.*]

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1560. Jan. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

124. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King since his arrival in Spain is in great want of money, because in Flanders the pecuniary supply which was made for the war served also for the expenses of his Majesty's household, whereas here the revenues are mortgaged for a long period, and the debts are very considerable; so that the Fuggers alone, besides one million and four hundred thousand ducats due to them in Flanders, are creditors for one million and seven hundred thousand ducats on account of Spain; nor would they ever come to any terms with his Majesty after the decree reducing the interest on the Spanish debt to 5 per cent., insisting on the promise made to them; and hoping that the King, being compelled to obtain further advances from them for the needs of the late war, would repeal this decree, they have insisted hitherto upon maintaining the original contract, and have not accepted anything on account of interest; but being now certain that this course would not succeed, they have sent hither a son of Giovanni Giacomo Fugger to devise some adjustment of this business.

* Pope Paul IV., who had persecuted Pole and Priuli for their heretical opinions, died on the 18th August 1559, and was succeeded by Pope Pius IV. on the 26th December following.

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His Majesty is debtor to the fairs for more than a million and a half, and from year to year must make provision through merchants, and as often pecuniary supply is not easily obtainable the period of the fairs is necessarily postponed, so that the fair of Medina de Campo is held now though it ought to have been held last May; at which fair Nicolò Grimaldi, surnamed the Monarch, supplies the King with upwards of 400,000 ducats.

His Majesty owes the Genoese a considerable sum of money, although they have been more ingenious and venturesome than the Fuggers by finding means to recover great part of their credit, which had been reduced to 5 per cent., by making bargains with his Majesty during the late war, and supplying him with money on condition of comprising in it such an amount of their first credits as to form $\frac{1}{4}$th or $\frac{1}{5}$th part of the sum total, the whole, both capital and interest, to be repaid them with good security; but nevertheless they have not yet reimbursed themselves, although now their credits are much less than what was due to them heretofore. His Majesty has also many debts in this province [New Castile], without alluding further at present to those he has in Flanders and Italy; but what most matters now is the money required for the daily expenditure of the household of his Majesty, of the Queen, of his son Don Carlos, and of his brother Don John of Austria, as also for the Spanish guards, for the galleys of Spain, and for those of Prince Doria, besides other expenses, to defray the whole of which a million and a half of ducats annually would not suffice. The hope of raising considerable funds rests upon the present Viceroy of Peru, Marquis de Cañete, of the Mendoza family, brother of the Cardinal of Burgos, who, during his viceroyship has sent very little money on account of his Majesty, so that he has been much blamed throughout Spain, where his character is dishonoured; so having received advice of this from his friends, to justify himself he wrote lately that he had collected 600,000 ducats, and that by the fleet which would soon depart he hoped to send a million, thus stifling the reports of his adversaries.

They are now sending the Licentiate Birbiesca to the Indies with authority to compromise with those who wish to obtain the fiefs for their descendants in perpetuity, a demand made long ago by those who have landed property there,* for which they offered a large sum of money, but the resolution was not formed till now from doubt lest it prove injurious to Spain; yet although they hope here to get many millions of ducats, much time will be required to levy them, because with the exception of two of the chief landholders in the Indies, the others have no ready money.

It has been reported to the King that at the time of the conquest of Granada by his grandfather, King Ferdinand, from the Moors, much landed property should have accrued to his Majesty; so it is said that he will send to investigate the tenures whereby estates are held in the kingdom of Granada, with the intention, if not of

* See Venetian Calendar, vol. 6, part 1, pp. 196, 197, date Brussels, 28th September 1555, when this proposal was made to the Emperor Charles the Fifth.

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depriving the holders of property belonging to the Crown, at least of making a compromise with them, and thereby obtaining a million and a half of gold.

These kingdoms of Castile are bound to pay the King the tenth of whatever is sold, but the towns contracted for this tenth at a very low rate, and the surplus they apply to their own benefit; although the purchaser bears this burden almost entirely, no one of any class soever being exempt, for as the vendor pays the tax he obtains the cost from the purchaser. The towns made their contract with the late Emperor for 20 years, that period ending in 1560; and it is said that when the term expires his Majesty will discuss this matter with the towns, intending to make a compromise with them, as it would be too much to exact the entire tenth, amounting as it does to upwards of one million annually.

The marriage donative of these kingdoms [Old and New Castile], will not exceed three or four hundred thousand ducats.

Should the new Pope be the King's friend, as is hoped, owing to his numerous dependents in conclave, it is intended to obtain the "Cruzada" bull, which was usually conceded every three years by former Popes to the King of Spain, though denied by Paul IV. during his lifetime, and which yielded every three years some 900,000 ducats. It is also purposed to obtain the Pope's authority to levy a subsidy from the clergy, which for the most part amounts triennially to 700,000 ducats.

Toledo, 4th January 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

125. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Letters from Flanders announce that on the 18th ultimo St. Quentin and Han were to be consigned, but that Châtelet would be detained for some days, until the French restored certain places in Luxemburg and on the frontier lines of Flanders; so the French Ambassador went to the King's Secretary to complain that the restoration of what was clearly expressed in the treaty of peace should be delayed for places of such slight importance, it being doubtful to whom they by right belong, as similar difficulties required settlement in a friendly manner through Commissioners to be appointed by one side and the other, and not by retaining a fortress. The Ambassador tells me that thereupon his Majesty sent a courier to the Lady Governess [Duchess of Parma] desiring her to have Châtelet likewise restored.

Paul IV. sent as Legate to this King the Bishop of Chiusi, who arrived in Flanders after the Pope's death and his Majesty's departure, and for some days past he has been resident in a monastery distant one league from this city, because they have not yet determined how to receive him. *The King would wish him to be received, thinking thus to adjust and settle many things, which once arranged he might expect them to remain so with the future Pope; and amongst the rest the affair of the estate and effects of the Archbishop of Toledo, the*

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predecessor of the present one, valued at 700,000 *ducats, of which his Majesty has had possession and availed himself in the late war. This wish of his Majesty is valid, because in his commission the Bishop is styled as usual not only Legate of the Pope but also of the See Apostolic; but in the meanwhile the Inquisition and the Royal Council of Spain made some difficulty about admitting him, partly because certain articles in his powers do not give satisfaction, and partly because they would wish to find means for compelling the future Nuncios in Spain to exercise their authority with greater moderation than their predecessors, who made concessions with little or no respect and in excess of their powers and duty, causing great scandal and infamous abuses; so they treated with the Nuncio to give him a coadjutor, without whose knowledge or consent he could not concede anything, which proposal the Bishop of Chiusi rejected as prejudicial to the authority of a Nuncio Apostolic, nor would he assent to it without an order from the Pope or the Catholic See. The result of this affair cannot yet be known, though certain persons are of opinion that at any rate the Nuncio will be received by reason of his Majesty's desire to that effect.*

The King's Confessor however, talking to me about the irregularities caused by the Nuncios in the past times, and of the little account in which the Popes held Spain, and becoming angry, said, "Unless the future Popes take greater care about this province [Spain] I assure you they will lose it, and by my letters I protested accordingly to Paul IV., to whom I wrote that many persons were glad to see matters proceed in this way, that they might seize the opportunity and make use of it for what they desire, as you must know that of late Spain sends to Rome for presentations to bishoprics and benefices, whereas heretofore they used to be given and confirmed by the Archbishop of Toledo in virtue of the authority conceded to him in the* 13*th* (sic) *Council of this city; and if we (from the reverence and observance borne by us to that See, which perhaps exceed that of any other nation) consent to go to Rome, sending thither annually a very large sum of money, we do not deserve to be treated and requited by the See Apostolic in this way. The Popes think to do what they will with the King of Spain, because he is not accustomed without their license to levy any tax from the clergy, but never did I read anywhere of its being prohibited to make the clergy contribute like the others towards the defence [? of their country]; and this King incurs great expense constantly in soldiers and fleets for the defence of these realms."*

As these words seem to me very momentous, most especially by reason of the person who uttered them, I have notified them to your Serenity, who, should you think fit, might order them to be kept secret.

Recent letters from the Island of Hispaniola† announce a serious insurrection in Peru, which is narrated in two ways: the one, that the Viceroy, Marquis de Cañete,‡ being dissatisfied with the Licentiate

* Francisco Bernardo de Fresneda. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 364.)
† San Domingo *alias* Hayti.
‡ "*di Alcagnet*" in the original.

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Santillana for the way in which he ruled Chili, sent for him, and after much dispute matters being adjusted, and the Viceroy reconciled to him, Santillana went back to Chili, but accompanied by the Marquis' son, and the Licentiate (not having forgiven his father) slew him on arriving at a convenient spot, and raised an insurrection in the province. The other version purports that the Marquis himself had rebelled, and did not allow any vessel to depart lest it bring the news, but it had reached Hispaniola from afar, the intelligence having been sent by land. At any rate the report causes anxiety, because if true the remedy would be difficult, and they have great fear of the Marquis, because he knows how dissatisfied they are with him here, by reason of the little benefit received by the King during the six years of his viceroyalty, and owing to the many complaints made against him by persons here, at whose suit some months ago all his property was sequestrated for wrongs and acts of injustice done to them; so as the King is now sending the Count de Nieva* to succeed him, he seems to be recalled to punishment rather than to his country.

The Prince of Parma is in bed with the small-pox, and has a large crop of pustules, which molest him greatly though he has been bled but rather late, at a time when they had already come out. I determined to visit him, and although the malady is serious everybody seems to make sure that he will recover.

The Ambassador from Florence has had advice that in the spring the Prince will certainly come to this Court.

On Thursday the King returned from his field sports, which occupied him from the day before the holidays until now, but after signing some official despatches and giving certain orders he will depart to meet the Queen, although as yet there is no news of her being in Spain, which she was to have entered four or five days ago.

His Majesty is sending to Rome Don Francisco de Mendoza, son of the Marquis de Mondejar, and nephew of Don Diego [de Mendoza], who (Don Diego) was ambassador to Venice, about the affairs of the popedom, to solicit the Cardinals to despatch their business in any way whatever provided they elect an honest man, to which effect Mendoza will perhaps make some public protest. *Nevertheless I understand that this mission is due to some fear lest* [*the Cardinal of*] *Ferrara or some Frenchman should be elected, and that the King has sent to inform the Ambassador Vargas of his wishes. According to the Italian Ambassadors who favoured* [*the Cardinal of*] *Mantua, Vargas has an extraordinary desire to be Cardinal, which report is confirmed by the determination taken lately by his wife in Spain to become a nun.*

The Duke of Alva has arrived at the Court, and lodges in the palace.

Toledo, 7th January 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* His family name was Henriquez. (See Cabrera, Index.)

1560. Jan. 29. Original Letter, Venetian Archives.

126. ——— to ———.*

I did not write yesterday, having been occupied the whole day in seeing the entry of the Queen, which, considering the conditions of the place, was imposing, as history will narrate in due season.

Her Majesty is young and beautiful, and has so much the air of the Medici family that without knowing who she was, any one would declare her to be of their lineage. She seems sage and serious, and this morning the French Ambassador told me that your Lordship will remain satisfied with her worth. The King went roaming about all yesterday in disguise among the crowd to witness the reception of the Princess,† who wished to go to the principal gate of the palace to meet her Majesty had the populace permitted it, but at length after much striving and pushing they met, and I was very near them. Her Highness wanted to kiss the Queen's hand, but she would not consent, and embraced her, and they kissed each other. The King is said to have seen everything, and he was so continent (*et fu tanto continente*) that he did not make himself known. The Queen, who had received some hint of this, prayed the Princess to be pleased to tell her whether her Lord the King was there, and she replied that she did not know for certain, but would forthwith send a courier; whereupon the Queen said, "Your Highness must be the courier, and tell me if you believe his Majesty to be here;" and the Princess rejoined it was possible, but that she knew nothing for certain. Some persons say that his Majesty has spoken with the Queen, which the Ambassador denies, but says that the King will be here early to-morrow morning, and that after visiting her and hearing mass the marriage ceremony will be performed, and to-morrow evening the enterprise will be undertaken, in my opinion but little to the pleasure of the persons subjected to it (*et domani di sera si farà la giornata, secondo me con poco piacere de sotoposti*).

This morning I saw her Majesty and her Highness [the Princess of Portugal] at dinner in a magnificent hall decorated with those marvellous tapestries of gold and silk representing the Tunis expedition; there was vocal and instrumental music, and perhaps dancing, shortly after the repast, but as it was late I returned home to give your Lordship this account for your satisfaction.

Guadalajara, 29th January 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

127. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The King's Commissioners (*Deputati*), having been ordered to receive the Queen at the frontiers, sent to tell Monsr. de Vendôme

* The following letter contains an anonymous account of the first meeting between King Philip and his third wife, Elizabeth of Valois, daughter of the late King of France, Henry II., and of Catherine de' Medici. It was enclosed in Paulo Tiepolo's despatch of 30th January, and was apparently written by some member of the Venetian Embassy who had been sent by Tiepolo to Guadalajara to satisfy the Republic's curiosity; and it seems to me worthy of notice.

† Joanna of Austria, Princess of Portugal, King Philip's sister.

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[King of Navarre] and the Cardinal de Bourbon that they were to wait for them there, but M. de Vendôme, who cannot bear talking about frontiers, answered that as the passes were so narrow, either the Duke and the Cardinal must come into his (Vendôme's) territory or they would go into Spain; so the Commissioners on this side determined that M. de Vendôme and the Cardinal de Bourbon should accompany the Queen to Roncisvalle, a place belonging to this King about six leagues within the frontiers, where the Duke dell' Infantasgo and the Cardinal of Burgos would await them. The Queen did not arrive at Roncisvalle till the 3rd instant. She stopped three days at Pamplona to take a little rest, the whole company having suffered much in the rugged mountains, and from the deep snow, ice, and cold encountered by them. On the 28th instant they are expected to arrive at Guadalajara, where the marriage (*sponsalitio*) will take place, and they will then come hither immediately for the entertainment, which will be very magnificent by order of the King, who wishes his marriage to be celebrated with the greatest possible pomp; and on the 20th of this month he departed hence to see, meet, and visit his wife before her arrival at Guadalajara.

On the 8th instant a courier from Milan brought the news of the Pope's election.* The King and the whole Court rejoiced most immensely by reason of the inclination always evinced by his Holiness towards this side. I congratulated his Majesty on the event, and he answered me that all Christendom had cause to rejoice at it, by reason of his Holiness's perfect mind with regard to the universal benefit of the Christian Commonwealth, and that God was to be praised for such a satisfactory election after so long a delay. But greater than that of anyone else was the joy demonstrated by the Ambassador from Florence, who declares that all this has been the work and luck of his Duke, and he boasts that now the Medicis will rule Florence, Rome, France, Spain through the Queen, Lorraine, and Ferrara. He evinces a belief that the Pope will be guided in everything by Duke Cosmo's counsel and will, and that the Pope has nothing else to seek *but the aggrandisement and satisfaction of the Duke of Florence, who it is already said lays claim to Imola and Forli in right of his descent from Catarina Sforza, heretofore mistress of those cities, she having been the mother of Zanin de' Medici, the Duke's father.*

This Ambassador came to me a few days ago and told me that in his Duke's name he had two pieces of good news to give me: the one being that he had discovered a conspiracy made against him by some of his most familiar and confidential servants, whom he caused to be arrested, securing his person from the danger which menaced him; the other, that your Serenity had determined to restore to him the galley detained in Cyprus, together with all the prisoners; adding many loving words in testimony of the Duke's satisfaction and gratitude; but I have heard from another quarter *that he*

* Gian Angelo de' Medici was elected Pope with the title of Pius IV. in the night of 25–26 Dec. 1559.

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narrates this circumstance in a different form, wishing to show that the restitution took place solely from respect for the greatness of the Duke, for whom everybody must now have deference.

The Cardinal of Perugia* has written letters to the King, to the Duke of Alva, and to some other friends of his, apologising for having opposed the election of Pacheco, saying clearly that he did so for conscience sake, not considering him fitted for so important a charge, as he is old, tardy, and negligent, and passes 22 hours of the day in eating, sleeping, and in other personal necessities; and that he is ill adapted to rule, as the Duke of Alva himself can bear witness from what he found when he succeeded him in the kingdom of Naples. In conclusion he complains bitterly of the Ambassador Vargas for having tried to force his conscience by threatening him that this King would deprive him and his brother, Ascanio della Cornia, of all the revenues and pensions they have in his Majesty's States; adding that his chief reason for regretting Vargas' protest was, that it might in some measure diminish the high opinion entertained by the world of the holy mind of his Majesty, as many persons will believe what he (the Cardinal) knows for certain to be untrue, that by his King's will the Ambassador used this language to force the consciences of the Cardinals in a matter they disapproved; and that he (the Cardinal) will always be his Majesty's true servant.

This King by reason of his pecuniary necessities having made an especial demand of these "Cortes" for a marriage vote of 600,000 ducats, they made an effort and gave him 550,000, a much larger sum than was expected; but his Majesty would still wish it to amount to 600,000.

The Prince of Parma is cured of the small-pox, and of the fever which followed the distemper.

It is heard from England that the very considerable French reinforcements in Scotland had caused suspicion to the Queen, who did not fail making every provision to secure herself, and according to report she would send hither her Ambassadors to inform this King how matters were proceeding, that in case of need he might provide the necessary assistance. *Here this stir is considered of very great importance, and one of the chief personages of this Court, who is most intimate with his Majesty, when discussing the subject with me, said he strongly suspected that it will at length cause the renewal of the war between his Majesty and France, as, for the interests of the States of Flanders, King Philip could by no means tolerate the occupation of England by the French.*

The Imperial Ambassador resident here has news that Count Helfenstein, sent by the Emperor, had arrived in England, and that the Queen shows herself more than ever inclined towards Prince Charles, and that at the head of her bed she kept his portrait, from which at times she seemed unable to separate herself.

* Fulvio della Cornia, nephew of Julius III., who made him Cardinal, 20th December 1551.

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The serious illness is reported of the Queen Dowager of Scotland, whose death might be of great moment in those parts.

Toledo, 30th January 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

128. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

In reply to your Excellencies' missive of the 28th ultimo about the stir in the Milanese, I have no suspicion that the King would think of plotting against the Signory of Venice, who are greatly esteemed and respected at this Court. It is true that several persons had information that the Signory were suspicious of Spain because the Duke of Sessa had attempted to have drawings made of certain Venetian fortresses; that by order of your Excellencies some persons had been arrested; and that on this account the Signory had increased their garrisons, and intended to improve the fortifications of Brescia and Crema. This is what I have heard hitherto, but I will not fail to keep on the watch, most especially on the arrival here of the Duke (of Sessa), to discover if possible what he is treating and proposing.*

With regard to the two German regiments which your Excellencies have been advised are to muster on the frontiers of the Low Countries for service in Africa, this report is quite new to me; but if this project exists, before going to Africa they must come to Spain, where the appearance of these troops would cause more stir than has been made for the coming of the Queen, most especially on account of the requisite supply of provisions in this most sterile country, where only with great difficulty an army corps could be fed for any protracted period. In addition to this, were any important African expedition meditated, it would necessarily be preceded by many other very evident preparations in these realms.

Toledo, 31st January 1560.

[*Italian; the whole in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

129. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have congratulated the King on the Queen's arrival and the consummation of his marriage.

The King was accompanied by Don Ruy Gomez, who is suffering much from his fever, but yet more from the recent and violent persecution of many of these chief personages, who accused him of several very important matters; and the Duke of Alva gave it clearly to be understood that he would not go to the Court if Don Ruy Gomez was there, and this has been the chief cause of Alva's absence hitherto. The King knows that he has but too much need of Alva's counsel and authority, his Majesty's Council of State being ill provided with men of ability, and therefore it is under compulsion rather

* Gonzalo Fernandez.

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than voluntarily that he holds the Duke in account; and as until now it is evident that his Majesty's mind towards Don Ruy Gomez is not in the least changed, and that he loves him as heartily as he ever loved him, many persons are of opinion that in secret Ruy Gomez will always have greater favour and authority with the King than any one else.

His Majesty has received a courier from Rome with news of the Pope's intention to create Cardinals.*

Toledo, 16th February 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 3.† Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

130. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Although an agreement is being negotiated about the affairs of Scotland to avoid war with England, the French Ministry are hastening the despatch of the Admiral of Normandy, for which province he will depart in three or four days, they having already given orders to detain all the ships, and to collect the greatest possible quantity of provisions and ammunition, of which the French troops in Scotland have no less need than of reinforcements. If the disturbances continue, the small French force in Scotland run great risk of never returning home, as according to the last advices they are in greater danger than ever, for the Queen Regent having seized three Scottish gentlemen had them hanged immediately in public, which so enraged all the others that they made a furious assault and killed three whole companies of Frenchmen, not one of them having escaped. They (the Scotch) had also recovered the island of Inchkeith (*l'Isola de' Cavalli*); which news the English Ambassador said was confirmed to him this morning, and the feat was performed principally by the father of the Earl of . . . . (*illegible in MS.*)

When the French Ministry heard of the departure from England of the two Ambassadors to the King of Spain, it was determined that his most Christian Majesty should accredit to him M. de Rambouillet, a lord in waiting, not merely for the purpose of visiting Queen Elizabeth of France (who by the last letters from Spain was ill of the small-pox), but also to give account to the King Catholic of the state of affairs in Scotland, which require succour, as the Queen of England is raising forces in every direction, and her ministers insult and affront his most Christian Majesty's subjects, showing evident signs of coming to a rupture. King Francis therefore informs King Philip that he will do what he can to avoid breaking the peace, but if compelled to wage war under provocation, and from necessity, he must be excused for doing so by the King Catholic and all other potentates. From Spain M. de Rambouillet will go to

* On the 31st January 1560, Pius IV. gave the red hat to his two nephews Gianantonio Serbelloni and Carlo Borromeo, and to Giovanni de' Medici, son of the Duke of Florence.

† From the 30th December 1559 to the 3rd March 1560, I can find no despatches from Giovanni Michiel in the Venetian Archives. (R. Brown.)

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Portugal, to salute the infant King,* the Queen,† and the Cardinal,‡ King Francis since his accession not having sent anyone thither as he did to all the other Courts.

Amboise, 3rd March 1560.

[*Italian.*]

March 4. Copy. Venetian Archives.

131. SUMMARY of the ARTICLES treated with Mons. de Seurre (*Scevre*), French Ambassador, at Westminster on the 4th of March; which articles were proposed to the King of France, to the Queen Mother, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine on the 13th of the said month by the Ambassador from England.§

That the innovations made by the most Christian King, and by the Queen, his wife, to the prejudice of the Queen of England, about the matter of arms and titles, be immediately reformed and do cease entirely, as was agreed by the said King's Ambassador in England.

That all the forces of the said King be immediately recalled from Scotland, and the ancient privileges of the Scots restored to them, and that the said recall may begin by the 21st instant at the furthest, and that one-third may be recalled by the 24th instant, half before the 28th instant, and the whole before 2nd April; which is demanded from necessity, to the end that the aforesaid very great suspicion conceived on the part of the said Queen may be suppressed and extirpated. And that the said things may the sooner take effect the Queen of England considers it would be well for the said King to send authority (*potere*) to some good personage in England or in Scotland, such as the Bishop of Valence or the Ambassador Seurre here in England, or the Bishop of Amiens, La Brosse, or Martigues in Scotland, for this negotiation, namely the points concerning the recall of the said forces, which would greatly benefit this affair, and be better than to await the coming of some personage from France.

That the Queen of England will grant to the French forces safe conducts by sea and land, and permit them to be transported safely in the vessels of England to the parts of France; and as for those who are not content to pass by sea, or have not convenience for doing so, it will be granted them to pass through suitable places in the kingdom of England without other arms than sword or rapier, and to have passage to France.

That the said Queen of England promises that after the removal by the most Christian King of the forces from Scotland as aforesaid, she in like manner will withdraw her recently collected forces, both by sea and land; the most Christian King also giving orders at his seaports and other parts and places of his realm that they are no

* Sebastian, born 20th January 1554.

† Catherine of Austria, widow of John III.

‡ Henry of Braganza, brother of John III., and who, on the death of King Sebastian, succeeded to the Crown of Portugal on the 28th August 1578.

§ The Ambassador was Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and the fact of his presentation of these articles on the 13th March may be read in Foreign Calendar, "Elizabeth," p. 447, No. 854. This copy of the Articles seems to have been enclosed in a later despatch of Paulo Tiepolo. At pp. 423–426, Foreign Calendar, there will be found other documents relating to this negociation.

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longer to make any preparations for war, and that those already commenced be discontinued; and that to this effect immediate command be given everywhere. It moreover seems necessary to the said Queen of England for the said King, if on his part he has resolved to have universal repose in these three kingdoms, as the said Queen desires with her whole heart, to send with all diligence a large and ample commission to some personage in England to proceed thence to Scotland, or to some one else already in Scotland, that (on finding the Duke de Châtellerault and others of the nobility, his adherents, prepared to recognise the Queen of Scotland as their sovereign lady, and the most Christian King likewise in right of the said Queen, his wife), he do make and ordain a reliable assurance and restitution of the liberty of their country, so that they may be governed without force of arms according to the ancient laws and liberties of the realm by the natural born people of the land, or else as it shall seem well to the three States freely and without force in Parliament, for the benefit of the Queen of Scotland.

And that this peace may always continue firm and durable, and that a closer friendship may be established between their said Majesties, the Queen of England wishes (*desidera*) the last treaty of peace made at Cateau Cambresis to be also confirmed and ratified.

[*Italian.*]

March 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

132. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

It was believed that the severity exercised during the last few months in Paris and many other French cities against persons condemned for their religion, of whom very great numbers were burnt alive, would have so terrified the survivors that they would not have dared even to speak, still less to proceed further, and for several days the usual notice of such executions was less frequent; but since the Court came hither two facts occurred at one and the same time contrary to these expectations at Rouen and Bordeaux, where divers armed men had the audacity not only to rescue from the royal officials certain prisoners on their way to execution for the cause of religion, but also to maltreat and wound the officials, killing some of them, and openly threatening to do the like by their comrades unless they desisted from enforcing this sentence. Although these events are very much regretted, they were heard without surprise, the like being now of frequent occurrence; but the news received on the day before yesterday has beyond measure disquieted everybody, most especially the ministry, for they have discovered a conspiracy which was to have taken effect from hour to hour, of such quality and importance that its accomplices comprise a great number of Frenchmen, who are all said to be of quality, but it has a deeper root than a secret understanding; besides those of Geneva and some of the chief cantons of Switzerland, and of a certain great potentate whose name is not yet revealed. It is said they intended to kill the King in person (though this is not confirmed) and all these noblemen of the Guise family, especially the Cardinal of Lorraine (which is perfectly true), as the person in

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whose hands are the whole authority and government, and from whom the religious persecution is supposed to emanate, and thus by his death to introduce a new form of government. Yesterday three of the conspirators were brought from Paris to this town, but it is not yet well known who they are, though the mode of their conveyance shows clearly that they were persons of great consequence, they having been conducted muffled,* and accompanied by some hundred horse, including the archers of the company of men-at-arms of Marshal Montmorency, the Provost of Paris, a leading official, being also there in person; they avoided the high road and all towns and walled places, and lodged in open places, from fear of being attacked had they taken the ordinary road, and made to release their prisoners, as has happened more than once this year to other prisoners of less importance. They are now being very secretly and carefully examined, and the King has sent for the Constable (although he is rather unwell), for all the Princes of the kingdom, a great part of whom are here, and for all the knights of St. Michael, his Majesty choosing them to be present, and to have their counsel and opinion in proceeding to effect the necessary executions.

A courier from Spain arrived here yesterday, and one of the chief ministers was heard to say that the King Catholic, when he heard of the troubles caused to his most Christian Majesty by the affairs of Scotland, besides what he told the French Ambassador in Spain, wrote to his own Ambassador here that, by reason of the relationship and alliance between them, not only did he offer him what favour and assistance he could against the rebels of Scotland, but he would also write to the Queen of England and give her to understand that she must not show them any sort of favour, it not being reasonable that either she or others should interfere between the Sovereign and his rebel vassals, but let him punish them, as the like might occur to her as to others from her own subjects, and that he would give her his word and secure her against any doubt or suspicion she might have of King Francis, promising that he will observe the peace between them. The same courier brought news that the Queen Catholic has already recovered.

Amboise, 6th March 1560.

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives..

133. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

I have been to this most Serene Prince [Don Carlos] with congratulations in your Serenity's name on the oath of obedience taken by these realms to him as their legitimate successor. I found his Highness much depressed by fourth day ague, and therefore weak and languid, but towards me he showed himself beyond all com-

* "*Essendo stati menati coperti.*" In Foreign Calendar, date 8th March 1560 (p. 437), in a despatch from Throckmorton to Cecil, there is the following paragraph — "The Lord Davy Hamilton, Suselis and Stewart (Robert) are removed from Bois de Vincennes, and brought with some others *muffled* here" (to Amboise).

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parison more affable and courteous than he was on a former occasion,* *for not only did he return my salute by doffing his bonnet, but spoke to me also more familiarly, inquiring how I liked my abode in Spain; so I know clearly that at my first audience he had not received the due instructions.* With his Highness there was Don John of Austria, a youth between 13 and 14 years old, with a very well proportioned figure and pleasing face and manner, so that even at this early age he gives good promise of himself.

I then went to visit the Queen, who has recovered; her malady was firmly believed to be small-pox. Her Majesty rose from her chair when I approached her, and then resuming her seat sent for a chair for me, but it came so late that when told to sit down I was taking leave of her Majesty, to whom I endeavoured to demonstrate the affection and reverence borne her by your Serenity. M. de Lansac answered me in her name very affably and lovingly, promising perpetual goodwill on the part of her Majesty towards your Serenity.

They have now been occupied with the entertainments postponed on account of the Queen's indisposition, and on the first Monday in Lent there was a tourney on foot in the courtyard of the Palace; it succeeded very well, the King being one of the challengers, and he fought with six cavaliers, with spear and rapier. On the following Sunday the tourney on horseback took place, his Majesty taking part in it; his aids were Don John of Austria and the Prince of Parma, who, youths as they are, tilted and used their rapiers. The contest lasted an hour, to the great fatigue and perspiration of the cavaliers, for they fought and skirmished all at once without ever resting. The King was so heated that fever supervened, which kept him in bed for three days; I hear that to-day he is up and well. Next Sunday the cane game is to be performed, and thus will end these Lenten entertainments, *which were not celebrated with so much pomp as was expected, and as became so magnificent a Court, because the expenses already incurred by everybody are but too much felt.*

The Bohemian Baron Pernestan has arrived, being sent by the Emperor and by the King and Queen of Bohemia to congratulate the King Catholic and his Queen, and in the names of all three of their Majesties he has brought separate presents of jewels for this Queen. The King has honoured him greatly and had him lodged by the Marquis de Villena,† who boards him and all his gentlemen and attendants.

The King of Portugal had taken from his subjects as a deposit about a million of crowns, for which he paid them ten per cent. per annum, and he has now declared that he will no longer pay them more than five, affirming that he does so to disburden his conscience, his theologians having reproached him with this sin. This thing has much frightened the merchants, most especially the Genoese, to whom he owes considerable sums, lest he fail in his promise to them likewise; and although the Queen Governess‡ sent for the chief mer-

* See before, date, Valladolid, 16 October 1559.

† A member of the Pacheco family.

‡ Catherine of Austria, sister of Charles V., widow of John III., King of Portugal, and grandmother of Don Sebastian.

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chants now in Lisbon, and told them to be sure the King will keep his promise to them, and that they will certainly be paid by means of the pepper contract, for there is a very great quantity of pepper on board the fleet whose arrival is expected from day to day, it is nevertheless strongly suspected that henceforth this King will lose much of the credit given him hitherto, as no one more easily than he got money in exchange for produce, so that at the last fair of Medina he obtained about 900,000 crowns.

King Philip has satisfied the claims of the Genoese on him for the costs of the war in Corsica, giving them 130,000 crowns security on the oil duty in the kingdom of Naples.

The French Ambassador has made many complaints against the Queen of England to the King Catholic, and he says that his Majesty answered that he will use every endeavour to prevent the Queen from giving cause for resentment to the most Christian King, and that should she persist, he will not fail to do what becomes a good and loving friend and kinsman.

Toledo, 13th March 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

134. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Some 18 or 20 of the conspirators have been arrested in the towns and villages in this neighbourhood, the greater part of them being gentlemen and captains. The Cardinal himself says that several large trunks full of pistols were found in their possession in order to carry out this plot, some of them certifying that upwards of 60 men, part foreigners and part native Frenchmen, who were living in retirement on account of religion at Geneva, came hither to aid the plot and to be present with the conspirators on the day of its execution, having been assured by a great number of French gentlemen that after doing the deed they would guarantee their escape from France in safety. Through the seizure of these individuals, orders have been given for many other arrests. The importance of the conspiracy is thus more and more known hourly, and it causes very great anxiety not only to the Guise family, but to all persons in general, by reason of the quantity and quality of the conspirators, whose arrest has caused the Grand Prior * to remain here (instead of returning to Marseilles to give orders for the galleys to come into these seas), as also the Admiral † and some others of these chief personages, who had already taken leave to go to their respective stations.

The English Ambassador has [received] . . . . ‡ couriers, who came with great speed, and were accompanied by a French gentleman despatched by the King's Ambassador resident with Queen Elizabeth, who brought letters dated the 10th, in reply to what Throckmorton

* Réné de Lorraine, Marquis d'Elbœuf.
† Gaspar de Coligny, Seigneur de Chastillon, Admiral of France.
‡ Number illegible in MS.

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wrote after his conference with the Cardinal of Lorraine. The Queen (so Throckmorton told me) having approved of what her Ambassador treated with the Cardinal about commencing the negotiation and seeing whether it be possible to succeed in making an agreement between these three kingdoms of France, England and Scotland, had sent him a form of compact, which, after showing it to the Cardinal, and giving it to the most Christian King and to the Queen-mother, Throckmorton promised not only to show to me likewise, but to give me a copy of it, and that he will moreover tell me the answer given him. He has had great suspicion lately owing to a report current at the Court of succour and assistance offered by the King of Spain to his most Christian Majesty, namely, that 3,000 Spaniards, the usual garrison of Flanders, had been recently embarked on 18 large "*urche*," and sent by King Philip's order to Scotland to join the French against the Scots; but from advices received from Flanders, whither Throckmorton sent a man expressly, as also from what the Spanish Ambassador resident here * has said, it seems that the said Spaniards were bound for Spain, the Flemings not choosing to give any contribution to the King Catholic unless in conformity with his promise the Spaniards be entirely removed thence, so that not one remain; such are the hatred and indignation conceived against them by the Flemings.

In the meanwhile, although an agreement is talked of, these ministers do not fail amassing pecuniary supply with all diligence, and they will soon have 2,000,000 francs ready to spend in war, if it occur; of which sum they have already sent 400,000 francs to Normandy, for the despatch of the ships and payment of the provisions and ammunition, which are still being prepared for Scotland.

Besides the release of all persons imprisoned on account of religion, I hear on good authority that it is also determined to allow all those who on this account went to live abroad, either in Germany or Switzerland, freely to enjoy such property and revenues as they have in France.

Amboise, 15th March 1560.

[*Italian.*]

March 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

135. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

During the last two days very unexpectedly the suspicion and stir which took place lately on account of the conspiracy were renewed, for on the morning of the 15th not only were all the gates of the castle and of the town kept closed with very strict guard, no one being allowed admittance to the Court until after 10 a.m., and only one chief gate being kept open; but in the afternoon the Marshal de St. André [Jacques d'Albon] was despatched in great haste to Tours, with a numerous company of gentlemen, including the few Italian captains now accidentally here, so that he departed with nearly 200 horse, with order to take five companies of men-at-arms from the

* Thomas Perrenot, Seigneur de Champagney.

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garrison in this immediate neighbourhood. He was followed shortly afterwards by all these Princes horsed in like manner, viz., M. d'Aumale, the Duke de Nemours, the Prince of Condé (who arrived at the Court the day before yesterday), the Grand Prior, and even the Duke of Ferrara's brother Don Luigi d'Este, although he is a churchman; and with a numerous retinue they went out of the town, dividing themselves into two parties, one party on one side and the other party on the side of the river [Loire]. It was not then known for what purpose they or the Marshal made these movements, so that the suspense was general and the alarm yet greater; but from a confidential person, who has the means of hearing much, I ascertained that in the preceding night several couriers had arrived at the Court bringing advice of a universal commotion (though silent and secret) in all the towns of Guienne, Gascony, Saintonge, Perigueux, Limosin, Agenois, and other provinces, with the determination to arm for their security against whoever might injure them on account of religion, retaining however their obedience to the King and the Crown.

For this purpose they have determined to muster 200 cavalry for each town in those provinces, that they may patrol the territory for its safety; for the payment and maintenance of which force they intend to avail themselves of the revenues and effects of the abbacies and monasteries of each province, taxing them arbitrarily, and using force if unable to obtain payment in any other way, as practised by the Marquis Albert.

I also hear through another channel that on that same night some letters of very evil nature, but in cipher, were intercepted, and that Secretary l'Aubespine deciphered them. They were addressed by the conspirators to their accomplices, revealing fully their intention, which was to come to punish these two miscreants (*mesicanti*—sic), the precise words of the letters as told by the Duke de Guise to the person who repeated them to me, and which, in reading the letters to the King, the Cardinal [of Lorraine] interpreted to mean no others than himself and the Duke de Guise.

When the conspiracy was first discovered, the Count de Sancerre, a knight of St. Michael, was sent to Tours to keep close watch on those who went to and from that city, which is only six short leagues hence; other knights of that order being sent to Blois and other neighbouring towns. At Tours some captains who arrived there were suspected by the Count of being amongst the conspirators, and when he wanted to arrest them, they resisted; and although the whole city of Tours had taken up arms in the King's name against them, they made their escape into a small castle two leagues hence.* The Marshal of St. André was therefore sent with the forces above mentioned to support Sancerre, as they do not rely on the people and citizens of Tours; and after remaining five or six days he is to advance into Guienne for the prevention of disturbances there.

* Castle of Noysay, three English miles from Amboise. (See Foreign Calendar, 1560, March 21, note, p. 462.)

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Last night two couriers were despatched to recall the Marshal and all who accompanied him. The movement made by the Princes of the blood was, as subsequently appeared, to support the King's archers who had been sent to seize the conspirators who made their escape from Tours. These were arrested without opposition whilst incautiously walking for their pleasure outside the said castle, being 25 in number, and, with five others arrested at Tours by the Count de Sancerre, they have been brought hither; and with them the aforesaid Princes returned. Amongst the prisoners is a Gascon gentleman, one Baron de Castelnau (*Castelnuovo*), a person of quality and very well known, who, considering himself ill-used by the Cardinal and the Duke de Guise, with many other captains and soldiers dissatisfied with the said Lords, both on account of non-payment of their arrears and because they had been dismissed the Court under very severe penalties, finding themselves without salary or any means, and being half desperate, joined the other insurgents about religion, and conspired against the Cardinal and the Duke de Guise.

Then to-day the Princes, having again remounted their horses, and accompanied by more than 600 cavalry, again went forth to perform other executions, there being still evidence of many meetings held everywhere in this neighbourhood, so that the movement is perpetual. This morning four captains were despatched to raise companies with the utmost speed to secure the territory hereabouts, lest in this great commotion some vast body of people appear suddenly to put the King and his Court to flight, and perhaps endanger them.

After I had written thus far, the Princes returned, bringing with them 60 prisoners captured a league and half hence, and after immediate examination, which showed them to be all common people who had risen in arms, partly from friendship for certain captains under whom they had served (*et per seguito da alcuni capitani*), and partly on receiving a trifle of earnest money in lieu of pay, as usual when soldiers are raised for companies, without knowing the site of their service, or its purpose, they were all dismissed with the exception of one or two who remained prisoners, the Chancellor [François Ollivier de Lenville]* having gravely admonished and told them that though they deserved to die, the King of his clemency for this once granted them their lives; and to enable them to return home his Majesty had one crown given to each man.

The Baron of Castelnau and the other prisoners of quality (*di rispetto*) are waiting to be examined, the Cardinal, the Chancellor, and the Ministers having been occupied as above the whole of this day.

Amboise, 16th March 1560.

[*Italian.*]

* See Foreign Calendar, 1559–1560, Index.

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March 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

136. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

We have now been in greater commotion than ever, for this morning at daybreak two hundred cavalry made their appearance, and not only most audaciously entered one of the suburbs of this town, but part of them came even to the church "Des Bonnes Femmes" at the foot of the ascent to the Castle, in which the King is lodged. They thought themselves almost sure of not finding any sort of resistance, and that they would consequently be able to effect their purpose, as all these Princes and Lords, like all the rest of the Court, had no sort of defensive armour except some coats and protection of mail, and very few even of those, whilst their offensive weapons were merely swords and daggers with a few pistols, obtained on the sudden since these disturbances commenced, whereas on the contrary the insurgents were well armed with both kinds of weapons, and were for the most part well horsed. Had not some boatmen seen the insurgents descend an eminence and follow the course of the Loire, on the banks of which this town stands, they would doubtless have caused much disorder and confusion, with very great danger of committing some serious excess; for through several channels, chiefly from the prisoners taken on the two preceding days, it was lately heard that there was a great movement of soldiers from almost all the provinces of France, who were coming in troops, assembling and adding to their numbers in these parts, and ambuscading in the neighbouring woods to await the time and order given by their chiefs. But the shouts of the boatmen having roused many persons, who took the news to the Castle, the whole Court in great haste (*furia*) and alarm went out immediately to encounter them, not only all the Princes, Knights of St. Michael, and gentlemen, but as many others as could mount on horseback, with such weapons as came to hand, the only persons remaining at the Court with the King and the two Queens [Mary Stuart and Catherine de' Medici] being the Cardinals de Bourbon and de Châtillon (whose two brothers the Admiral and Dandelot chanced to be here), and the two [Cardinals] de Guise and of Lorraine, with the few Bishops and gownsmen now at the Court; Monsr. [the Duke] de Guise having also mounted on horseback and gone forth in another direction, but only a short distance. When the Princes appeared, their harquebuse shots killed one or two of the others, and made them retreat and quit the suburb; whereupon, joining the rest of the troop, without much delay they all took flight towards the country and its hillocks, some here and some there; but being pursued by the Princes and their company, several of them were captured. As they were taken so were they brought to the Court, and two of them being recognised as amongst the sixty who had been pardoned on the evening before, they were instantly hanged (with two others taken the preceding day) on the battlements over the Castle gate.

During the whole of this day the Princes then went in pursuit of the others, of whom they took forty, including, besides a receiver of the revenues of the Cardinal of Lorraine [Louis de Guise]

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and a gentleman in waiting on little Madame Marguerite,* some captains of quality and persons of condition (*di respetto*), and amongst them one, by name Captain Masières,† of whom and of some others Monsr. de Guise said that knowing them to be discreet (*savij*) and very brave he would have confided any great undertaking to them. Of those taken today, some fifteen who retreated into a house defended themselves most obstinately, wounding many of their assailants, who surrounded it, nor would they have been taken without setting fire to the house, and one of them, rather than surrender, burned himself alive, throwing himself into the flames of his own accord.

This evening towards nightfall six or seven more of them were hanged, all dying with the greatest constancy as the others did this morning, saying that for one of them who died, twenty would come in their stead ; so your Serenity may comprehend the trouble and commotion in which we are.

The Duke de Guise and the other Ministers do not fail to take every precaution and keep close watch, having appointed two Princes and two Knights of St. Michael for each quarter of Amboise (*della Terra*), that they may be made safe, keeping sentries there, and sending forth scouts as if the town were besieged by a large army. The whole of this day they were repairing the most exposed parts of the Castle, supplying it with meal, and above all with money from the treasurers and receivers, sending also for weapons and artillery and for four hundred men-at-arms, of whom three "standards" are expected tomorrow or next day. The most useful remedy however has been the publication, and transmission for publication to all the towns and places in France, of a general pardon for all the insurgents who within twenty-four hours after its notification should return to their homes, as otherwise they would be proclaimed rebels and traitors, and licence given to all persons to slay them and inherit their property, but assuring the insurgents nevertheless, that if they wish to say anything or to present any request to his Majesty they would be heard willingly, without hurt, provided they made their appearance, as became loyal subjects.

The insurgents are said to have a great plenty of money collected amongst themselves, and to be supplied by the most powerful of the party ; whatever they take is paid for generously. Each foot-soldier receives daily ten French "*soldi*," which are equal to thirty of ours, and eighteen "*soldi*" to each trooper, the pay being distributed most liberally (*larghissimamente*) day by day. The prisoners confess that in all the neighbouring towns, viz., Blois, Orleans, Chartres, Chateaudun, and others, a great supply of arms had been made in secret, most especially of harquebuses, one of the men who were hanged having revealed that in one single house at Blois there were six large chests full of these. It has also been remarked that amongst the troops of the insurgents men of all nations were found, Germans, Switzers, Savoyards, Englishmen, Scots, and such like,

* The youngest sister of Francis II.

† See also Père Daniel, vol. 10, p. 53, where the name is Masere, and Mémoires de Michel de Castelnau, vol. 1, p. 388, where it is Mazeres.

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and those made prisoners when asked who they are, reply laconically, "Soldiers and ministers of the word of God," nor do they own to having any other chief than themselves with a general understanding [on the part] of almost all the French provinces.

This morning his Majesty, and in the evening the Duke de Guise sent to tell us Ambassadors that we were not to alarm ourselves about the present disturbances, as they were caused solely by the populace, against whom he had given such orders as would protect everybody, but that we also were not to fail taking good care of ourselves, and that he would always warn us of any impending danger.

Amboise, 17th March 1560.

[*Italian.*]

March 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

137. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

During the last three days nothing has been attended to but fortifying the Castle, repairing the weakest places round it, and making in front of the principal gate, which opens on the country, a few paces of trench in which to adjust some fixed harquebuses, and three or four small pieces of artillery found accidentally, and brought hither by some barons from certain neighbouring places. Round the town, besides cutting the bridges which are at its gates, except the principal bridge over the Loire which serves as the highway, the moats have also been cleansed and restored, leaving but one gate open, and closing and securing all the others. The foot and horse guards keep very close watch, both in and out, by day and night, as in time of the greatest danger from an enemy. The Princes take the field daily with a considerable number of cavalry, from hour to hour, and proceed in any direction where any troops of insurgents have been seen or heard of, and always returning with a good many prisoners. The day before yesterday, a gentleman of quality in the service of Marshal St. André,* whose company consisted but of five horses, having met an equal number of the insurgents, after a long and stout fight, at length killed their commander and two of his men, and made the other two prisoners. One of this gentleman's men was killed, and he himself was so badly wounded that he died the next morning. One of those killed in battle proved to be one of the chief leaders of the insurgents, a gentleman of Angoulême, by name M. de Renaudière (*Arnodiera*),† who some years ago withdrew to Switzerland, where he changed his name, calling himself Monsieur la Foresta [de la Forest],‡ but he came to and fro, nevertheless, and showed himself occasionally at the Court. It also appears that he was closely related to the person who killed him, but, whilst fighting, they did not recognise

* The name of this gentleman was the Sieur de Pardaillan. (See Père Daniel, vol. 10, p. 53.)

† See Foreign Calendar, 1559–1560, p. 463. In Père Daniel he is called Jean du Barri, Seigneur de la Renaudie.

‡ See Père Daniel, vol. 10, p. 47.

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each other, as otherwise perhaps they would have acted like many others, who separated without coming to blows; for to the majority of the countrymen, as also to many persons of the Court, the cause of this insurrection is not in itself very displeasing (*molesta*), which also greatly adds to the fear of the Ministry, who know not well in whom to trust, and suspect precisely their chief intimates.

One of the two prisoners on examination confessed that he was secretary to the insurgents, and knew all their affairs. Besides many writings found in his valise, and many letters which he himself deciphered, it seems from what the Cardinal said in public this morning, and which was confirmed by the Queen-mother, that they have full information of the whole conspiracy, and know positively all its origin and means of support, and also its authors and chiefs.

The suspicion which prevailed hitherto caused great thought and extreme anxiety, but through this (discovery) and the arrival of the Count de Vilars, the Constable's brother-in-law, with upwards of one hundred cavalry, all most excellently armed and with a good number of pistols, it also being known that a strong band of men-at-arms will soon be here, the recent fears and doubts have this day greatly subsided, these having been such that your Serenity could not form the remotest idea of their extent. The disquiet and consternation have been universal, the Princes expecting hourly a furious flood of people, not only to attack, but to besiege them and their King in this Castle, which is very weak, and that they would be found unarmed and destitute. To show some sign of having taken heart, and that suspicion had subsided, his Majesty this afternoon chose to go to the heronry, one league hence, accompanied by his brother-in-law, the Duke of Lorraine, who arrived postwise, having left the Duchess on the road near Orleans, she wishing to come by water. Both of them were called by the King to keep him company for a long while this summer. The two Queens also went to a palace of the Queen-mother's, two leagues hence, but they will return this evening after supper.

The corpse of that leader of the insurgents was placed on a gibbet, and left there for two whole days, with an inscription at his feet thus, "Mons. Renaudière, *alias* La Forest, author (*autor*) of the insurrection, and leader of the insurgents." It is also said that signal justice will soon be done, both on the Baron of Castelnau (*Barone Castel Nuovo*) and on the Captain Masières, they also having been chiefs and leaders of the rebels, and also on many others, a great number of them being in prison, and many of them already condemned to death.

This great commotion has delayed business of all sorts, and especially that of the English Ambassador, which is now considered of greater importance than all the rest. The day before yesterday another gentleman arrived from England in three days, in very great haste, from the French Ambassador resident there; he reports that the Queen is determined on war (and thus does the Ambassador write and send word), so as not only to unite with the Scots for the purpose of expelling the Queen Regent, and all the French now in Scotland, but

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also to have that kingdom in her power, and to proceed further, with the purpose of crossing into France to attempt to seize either Boulogne or Calais, not choosing to lose so great an opportunity. I understand that the said Ambassador magnifies things so much that here they do not implicity trust him, owing to the proposals made by Throckmorton in the Queen's name of coming to the agreement.

Amboise, 20th March 1560.

[*Italian.*]

March 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

138. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Here at the Court all the recent disturbances have externally subsided, and now nothing is attended to but the trial of the prisoners, of whom even to-day two were hanged and three beheaded, as the latter were gentlemen of good families. All of them were then quartered and their quarters distributed in the principal places within the town as far as possible, and outside and round it.

I said that here at the Court apparently every external sign of disquiet had ceased, leave having been given to many of these princes, such as M. d'Aumale and others, to retire from the Court; but nevertheless the Ministers internally have no want of troubled thoughts, most especially the Cardinal and the Duke de Guise, having witnessed so great and universal a commotion of the kingdom on account of religion, coupled with another no less important cause, namely, the discontent of many persons with the present Government, who without the slightest reason conspired against their persons. The Ministers therefore find it very difficult to devise remedies and measures whereby to purge and extirpate such evil humours, *there having come to their notice long ago, and perhaps through several channels as is credible, what reached many persons through the relation of some of our Italians, who at the commencement accompanied some Frenchmen against the insurgents, and examined some of the many prisoners made by them, putting sundry questions to them as usual. Among the prisoners there were certain individuals who said openly that they were in the service of the Prince of Condé, they having been invested at Orleans with his arms and provisions, and having received four crowns each for maintenance and earnest money. These men were sent immediately to the Duke de Guise and to the Cardinal, in whose presence they made the same confession, and it has been told me that the Cardinal from inability to contain himself dashed his cap* (beretta) *to the ground in a rage, stamping on it several times. The inference is that the King of Navarre follows his brother Condé, it being incredible that the Prince would even have thought of such a thing, still less executed it, without that King's knowledge and participation. Besides the King of Navarre, two other princes of the blood, Montpensier and La Roche-sur-Yon, have been excluded from the Government, and are very dissatisfied; and besides these personages there may perhaps be the Admiral* [*Gaspar de Coligny*] *and his brother Andelot* [*François de Coligny*], *Conde's very near*

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relations through his wife, both of whom are also offended, being very much inclined towards the Protestant religion; and on their account the whole family of the Constable, have been treated even worse than the others. It is considered certain that although some of these did not show themselves, perhaps because the result differed from their designs, they nevertheless had a secret understanding with the conspirators.

Your Serenity may well imagine whether these Guise lords have not cause for anxious thought and are not in great distress, not having the courage (l'animo) *on the one hand to shed the blood royal, whilst the King is not of an age to do it himself, as he easily might, the said Prince of Condé being at the Court;* and on the other hand they fear lest by passing it over with silence and inattention, the Princes might be rendered more daring and confident for the future; whereas to gratify them with a share in the Government would be to deprive the present Ministers of their own authority. Thus on all sides the doubts and difficulties are great, and the decision not easy, but it nevertheless appears that the Ministry tend towards dissimulation, making it appear that they neither see nor know what they do know, delaying until the King be older and able to act for himself, or might be believed to act spontaneously. In the meanwhile they are intent on defending themselves as well as they can, and I hear that with the King's permission the Cardinal will raise twelve halberdiers, or archers as they are called here, as a bodyguard to accompany him everywhere and to be always about his person.

Other prisoners are being sentenced to death daily, nor will the Queen-mother pardon any of them; several having been sent for execution to Blois, Tours, Orleans, and other places, that these acts of justice may be witnessed universally and be better known.

In the meanwhile men-at-arms make their appearance daily and are garrisoned in the neighbouring places, there being now a good number of them at Tours.

Several gentlemen of the King's household and other pensioners who were sent for when the suspicion commenced, are also arriving, but as yet no other disturbances have been heard of except at Lyons; but the insurrection being so recent the Government is not without fear, most especially with regard to Gascony and Normandy, which are more infected than the other provinces, their population being much more daring. It is already heard that at St. Malo the insurgents had maltreated and killed certain public officials, and prevented an execution, but great hopes prevail that the general pardon given by his Majesty to all the insurgents, as your Serenity may see by the accompanying printed proclamation,* which I had not time to have translated, will quench all this fire.

The Government have been assured by confession of the prisoners and through the writings discovered that there had been no understanding, as at first suspected, with any Sovereign (*Principe*) either Germany or elsewhere, except with Geneva, but there is nothing of vital importance, merely that some native Frenchmen had come here

* Not found.

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from thence of their own accord, and not by any public decree or by order of the governors of the city.

The report continues more strongly than ever of the war intended by the English, by reason of their having increased their cavalry from 3,000 to 4,000, and their infantry from 12,000 to 15,000, their fleet in like manner now consisting of forty large ships instead of thirty, though Throckmorton says otherwise, hoping that the proposals made by his Queen will be accepted. Although he urged that a reply to them should be given him here, these Ministers nevertheless would not give it to him, but to her Majesty in person, having on the day before yesterday sent a gentleman with their proposals to the Bishop of Valence [Jean de Montluc] and to the French Ambassador in England [Gilles de Noailles], that they might notify it to her. Of this Throckmorton complains, the like not having been done by his Queen, who, concerning the proposal, said to the French Ambassador precisely what he wrote, and charged him (Throckmorton) to make the announcement to the King and his ministers. On this reply the determination about the war entirely depends, and the result will very soon be known, but in the meanwhile it is kept as secret as possible.

The couriers from the Duke of Ferrara were sent chiefly to recall Don Luigi of Este to Italy, the Duke, before his departure for Rome, wishing to know whether he will become a churchman or not, having already heard to his infinite dissatisfaction, and yet more to that of the Cardinal his uncle,* owing to the promise received from the Pope to make him Cardinal, that he is not inclined towards such a grade, and will by no means accept it, being thus persuaded by his mother, the Duchess,† who promises him on his marriage to bequeath him all she possesses here, viz., the county of Gisors, the "seigneurie" of Montargis and the duchy of Chartres, which yield an annual rental of more than 30,000 francs. He intends also to obtain the patrimony of his uncle, Don Francesco, who has only one illegitimate daughter, and he hopes also to be the Cardinal's heir; so that with the emoluments received here from the King he will be amply able to live and incur expenditure like a great prince. The intention has also been announced to him and the promise given of a wealthy matrimonial alliance in the person of Madame de St. Pol,‡ widow of the brother of the King of Navarre, the Duke d'Enghien, who was killed at the rout of St. Quentin, her annual income exceeding 80,000 francs.

Don Luigi will depart in three or four days, so as to arrive at Ferrara before the Duke leaves it for Rome.

Amboise, 23rd March 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* This uncle was Ippolito II. of Este, the nephew of Ariosto's patron, Ippolito I. Don Luigi accepted the red hat from Pius IV. on the 26th February 1561.

† Rénée, daughter of Louis XII. and Anne of Britany, married Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara, at Paris on the 28th June 1528. She became a Protestant.

‡ Adrienne, Duchess d'Estouteville. See the late Sir W. Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 450.

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March 24.
Copy.
Venetian
Archives.

139. PROCLAMATION of QUEEN ELIZABETH concerning Peace with France and Scotland (enclosed in Tiepolo's letter of 10th May).

Although it is evident and notorious, not only to the Queen's subjects but also to many other foreign nations in all parts of Christendom, that great occasions have of late been given and continued by the French to fear an attack from them on this kingdom, principally by way of Scotland, and that her Majesty in like manner should prepare with all speed the necessary forces to resist them by the same way of Scotland; the Queen nevertheless, considering the great diversity of opinions which might arise among people in general about this affair, has willed briefly and openly to declare and publish her determination and its just causes to the world.

In the first place the Queen of her gentle and gracious nature has been pleased to believe that the title to this kingdom injuriously pretended (*injuriosamente pretenduto*) in so many ways by the Queen of Scotland has not proceeded otherwise than from the ambitious desire of the principal members of the house of Guise, who had lately made themselves masters of the government of the Crown of France; nor can her Majesty believe that either the King, who by reason of his youth, is incapable of such an enterprise, or the Queen of Scots, who is likewise very young, or the princes of the blood royal and other persons of high estate in France, to whom the government of that kingdom appertained heretofore and ought to appertain during the King's infancy, have of themselves imagined and deliberated an enterprise so unjust, unreasonable, and perilous, as any person of good and indifferent judgment can judge this to be. And the said house of Guise, considering that for their private gain there was no other way to obtain it than by increasing the greatness and exaltation of their niece the Queen of Scotland, under pretence of whom they now meddle with the government of the kingdom of France, have thus injuriously and insolently set forth (*posto innanzi*), and even in time of peace, in public places, have continued to appropriate the arms and titles of these realms of England and Ireland in the name of their niece, besides doing many infamous acts, as affirmed by many persons, without the knowledge of the princes of the blood royal and other great personages and sage councillors, long experienced in the affairs of that kingdom. To pursue the execution of this their unjust and ambitious resolve (*deliberatione*), they have availed themselves of the authority of the King and of the Queen, their niece, it being unnatural that she should seek to remove the Crown of Scotland from the hands of the native Scots; and so partly through the forces sent by them already under the aforesaid pretence, and partly [through the reinforcements] which are to be sent, they have determined to continue the attack on this kingdom of England, of which although to their great dishonour they have made their niece usurp the title, they still know that in no other way than through Scotland would they ever be able to accomplish the evident mischief they desire.

Her Majesty, therefore, having experienced in many calamities the singular goodness of God, and knowing the good right of her cause, and the natural obedience and love of her faithful sub-

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jects, and that these insolent enterprises proceed solely from the sinister comportment of the Guise family during the infancy of the King and Queen, without obtaining in any way the consent of the princes of the blood and of other great lords and states of France; and the Queen of her own nature and inclination having no other greater desire than to continue and preserve the peace with all Christian princes (most especially at this time of the occurrence of such unusual and difficult operations), especially with France and Scotland and all their subjects; makes known to all persons in general that although she has been compelled at her great cost to assemble forces both by sea and land for the security of her kingdom, having been challenged in this manner by words and by a false title, being moreover provoked by the vicinity of the French soldiers, and by the threats of their being reinforced from day to day, nevertheless she does not intend on this account to wage war or to do any act of cruelty, but seeks and endeavours solely, having many times openly and amicably requested the Cardinal of Lorraine and his brother, and also through their means the King of France, that these titles and too insolent pretensions (*querelle*) should be withdrawn and revoked, and that they should agree with the people of Scotland on a suitable and natural form of government, not departing from the due obedience to their Sovereign (*Signore*), as they themselves offer, so that they may no longer have to fear oppression and conquest; and consequently that the French soldiers in Scotland should be recalled, making compensation (*stando a ragione*) for their former attacks on this kingdom, it being too perilous to have them for so long a period so near England. That their recall may proceed more speedily, it has been offered to give them safe conduct both by water and by land for their departure with all the favour and security that they could desire, and that according to the diminution of their forces those of the Queen by land and sea should be simultaneously reduced. Thus all cause for displeasure would remain buried in oblivion and a firm and sincere peace be established. But to these demands, so conformable to equity, reason, and honour, though frequently made by her Majesty, she can by no means obtain a sufficient reply, although much time has been employed to her very great cost and the evident ruin of the peace and friendship. Finally, her Majesty makes known to all that she continues and will continue to remain at peace with the realms of France and Scotland, so long as no manifest invasion be made upon her dominions or people, and that she will procure by all good means that a union and good agreement may take place in Scotland, and that the French soldiers who are dissatisfied with it, may depart without harm and in security; but if they refuse to do so after all these good means have been employed, and after so many delays made on the part of France, they must necessarily then be made to retreat, without using any further violence whatever against persons either of France or of Scotland.

Her Majesty therefore commands and strictly enjoins all her subjects, of whatever condition they may be, to show all favour and friendship to all the subjects of the King, and to let them trade in

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all sorts of merchandise, as has been customary in the time of the best peace, and ought to be allowed, unless, however, the Queen's subjects be hostilely compelled to defend themselves or their country; and all her Majesty's subjects will in their discourse speak well and decorously of France and the French nation, and notwithstanding all these great injuries done lately to the Crown of England as aforesaid, the said subjects will not judge otherwise than is believed and judged by the Queen in person from her good inclination. Nor will they make other preparations of war than such as may serve for defence against such injuries and enterprises as shall be made and directed against this kingdom (contrary to what her Majesty desires and expects) at the instigation of the said house of Guise, who now have in their hands the entire government of the King and Queen, until it be seen whether the said kingdom and people of France intend any longer to invade this country, and also whether her Majesty's present good opinion be not well received. Although this would greatly disturb and displease the Queen, by reason of the hindrance and delay of the general peace of all Christendom, which she desires above all things, it is not yet to be doubted but that the Almighty will aid and assist the forces of this realm to guard it against all dangers, and honourably to revenge the injuries done, as the case requires.

For the better understanding of all persons her Majesty has willed this to be expressly proclaimed in English and French (*S. M. ha voluto espressamente farlo publicare in Francese et Inglese*),* as although she had made a particular declaration of the same to the King of France, and to the said Lords de Guise, as also to the Queen Dowager of Scotland, and to all the French Ambassadors in these parts, she has as yet been unable to obtain a sufficient reply, and her Majesty desires that it may not be hidden from them lest they be induced to believe what is contrary to the truth (*che potessero esser indotti a credere delle cose altramente che la verità non è*).

Given at Westminster on the 24th of March, in the second year of her reign.

[*Italian.*]

March 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

140. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

I write certain events in France in the way in which I heard them from his most Christian Majesty's Ambassador resident at this Court, where most especially these Frenchmen endeavour to render the name of the Queen of England odious.

From the city of Geneva, the chief seat and abode of those who have alienated themselves from the Catholic religion, many persons are accustomed to go forth into divers parts of Christendom to preach their doctrine. In France, for a long while, forty of the ministers from Geneva have remained permanently, and divid-

* As the proclamation translated above differs from the one printed in Foreign Calendar (1559–1560, pp. 472 and 473), I infer that the translation made at Toledo was from the French version, and that it did not *precisely* agree with the English one. (R.B.)

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ing the country amongst themselves by virtue of their assumed authority they had the daring to usurp the title of bishops, and as such they were acknowledged amongst themselves and by their followers, being favoured and assisted by some of the chief personages in France whose faith had been already corrupted. Above the rest was M. de Châtellerault, otherwise the Earl of Arran, who not so much from religious zeal, as from being dissatisfied with King Henry, and to spite him, had fallen into Lutheranism. He had persuaded himself that the Queen of Scotland was to be no one else's wife, but his (*non dovesse esser moglie d'altri che di lui*), as he is one of the principal personages of that kingdom and nearest to the Crown; and when he saw her married to the King-Dauphin* he was in despair and rabid, most especially as King Henry made no demonstration towards him, whereby he might have been appeased. From that time forth he has always favoured these preachers, and negotiated also about this matter of religion with the present Queen of England, writing to her often, and receiving frequent letters from her. To this must be added that there were then in France some three thousand Scots, part seeking pay as soldiers, part for trade and other business, who, being for the most part tainted in religion from the vicinity and commerce of Scotland with England, corrupted and ruined their associates; the like effect being produced by the German soldiery who were engaged as soldiers in France for the war. The French universities also are much infected with these new opinions, and learned men, going forth from them constantly to their own homes, where they had credit and authority, easily obtained converts to their doctrine, which, owing to all these circumstances, has been so disseminated that a very small part of France remained true to the ancient Catholic religion. King Henry, therefore, knowing the malady of his country, and that there was need for great exertion (*opera*) to cure it, resolved to put every other thought aside. To attend to this he concluded the peace, and commenced operations, by causing the arrest of the President and several Councillors of the Parliament of Paris, and he intended to continue very stoutly in the same course, until he had brought back the country to its former health and purity, had not his death intervened.

During this interval, immediately on the conclusion of peace, M. de Châtellerault, having discovered the King's mind, fled to England, and almost all the Scots likewise returned to Scotland, where they subsequently caused the insurrections, of which M. de Châtellerault made himself the head, with the connivance (*intelligentia*) and assistance of the Queen of England, who not only keeps him in hope of her being his wife, but also gives him great strength and courage by sending on the one hand a number of armed ships, and on the other an army of 10,000 men under the Duke of Norfolk and Earl Grey to the Scottish borders, so that although she does not openly declare herself hostile, her forces support the rebels.

* By a despatch dated Paris, 25th April 1558, addressed to the Doge and Senate by Giovanni Michiel, it has been shown that the marriage was consummated 24th April 1558.

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The Queen is by nature high spirited (*di alto spirito*), and has become yet more so owing to her good fortune and to the many physical and moral endowments which she possesses (*et dalli molti beni così del corpo come dell' animo che ella possiede*); so she has lofty designs, and promises herself success in all of them. She has many suitors for her hand, and by protracting any decision keeps them all in hope, persuading herself that in her need they will do what they can from rivalry to gain her love and matrimonial alliance.

With this belief, shortly after her accession to the throne, she proposed to make a league with the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, with the Princes and cities of Germany, the Switzers, and all the States who have alienated themselves from the Catholic Church, not only for the defence of their religion, but for its propagation by means of this league, and not so much for the security of her own affairs as to cause trouble and detriment to the Crown of France.

To dispose men's minds to this effect she sent four English preachers, four Germans, and one Frenchman from England to Germany; who, feigning to be moved by religious zeal and ardour, went to visit many cities and princes (*principi*), sometimes themselves preaching what they thought might most facilitate their object, and sometimes making the local preachers perform the like office; nor was it very difficult to persuade the greater part of them to do what was desired. But certain princes and cities, most especially the Palatine, who has a close friendship with the most Christian King, and some of the maritime towns, who have an ancient confederacy with the Crown of France hearing it might concern the interests of that realm, would by no means assent to these proceedings.

Whilst these things were being done in Germany, a Scot and a Frenchman crossed into Scotland from England (*sic*), and then from England to Paris, where they summoned to a conference, by letter, all the above-mentioned forty preachers, who are maintained in France by the congregation of Geneva, and with some other delegates who were sent from Geneva they assembled together at a place one mile from Paris, where they held what they call their council. There it was announced that the league had been already concluded, and that therefore to them, the ministers and bishops of France, it appertained to do their part in favour and assistance of the said league. All showing themselves ready to do what they could, they carefully calculated how many confidential disciples had been made, from whom, under any circumstances, they could obtain whatever was wished, and they said they could dispose of from 25,000 to 30,000 men. It was therefore settled that each individual departing from his home (*dal loco suo*) at a certain time, they with their armed followers were all to be on the 16th March* at

* By the despatches of Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, it is seen that from the 3rd to the 31st March 1560 the Court was at Amboise. Michiel's despatches from January to the end of February have not been found, so I am unable to ascertain *when* the Court left Blois for Amboise, as recorded by Père Daniel, vol. 10, p. 50; but neither on the 3rd March, nor on the 16th, was it at Blois, so this last date in the Tiepolo narrative is possibly a mistake for 16th February 1560. (R.B.)

1560. the King's Court, where first of all they were to kill the Cardinal of Lorraine and M. de Guise, the chief persecutors of their doctrine, they adducing a declaration of Calvin, that it was lawful to slay those who hindered the preaching of the Gospel and of truth, because this was not an offence but a defence, and acknowledged by all laws (*perche questa non era offesa, ma defesa, da tutte le leggi conceduta*). They then determined to kill the King also if he should not assent to their counsels, to expel the Queen-mother, to give preceptors to the King's three brothers, and to his sister, to educate them in their own fashion, to withdraw entirely the obedience to the Pope throughout France, and to send two persons to preach the new doctrine in every city, registering their names and those of the places to which they were appointed. In conclusion they gave orders for certain rich churches to be pillaged (*spogliate*) by the conspirators on their way to the Court, so that a considerable sum might be amassed. All these resolutions they entered in a book, which is now in the hands of the judicial authorities (*pervenuto poi in mano della giustitia*), together with many other writings and innumerable letters.

The first person who gave the King some notice of this was a French nobleman [Pierre Avenelles], who gave information that in the house of another nobleman, his neighbour, many troops were mustered, and that they talked of insurrection and of an army, but as the former nobleman was at enmity with the latter he was not credited. Then came letters to the King from the Duchess of Parma, Governess of the Low Countries, warning him more clearly of facts which the Bishop of Arras had communicated to her, recommending that she should impart it to King Francis both to oblige him and also to save those provinces from similar danger, which they doubtless would have incurred had the movements in France taken effect. This advice rendering the King more anxious about his situation, he ordered all the cavalry in France to be on the watch to attack the rebels, and two days after the receipt of these letters it chanced that the Frenchman who had summoned to the council near Paris* the forty preachers in France appointed by the congregation of Geneva, was imprisoned on a charge of heresy, and being unable to resist torture, confessed several things, offering, were his life spared him, to reveal more important matters; and he then revealed the whole of this conspiracy. His associate, the Scot, was also taken, and made a similar confession; and many other persons were in like manner imprisoned, and the before-mentioned book, writings, and letters were found. So this has been the greatest conspiracy of which there is any record, for there was knowledge of it in England, Scotland, Germany, and almost all over Christendom. The conspirators, seeing themselves discovered, renounced the undertaking, and the only stir made in all France was at Bordeaux, where at the appointed time the population rose, and the King of Navarre was ordered to go against them.

* At Passy ?

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Thus did I hear this event narrated by the French Ambassador, who in all his communications endeavours to represent the Queen of England as of a very restless mind, and that by means of religion she attempted to harass foreign States; accusing her, most especially to King Philip, of having been the principal cause of the disturbances in Scotland by constantly negotiating with the insurgents, and through the encouragement which she afforded them not only by counsel and promises but with troops and considerable forces, which she keeps near Scotland with the design of at length making herself mistress of that kingdom if she can. The Ambassador remarked to his Majesty how dangerous this mode of proceeding might be not only to France, but also to him, as he holds the Low Countries, which are very much corrupted with all these new heresies. By this office he so exasperated the King against Queen Elizabeth that, as the Ambassador himself told me, his Majesty assured him that unless she ceased to act thus, he would wage war upon her.*

Lord Montagu† and Sir Thomas Chamberlain have now arrived as her Ambassadors, not only to justify their Queen's actions, but to accuse the French of being very ambitious, and of having a design to usurp the States of others.

On the day of their arrival‡ these Ambassadors wished to speak to the King, fearing lest the representations of their adversaries should confirm his Majesty's bad impression, so that with difficulty would they be able to remove it. On this account, therefore, they regretted the King's absence from Toledo during the last ten days for his pleasures, suspecting that he had gone abroad purposely to consult about this matter more quietly, he having been accompanied by the chief councillors of state. By what I could elicit from their conversation they deny that the Queen of England ever had or has any negotiation with the Scots which can in any way be prejudicial to France or to any other Power; and they say that if she armed she did what ought to be done by any sage potentate, especially as the French had in many ways given her just cause for suspicion, so that her forces were raised in self defence, and not for aggressive purposes. That she had persuaded herself that the peace [of Cateau Cambresis] concluded with the French was so durable that in no way could there be any doubt of it, but contrary to all her opinions she found the French full of designs and machinations against many [crowned heads], and most especially against herself; and to no other end than this could the breach of the agreement concluded at Cambresis tend, about razing certain fortresses built by them in Scotland on the frontiers of England, because they were in the hands of the French, vain being the excuse that the Scots do not choose them to be destroyed; nor to any other end does the war waged by them also

* See Lord Hardwicke's State Papers (London, 1778), vol. I, p. 147, where it is stated that this French Ambassador was Sebastien de l'Aubespine, Bishop of Limoges.

† Anthony Brown, Viscount Montagu.

‡ By a letter from the Queen to the English Ambassadors in Spain, date 18th April 1560, it may be inferred that they arrived at Toledo on the 13th March. (See Foreign Calendar, entry 1020, p. 551.)

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on the Scots without any reason tend, than this, that after rendering themselves absolute masters and tyrants of that kingdom, and holding all the fortresses, and the nobility being expelled, they may the more effectually assail the English. That for many centuries the kingdom of Scotland has had her own native King, nor did the Scots expect their King ever to be a foreigner; and as the King of France chose to marry their Queen, her Majesty of England thought that he should at least observe the national privileges and the conventions made with him, and be content with having that power and authority in the kingdom which had been exercised by his predecessors; but that the French, despising all compacts, appropriating to themselves the fortresses (usurpandosi le fortezze), *which, contrary to the agreements, they insist on garrisoning with foreign troops, and doing daily a thousand things prejudicial to that kingdom's liberty, have but too clearly demonstrated their intention by right or wrong of annexing it to the Crown of France, which cannot be tolerated by the Scots, who wish to be secure that in case the Queen of Scotland die childless, the kingdom shall pass to him to whom it by right belongs, according to the declaration made in the Parliament of Scotland. This is what irritates the French, and not religion, of which alone they make mention. As therefore the French write that they are content with what is just and fair, peace is made with the Scots, who desire nothing else; but if the French, contrary to all right, design making themselves masters of that kingdom, of which they have already usurped a good part, King Philip ought very well to bear in mind, should their project succeed, how much they would increase their power* (forze) *by opening the road to assail England at their pleasure and with very great advantage, and that if his Catholic Majesty is now at peace with France and connected with her Crown by relationship, a time may soon come when he will be at war with the French, as no ties of blood and friendship are sufficiently strong not to be easily severed by ambition; so that any increase of power and boldness acquired by the French would be of serious prejudice and detriment to his States, to which they aspire no less than to what belongs to others.*

The King returned on Saturday evening to be present at the cane game, which was to have been performed to-day, his Majesty taking part in it, but yesterday he was seized with fever, and although they bled him this morning, it has nevertheless not ceased entirely.

Toledo, 25th March 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

141. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

An ambassador arrived here from the King of Algiers with a present of six horses and some dogs and birds, and he brought a letter from Sultan Soliman to King Francis reminding him of the many services rendered to the most Christian King, his father, and praying

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him not to change this friendship; the Sultan having heard that owing to the new matrimonial alliance with the King of Spain, his most Christian Majesty had bound himself to assist the said King in an expedition against Algiers, which was under the Sultan's protection; and exhorting his Majesty to remain neutral.

Concerning the affairs of Scotland and England, the Cardinal told me yesterday that the French troops with the Queen Regent were in the fortress of Little Leith (*Pettilit*), and that the Scottish rebels had held a long conference with the Duke of Norfolk, who commands the troops of the Queen of England on the frontiers. From what the Cardinal heard they were not well agreed on its termination, the English perhaps desiring higher terms than the Scots would grant them. Nevertheless the suspicion increases that the English will at any rate wage war, but until news arrives of the negotiations of the Bishop of Valence, and of the other person who followed him, nothing can be known of the hope of an agreement, to effect which the King Catholic has already sent M. de Glajon, captain of the artillery,* to England.

The heads of the Italian merchants, who had hitherto failed to come from Lyons on a call to arrange the affair of the great loan have arrived and had audience last week, when a Florentine used very violent language, saying that in Turkey they would not do the things that were done here. The Cardinal of Lorraine and the other members of the Council were so enraged that had they not apologised for him on account of his intense mental anxiety, being interested to a very considerable amount, they would have put him in prison and have treated him even worse. The only reply they had was the one given them lately by the Chancellor, viz., to give them credit for the five fairs, and to pay the capital with several sorts of securities, but they do not despair of getting something more. The parties concerned have been greatly injured by the separation of the Germans and Switzers, and also of the Genoese, who retired each to negotiate separately, thinking to do better thus.

Amboise, 28th March 1560.

[*Italian.*]

March 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives. (2nd Letter.)

142. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The executions of the insurgent prisoners continue daily, two of the chief of them having been beheaded yesterday, namely, the Captain Masières, one of the heads and leaders of the insurrection, heretofore lieutenant of two companies of infantry in the service of M. de Vendôme, now King of Navarre, when he was Governor of Picardy, and in great credit with him and universally considered very brave and courageous, but unlike his fellow sufferers in dying he showed great cowardice; the other was a certain M. Raunai

* The name of this Master-General of the Ordnance seems to have been Philip d'Estade. In these despatches he is called Mons. de Glaion, Glaton, Glason, or Glajon, the last being apparently the correct spelling.

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(*Rene*), a very wealthy person of condition, to whose house, one league hence, the chiefs of the conspiracy were to repair and be received by him, for which purpose he had laid in a store of grain, wine, hay, and the like. His father had been Governor of the present King of Navarre, and his wife is one of the principal ladies of honour of his Majesty's Consort [Mary Stuart]. *This circumstance greatly increases the suspicion entertained against the King of Navarre, as not only these persons but others are also known to be either his dependants, or those of his brother* [*the Prince of Condé*]. *Then to-day another gentleman was beheaded; and ten individuals of less importance, after having been taken as far as under the gallows with the rope round their necks, were then by the King's mercy condemned to the galleys for life. When I was with the Cardinal of Lorraine, before I had audience of the King, he told me that the two who died yesterday were previously taken to the rack and had revealed the facts fully, especially Raunai, together with* [*the names of*] *numerous accomplices, of whom there being very many in prison, some of them were examined face to face with Masières and Raunai, so as to proceed more justifiably to their sentence and its execution. The Cardinal also told me that they have now thirty-two gentlemen in prison, who will all be put to death, and with them the Baron de Castelnau, his near relative, although he denies all that* [*was alleged against him*] *when confronted with Captain Masières, declaring himself to have been moved solely by religion, and not by evil intention either against the King or his Ministers.*

According to the Cardinal's statement this conspiracy was originated seven months ago at Geneva, one month after the late King's death, and was discussed and approved both publicly and privately by the inhabitants of that city, contrary to what was said of late, and subsequently the conspirators conferred with some Princes of Germany, one of whom last January warned the King by letter of the conspiracy, which was also fomented by the Queen of England. Its object was to kill the King and his brothers, and these Guise lords, under pretence that the severities used by them prevented the Word of God, though embraced internally by the whole kingdom, being thus suppressed, from extending and divulging itself to all the other Christian kingdoms and provinces; and the conspirators purposed, by the death of the King and his brothers, to put the kingdom at liberty, and reduce its provinces to the form of cantons, like those of Switzerland. Of this intention and conspiracy the Cardinal added that at the close of the trials his most Christian Majesty would send an account to all the Princes of Christendom.*

Shortly before his execution Captain Masières seems to have confessed to the Queen-mother, to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and to Marshal St. André that a similar conspiracy had been made against the King Catholic by some Spaniards who had retired into Switzerland on account of religion, and who had an understanding with many others who live in Spain according to their creed, and they were to accomplish their object at harvest time. Whether

* See before, despatch dated 23rd March 1560.

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this information be true, or was given by Masières to save his life, as requested and promised, provided he could prove what he said, the Spanish Ambassador resident here was duly warned that he might inform his King, in exchange for the great offers made by the latter to his most Christian Majesty of armed assistance to quell these insurrections, and even of coming in person, nor could the Cardinal of Lorraine sufficiently commend these demonstrations of piety and great affection on the part of the King Catholic towards his most Christian Majesty and his Ministers. When I asked him whether since these disturbances he had heard of any commotion in any other province, he confirmed to me what I had already heard that at Rouen, in Normandy, the populace were masters of the city, keeping the gates closed, making their preachers preach in public, using certain innovations and insolences in the churches, and deriding the Catholic worship and ceremonies; and that in Provence six or seven towns had alienated themselves, including the episcopal city of Riez, where 3,000 *or* 4,000 *persons had risen in arms for the cause. He then added, "So it will be more than necessary to apply violent remedies and proceed to fire and sword, as otherwise, unless provision be made, the alienation of this kingdom, coupled with that of Germany, England, and Scotland, would by force draw Spain and Italy and the rest of Christendom to the same result." I also hear that besides the above-named provinces, Guienne and Gascony are in movement, with greater danger of alienation than all the others; Valence in Dauphigné having already alienated itself. The Governor of Lyons moreover is hourly and most earnestly representing to the Marshal de St. André, who holds supreme command there, the bad state of that city, he not relying on the provision made by him and the consuls and other chiefs of the foreign merchants, but demanding some stronger remedy and assistance, owing to the fear they have of a popular outbreak, and lest they might be plundered and sacked.*

Here, in the meanwhile, it seems determined not to await the meeting of a Council General, the decision of which would be tardy, but to convene a national one, assembling in a Synod all the bishops and other leading and intelligent churchmen of the kingdom to consult and provide for the urgent need of France in matters of religion, which admit of no delay. The King has already sent to apologise to the Pope, letting him know that should he choose to appoint a Legate he will be received willingly, so that he may authoritatively take part in the decrees and notices which will be discussed (che si faranno), *as his most Christian Majesty does not intend to withdraw his obedience from the See Apostolic. During the interval they do not fail securing the personal safety of the King and his Ministers, his Majesty intending to keep his Easter at Tours, and to add greatly to his men-at-arms, half of the companies (now on leave) having been ordered to join; and a great number of harquebusiers were also to have come, having been levied by the four captains despatched for that purpose, but they were disbanded and made to turn back.*

Amboise, 28th March 1560.

[*Italian.*]

1560.
March 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

143. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier arrived from England this morning with very sure news of war between Queen Elizabeth and France, her Majesty making such preparations as will suffice both for defensive and offensive warfare.

Amboise, 29th March 1560.

[*Italian.*]

March 30.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

144. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The King has not yet quite recovered, for although two days ago he seemed much better and was up, he has since had a relapse and went again to bed, where he has remained till to-day; so as the Holy Week is approaching* the cane game and the bull bait have been completely given up, and during the present week these grandees depart for their own homes, being weary of the excessive cost incurred by them here.

Three days ago the Duke dell' Infantasgo's son, Marquis del Zenete (*sic*), died, had he survived his father he would have been the richest nobleman in Spain, with upwards of 110,000 crowns rental. The cause of his death was a fall from his horse at the King's tourney, nor would he allow the physicians to treat him as they wished to do, so he at length remained the victim of this accident.

The English Ambassadors, having not yet had audience, although they have requested it several times very earnestly, are much dissatisfied, and one of them came to me yesterday complaining greatly of this delay, which they know not how to interpret, as they neither see nor hear anything that pleases them. He also complained that they have had lodgings unbecoming their official character, and that many things are disseminated through the Court against their Queen, the French endeavouring to make her appear culpable of the commotions in France, of which she is absolutely innocent; that since their arrival this King had sent an express to France, notwithstanding that by reason of similar reports, it would have been becoming to hear them before doing anything further; and that these circumstances increased their suspicion that the King had gone abroad purposely, and on his return feigned indisposition to avoid receiving them, having possibly some bad impression against the Queen generated by the evil reports of the French Ambassador [*Sebastien de l'Aubespine*], *a most astute man. He therefore prayed me, invoking that true friendship which has always subsisted between the kingdom of England and your Serenity, to tell them sincerely what I thought about this matter. I replied that what has befallen their Lordships is by no means uncommon at this Court, as the King is wont to go abroad very often to amuse himself for several days without transacting business, from which he with reason chooses to be exempt when indisposed, and that I was*

* In this year Easter Sunday fell on April 14th

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assured that his Majesty's malady had been real and not fictitious, but that he was already better; so their audience could not be much longer delayed, and that, prudent as they were, they would then very well comprehend what his Majesty's mind was towards their Queen.

The misunderstanding between England and France weighs heavily on King Philip, who desires to find means for reconciliation; so he has given orders in Flanders to send his Master-General of the Ordnance, M. de Glajon, to England, to negotiate with the Queen; and it is said that they will accredit some member of the Council of State from hence to France for the same purpose; the persons named being Don Juan Manrique, or Don Gutierre Lopez de Padilla.

The Spanish forces which were to have been removed from Flanders, according to the promise given to the inhabitants, will now remain, as many persons who were hitherto in favour of the measure now object to it, knowing the danger of some commotion, most especially on account of religion.

The Count of Tendiglia is on the eve of departure for his embassy to Rome, but the Ambassador Vargas has not been recalled, *and his supporters maintain that it is well to keep him there on account of the question of precedence between Spain and France, as if an Ambassador in ordinary were kept there, and any prejudicial act in that matter were to occur, they could then no longer defend the Spanish claim; whereas if Vargas remain, it might always be said that he was not Ambassador at Rome, but an agent, sent for a certain term, he having been removed from the Emperor's Court; but in case of Vargas' recall taking place, it will be effected with all regard for his honour and repute.*

Since the supposed loss of the ship with the state papers on its voyage from Flanders,* they have been endeavouring to collect documents from every quarter, and the Bishop of Arras was written to to send copies of several of them, and especially of those that passed with Cardinal Caraffa, the Signor Montesa likewise giving copies now in his possession of many Italian documents.

The city of Lucca has sent twenty exquisite pieces of velvet, satin, and damask, as a present to the Queen, to whom they were very acceptable.

The Bishop of Terracina [Ottaviano Rovero] is to arrive to-day, on a mission it is said from his Holiness.

Toledo, 30th March 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

145. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The news of the rupture with England was brought by a French captain, who returned express from Scotland, having come through England, saying, as an eye-witness, that he had left the English

* See before date Toledo, 14th November 1559.

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troops far advanced into the Scottish territory, in order to unite with the inhabitants and to besiege much more closely the French troops and the Queen Regent, who had all taken refuge in the fort of Little Leith (*Pettilit*), only forty miles from Berwick, the English frontier; the said captain reporting by word of mouth, and by letters which he had secretly brought from the Queen Regent, that she would be in very great difficulties unless speedily succoured, not being able to obtain provisions from the island or elsewhere, the Scots occupying all the passes both by land and sea, and so she must of necessity be assisted from hence. This captain also said that by orders given at the passage ports, Queen Elizabeth had prevented the Bishop of Valence from proceeding on his way, adding that she apologised for these proceedings by saying that she did not wage the war in her own name but in that of the Scots, who being old friends and confederates of England, she could not prevent them from availing themselves, for their money, both of her soldiers and fleet, and of such commodities as cannot be denied by friends to each other in their need and necessity; she not intending on this account to break with France, but to continue maintaining the peace. After this relation, trust being reposed in the captain, war was proclaimed throughout the Court, and they instantly commenced not only thinking about it, but carrying into effect the measures for executing it. M. d'Aumale has been despatched to Normandy that his presence and authority may hasten the outfit of the ships, and the supplies of ammunition and victuals, five other companies of men-at-arms being also ordered besides the three first, making a total of 400. M. d'Andelot [François de Coligny], General of the French infantry, is also destined to go thither with 20 companies raised from the frontiers of Picardy, militiamen (*legionarii*) being put in their places; orders having also been sent to Marseilles for the galleys there to come into the Channel. Another gentleman is on his way to England, though the object of his mission is unknown, but the English Ambassador conjectures that it is to enlarge the commission about the agreement, saying that if the English have joined the Scots, the Queen Regent and all the French troops will be at their mercy, as it is impossible for succour to reach Scotland until long after everything is at an end, besides the difficulty of crossing without a very serious naval engagement with the English fleet, which is equal if not superior to the one which will be sent hence. The embarrassments of these ministers owing to the civil insurrection and to war abroad are now increased by the refusal of the inhabitants of Normandy to furnish their contingent of vessels, or any sort of cost; and the government for this once, neglecting the dignity of so great a kingdom, will possibly accept such terms as they can get, to avoid endangering domestic affairs for the sake of attending to those abroad.

Last Friday, the 29th, the Baron de Castelnau, and with him another individual, a preacher by profession, were beheaded; and twelve others were taken as usual with ropes round their necks to make the *amende honorable*, as they say here, and [when at the scaffold] they were then condemned to the galleys.

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Although this Baron, when confronted with the other leading conspirators who were executed lately, denied what they said to his face, he nevertheless, when tortured, confessed, and in like manner revealed everything in conformity with their statements, with many other additional things, which are of such importance that they are kept most secret.

The night before his execution he asked to be taken to the King and to the Queen-mother, with each of whom he spoke separately for a long while, and the result showed that he denounced some other persons, for the next morning three other gentlemen, said to be in the service of the King of Navarre, were arrested at the Court, one being his treasurer, and the others his chief officials, who were found here. This Baron with the other chief conspirators had suborned fourteen archers of the guard, and two or three gate-keepers (*portieri*), who made their escape. He was of very noble lineage, being most closely related to the Queen of Navarre and to the Guise family; he was lord also of many castles in Gascony, and kinsman of all the nobility in France, who greatly regretted his death, which he bore with much fortitude.

It was subsequently told me this morning that the Master of the Horse of the Prince of Condé has been arrested, the which Prince, though I omitted to mention it in my previous despatches, immediately after his arrival at the Court after these disturbances, notwithstanding the very great suspicion of his having been as it were privy to the conspiracy, was made a member of the royal Privy Council.

Yesterday the final decision was announced to the parties concerned in the great loan by the Cardinal of Lorraine, who told them that his Majesty, choosing to have regard and consideration for many widows and wards who represented themselves as having no other maintenance than the interest from their capital, was content notwithstanding all his need and inconvenience to pay five per cent. on the capital in course of payment, but that owing to the present serious disturbances of the kingdom, and those which were imminent (in allusion to war with England), his Majesty could not commence paying any interest till next January of the year 1561, when according to his means he will then prolong or curtail the period of payment to more or fewer years. This proposal was not however accepted by the parties concerned, they being of opinion that at the period named they could not come to worse terms, and that in the interval they might do better.

The Chancellor has departed this life, to the regret of everybody. He was 63 years old, and fell sick from the many and assiduous fatigues of his office. The post has been offered by his Majesty to the Bishop of Orleans, heretofore M. de Morvilliers, who was Ambassador to your Serenity, a person greatly esteemed, as besides being a man of learning and judgment, his integrity is uncommon; but he excused himself on account of his delicate constitution, which was unsuited to so important a charge. It is now said that it will be given to M. de l'Hospital, late governor to Madame Marguerite.

Amboise, 31st March 1560.

[*Italian.*]

1560.
April 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

146. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Prince of Condé, being greatly disquieted by the arrest of his Master of the Horse, besides the offices performed by him separately with the Queen-mother in the Council of Affairs, into which he was called several times by the most Christian King to justify himself with the other members of the Council, on the day before yesterday at Chenonceau, where the greater part of the Court now is, made another protest in public in the presence of his Majesty and of as many Princes and Knights of St. Michael and gentlemen as were there. After asking the King's leave to speak, having caused all the persons in the hall to approach, he said aloud that it had come to his ears that he had been accused of being not only privy to the conspiracy, but also its accomplice and author, and that there was no occasion to speak against those already dead, if from them the accusations proceeded, it being fit for him to turn to persons living and present, though he knew not towards whom in particular, as he was hitherto unconscious of any person who could have performed such an office. Being therefore compelled to speak in general terms, he gave his Majesty to understand, and all the others in like manner, that if any one was there present who had made such a charge, he had lied; and, excepting the persons of his most Christian Majesty and his brothers, with whom he had justified himself sufficiently elsewhere, he offered to absolve himself by the sword, and to make it good in person, and that in this matter his rank of Prince and noble of the blood royal was not to be available for any exception, as he placed himself on a level and equality with any person soever, like the most obscure individual and a mere soldier. He added some other words about his affection and fidelity to the King and his brothers, and about his own life and actions, speaking very haughtily (*assai altamente*).

The Duke de Guise then commenced speaking in his favour, confirming what the Prince had said, attesting to his Majesty that previously and elsewhere the said Prince had spoken in the same way, making the like offer, and that being who he was, and living as he lived, such suspicion of him was untenable, praising him in a very becoming manner. Although the King uttered a few words in reply, he spoke so low, as is his wont, that with great difficulty were they heard by any one but the Prince, though it is known that they were uttered in his praise and favour. It is believed that this proceeding took place thus in public purposely and by agreement, to check the current rumour against the said Prince, and thus consign the affair to silence, he, by reason of the dependencies and respects attached to him, not being a person to arraign so freely and securely as might be done against others. It was remarked by many persons present that during this conversation the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was behind the King's chair, kept his eyes most sternly fixed on the ground in sorrow, without ever raising them, nor did he make any sign of assent to or satisfaction with what was said.

In the meanwhile the Prince's Master of the Horse, being accused of having lent one of the Prince's horses to M. de Maligni that he

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might make his escape, is still in prison. This Maligni is a gentleman of very noble lineage, and most closely related to the Guise family, being also standard-bearer in the Prince's company of men-at-arms, and a chief of the conspirators. Some days previously he was here at the Court awaiting his accomplices to execute their intention, but, seeing that the plot was discovered, he made his escape on the day of the capture of the other two chiefs, and of the Baron de Castelnau and Captain Masières, whom he met when riding away, as they (Castelnau and Masières) were being brought prisoners tightly bound, and it is said that he is now safe in England. It appears from this and much other evidence that the Prince of Condé was gravely implicated, whilst on the contrary, from the examinations and depositions of the persons executed, and of all the other prisoners (as told me by a trustworthy person who saw the original evidence), the Prince's brother, the King of Navarre, is remote (*lontano*) from all suspicion, as not only did no one accuse him, but the chiefs themselves exculpated him, which afforded very great and universal comfort.

As soon as the King of Navarre heard of the disturbance here at the Court he despatched his chief secretary, postwise, to tell his most Christian Majesty that from one hour to another he should have 5,000 armed men at his disposal, ready to march wheresoever his Majesty commanded.

Concerning the insurrections in Normandy, most especially those which occurred at Rouen, his most Christian Majesty was appeased immediately on being informed that the burghers of the city favoured to their utmost the royal officials and ministers by capturing the ringleaders of the insurrection, namely, two preachers, who to stimulate the people to greater license openly inculcated the heresy of the Anabaptists as to community of women and property, and on their being taken and burnt the whole uproar immediately ceased; but to quiet not only that city but the whole province, the King has appointed Marshal de Termes with royal authority, and full and absolute power, summarily to confiscate, imprison, condemn, and put to death whomsoever he pleases, availing himself, if necessary, of the forces and assistance of the neighbouring provinces of Picardy, (? Isle of) France, and others, to keep it in greater subjection.

For the same purpose of quelling insurrection in Provence and Dauphigné, where it still increases, the insurgents having commenced stripping the churches, mutilating the images, and perpetrating other insolent acts, the King is sending thither with the same and greater authority Marshal de Brissac, replacing him in Piedmont by M. de Bourdillon,* that the said Marshal by his presence, and with such men-at-arms and militiamen (*et legionarii*) as he can muster in those provinces, may restore them to quiet and quell disturbance.

* Imbert de la Platière, Seigneur de Bourdillon. (See the late Sir Wm. Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 443.)

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His Majesty on the one hand rejoices greatly, because in the midst of this universal commotion not only contrary to all expectation did the city of Paris make no stir of any sort, remaining perfectly quiet, but also sent to offer him a good sum of money with which to quell insurrection elsewhere. By the King's order the Constable went to Paris, and with his son, the Marshal,* who has the government of the Isle of France, to make more sure of it: they went every day to the Parliament House, and, with the presidents and other royal officials and ministers, attended the necessary consultations. On the other hand by so much the more does his Majesty complain of these neighbouring towns, especially Blois and Orleans, for having been the meeting places of the conspirators, who were encouraged by clandestine supplies of arms and other stores provided there; which cities, as said by the Cardinal of Lorraine, will soon be severely punished as a warning to the others.

With regard to the remedies on account of religion, it is still positively asserted that a synod and congregation will be held of the three estates, namely, the clergy, nobility, and commons, to see if some form (*forma;* qu. reform) can be devised with the participation and consent of the whole kingdom, but not to alter or to make any innovation, which appertains solely to the Church universal. A council general is also to be held for the mere execution of what shall be decreed and approved by the said Church [of France]. In this [synod] his Majesty also desires and requests the authority and presence of an Apostolic Legate, but is averse to his being a foreigner, lest he have cause to exercise the usual powers of Legates, which are so odious to this kingdom, and he would wish for a Frenchman, making a special demand for Cardinal Tournon; he being sage and intelligent, having also much experience of the affairs of France, and of her wants at the present time, and having been sent for many months ago; so he is very anxiously expected, that he may take part in this government.

Amboise, 4th April 1560.

[*Italian.*]

April 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

147. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

A courier arrived to-day from England, despatched by the French Ambassador there [Gilles de Noailles], bringing letters also to the English Ambassador here [Sir Nicholas Throckmorton], who tells me they are dated 29th March, and that on the 26th the Bishop of Valence [Jean de Montluc] had audience of the Queen, to whom he said that the most Christian King would grant her all that had been requested and proposed here in her name by her Ambassador, and that his Majesty would give her yet greater proof of his good will on the Bishop's return from Scotland, whither he had appointed him, requesting a guide and passport for the journey, that he might make

* Henri de Montmorency, Baron de Damville, Maréchal of France. (See the late Sir Wm. Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 438.) In the text of that Calendar, p. 263, it is stated that Maréchal Montmorency was Governor of Paris and the Isle of France.

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it in safety. Although the Queen perceived from this statement that his mission had another object in view, viz., to try and effect some agreement with the Scots to their liking, to the exclusion of the English, of which the Queen had little fear, having made sure that the Scots cannot come to terms with France without her consent and without reimbursing her for the cost of the fleet and army mustered for their service, to which effect she had in her power as hostages six of the chief and most powerful Scottish Barons; nevertheless it did not seem fit to her to refuse the Bishop of Valence the guide and passport; but on the other hand she sent an express to the frontier to desire Lord Grey to march immediately from Berwick with 1,500 horse and 8,000 infantry under Little Leith (*Petilit*) and join the Scots, leaving the Duke of Norfolk in Berwick with the rest of the army. Throckmorton is of opinion that war is not only determined on (*resoluta*), but seems to have already broken out and commenced (*rotta et aperta*).

This courier brought Throckmorton the copy of a proclamation issued by the Queen, as your Serenity will see by the enclosed.* Throckmorton moreover told me that the Earl of Arran, having anticipated the publication of a report here in France of his having written and sent to ask for pardon, and resenting the charge as a gross falsehood and very remote from his meaning, challenged the French Ambassador in England [Gilles de Noailles], considering him a public functionary, giving him the lie in this respect, and so indirectly to these Guise lords, whom he (Arran) suspected of spreading that report, he not knowing in what other way to act.

All these things, though most vexatious and full of indignity, will be dissembled under pretence of their not being perceived, as told me by a person who has the means of knowing much, the object being very evident, that is, for the sake of not commencing either offensive or defensive war, unless compelled to do so, their means here being small, nor are they anywise inclined that way, relying much on the mission to England of M. de Glajon, who was sent by the King Catholic to mediate the agreement.

During the last two days the Court has been much troubled by news of the serious illness of Madame de Savoye, the first advices having announced that her life was despaired of, and though an express arrived with news of her improvement since yesterday, the Queen-mother has sent to her one of her chief physicians in all haste.

Amboise, 6th April 1560.

[*Italian.*]

April 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

148. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The King having recovered, on hearing that the grandees intended to leave the Court, and not to return for a long while, in order that the preparations for the cane game might not have been made in vain, determined on its performance last Tuesday, when it

* Not found. See under date of 24th March for another copy, enclosed in one of Tiepolo's despatches.

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succeeded admirably; as besides the entertainment of the bull bait, which lasted some time, the beasts being very brave and ferocious, there were a hundred cavaliers who made their appearance most superbly and richly clad in the Moorish fashion, divided into divers companies, each of which had a different livery from the others; they being accompanied by running footmen, trumpeters, and drummers, all likewise in livery. Keeping admirable order they showed great skill and address, the Spanish nation excelling in this sort of game [the cane game], they being well practised in it and having horses admirably adapted for this service.

The King, although not very strong, chose also to be amongst the cavaliers and led a squadron, and played his part very well and gracefully, although the Queen sent to beg him todepart a little before the entertainment ended, together with Do Ruy Gomez, who is not yet cured of his quartan ague. Then at night there was a ball in the Palace. Subsequently for three days his Majesty transacted business, and now will go out of the town for Passion week; the Queen also going to another place.

The Bishop of Terracina, the Nuncio sent by the Pope, has been very graciously received by his Majesty and by the whole Court, especially because he has brought the "*Cruzada*" for three years, which bull will yield the King about 900,000 crowns, nor would the late Pope ever consent to it. This Nuncio will have no further difficulty in exercising his powers, for he gave the King to understand in the Pope's name that he was come principally as an Ambassador, and would not use any power unless his Majesty deemed it necessary for the benefit of this province; so as a lesser evil the King thought it well to refer everything to his discretion, rather than to deprive all these realms of the advantage obtained by means of the Nuncio.

The Count of Tendiglia has left for his legation; the Signor Montesa remaining here, a proof that the terms on which he intended to go to Rome were refused. *Nothing whatever has been settled about Vargas, except that in the ceremony of tendering obedience to the Pope the Count of Tendiglia is to keep so far apart from him as to give it to be understood that he is not this King's Ambassador.*

The day after I wrote my despatch of the 30th ultimo to your Serenity, the English Ambassadors had audience, and are much satisfied both with the honour received from the noblemen sent by the King to accompany them, as also with the gracious audience and reply of his Majesty, who evinced regret for all the difficulties that had occurred; saying that he had sent M. de Glajon* to their Queen, and that he thought of sending another envoy to France, to adjust everything.

Sant' Ojos, the King's very favourite Chamberlain, who had been banished the Court, as written by me in a former despatch,† has obtained his pardon and returned into favour as before; and Don

* The name of this Master of the Ordnance was Philip d'Estade, Seigneur de Glajon, See Foreign Calendar, 1559, 1560, Index, p. 622.

† Dated Toledo, 22nd December 1559.

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Ruy Gomez, now called Prince of Eboli, is in as great repute and power with the King as ever.

When the stir in France was first heard of, its object being yet unknown, the King Catholic, having advices that on the frontiers of Navarre the people were in arms, put a strong force of infantry into Pamplona and other border places, but they were subsequently disbanded.

Thirty-eight horses and as many mares have been brought hither for the King of Bohemia, part of them being a present from his Catholic Majesty, and part purchased by a person whom the King of Bohemia sent into Spain for that purpose, and they are to depart to-morrow or next day. Martin Guzman, heretofore the Emperor's great Chamberlain, will come hither as his Ambassador to King Philip in lieu of Baron Polvilliers, who is to depart in a month or two.

When the Nuncio presented the bull of the "*Cruzada*," he told the King that the Pope sent him this present that he might use it for the benefit of Christendom against the Infidels, and that his Holiness prays him to relieve Italy in some part from the heavy burdens borne by her.

Toledo, 7 April 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

149. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

During the whole of this Passion week nothing has been attended to but the sermons of the Cardinal of Lorraine, which gathered very great congregations, not only to his praise, but to the universal astonishment and admiration, both on account of his doctrines, and by reason of his very fine gesticulation, and incomparable eloquence and mode of utterance. He preached publicly all these days in the presence of the King, of the Queens, and of all the other Princes and Lords of the Court, in the church of one of his abbacies, called Marmoutier, in the suburbs of Tours, whither his Majesty withdrew to keep Easter; for which reason every sort of business was at an end.

Notwithstanding these sermons, and other good works of the Cardinal, those who abhor him on account of religion and for other causes did not fail to defame him by libels and writings placarded publicly in several places in Paris, where they were seen and read by every one who wished.

After the last advices from England his most Christian Majesty determined to despatch a gentleman express to the King Catholic to let him know that he was compelled by necessity to break with that Queen, as the good offices which he sent to perform with her had borne no sort of fruit, and she had already made the rupture almost openly, her troops having penetrated so far into Scotland. But having subsequently heard of the arrival in England of King Philip's envoy M. de Glajon, and that he had spoken and

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negotiated with the Queen, who showed herself much more subdued and pleasant than she was with the Bishop of Valence, his most Christian Majesty therefore dispensed with sending a gentleman express to the King Catholic, and despatched a courier instead, whose return he is expecting daily, when he will send a personage to Spain to treat the agreement, of which he has great hope since so great and respected a prince is negotiating for both realms.

The Ambassador of the King of Algiers has been presented with robes and money in return for horses given to his Majesty, and was dismissed with fair words, being told that his most Christian Majesty would re-confirm the friendship his father had with his King without deviating from the articles of peace between France and the King of Spain; and the Ambassador having made a request for some artillery powder and ball, it was conceded him, orders having been sent to Marseilles to comply with his request secretly, to avoid causing suspicion and jealousy to the Spanish Ministry.

On Thursday next, the 18th instant, his most Christian Majesty will make his public entry into Tours, and after remaining three or four days there will return to the seat (*luogo*) of the Queen-mother, two leagues hence [Chenonceau], she being expected there the day after to-morrow.

Amboise, 13th April 1560.

[*Italian.*]

April 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

150. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The King passed Passion week at Calatrava, and is not expected to return for some days, *as he avoids business as much as possible.*

In order to secure the maintenance of the peace with France King Philip purposes sending thither the same person* who was heretofore imprisoned at Rome by Paul IV., and he is to depart this day. After performance of that office with his most Christian Majesty he will cross to England, should he think it possible to obtain any good result there. I am told that in the name of the King Catholic he will offer the most Christian King assistance to curb his subjects, who are understood to be still restless on account of religion.

The Duke of Sessa remains at Milan owing to the illness of the Duke of Savoy, in the event of whose death he demands instructions.

A French gentleman has been sent by the most Christian King to the King of Portugal to offer him his sister in marriage, but the English Ambassadors suspect him of negotiating for some of the Portuguese vessels employed for the Indian voyage, to make use of them against England.

Before the King went to Calatrava he conferred the archbishopric of Taranto upon Marc' Antonio Colonna, son of the late Camillo; and at the Pope's request his Majesty is content that his Holiness should confer the bishopric of Cassano, but requests that it may be given to a Neapolitan, the King being bound by oath thus to do; or that otherwise that the Pope absolve the King from his oath.

* Don Garcilasso de la Vega.

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I understand that the Pope intended to give this bishopric to the Cardinal of Pisa [Scipione Rebiba] in exchange for the archbishopric of Pisa, about which the Duke of Florence pretends that he was wronged by Pope Paul IV., and demands his right.

Toledo, 15th April 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

151. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I came with the other ambassadors from Amboise to this city on the 13th to assist at the King's entry, but as he made it without any pomp, both to avoid putting the inhabitants and the courtiers to expense, there was no occasion to invite us; and his Majesty having returned on the morrow to Chenonceau, to remain there ten or twelve days, we also shall have to go back to Amboise to be near at hand. In this city [of Tours] a letter has been published to all the governors and ministerial officials of the cities and provinces of the kingdom concerning the reformation of the Church by means of a congregation of the prelates of the Gallican Church, to be assembled for the National Council within six months in such place as his Majesty shall then appoint. From the accompanying translation of that letter* your Serenity will learn the causes of the insurrection and of the conspiracy, the seeds of which do not seem entirely extinct, for never a day passes without finding in the chambers and halls of his Majesty's own palace notes (*polizze*) and writings of evil nature abusing the Cardinal of Lorraine, against whom the plots continue, the indignation against him augmenting, although his Right Reverend Lordship omits no suitable diligence for self-preservation; and advices from Paris state that one of the chief palaces there belonging to the Guise family, full of furniture of great value (the Duke de Guise keeping much plate there, and Madame his wife† great part of her jewels, apparel, and other valuables), was nearly burnt by certain individuals who were worse intentioned than the rest. They went by night to set fire to the building, but being heard by the inmates of the palace, the latter went forth and attacked them with harquebuses and other arms, and in the end, after a hard fight, the assailants were repulsed, one or two of them being killed. The Duke de Guise, not considering his effects safe, has sent to remove thence the furniture and all his most important things, and those of his consort.

The same individuals attempted also to burn three or four houses of the Cardinal of Lorraine in the same city, especially the one called Cluny, where he has his museum and chief valuables; and they moreover wanted to burn the Palace of Medun (*sic*), a very beautiful seat beyond Paris, which is still being built. It is reported that in several places in Paris his painted effigy in his Cardinal's robes has been seen, at one time hanging by

* Not found.

† Anne of Este, daughter of Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara.

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the feet, at another with the head severed and the body divided into four quarters, as was done to those who were condemned.

On the night before last, here at the Court, all the baggage of the Prince of Condé was opened, it being expected to find therein letters or other writings relating to the conspiracy, some hint having apparently been given about such documents; and although excuses were made after the search, attributing it to thieves, yet as none of the contents were missing the belief has greatly increased of the search having been made for that purpose. This having greatly provoked the Prince, he, with the King's leave, has withdrawn from the Court for some days under pretence of visiting his sister, the abbess of a nunnery near this city.

Nothing more is said about the said Prince's Master of the Horse, nor is it known what has become of him, but it is suspected that he has been secretly drowned, as was done by many others, to avoid any more public executions.

Letters have arrived express from Spain and Savoy, written immediately on hearing of the danger to which the most Christian King was exposed owing to the conspiracy, both the King Catholic and the Duke of Savoy making very great offers to come instantly with all the aid and forces they could for his most Christian Majesty's security, and to relieve him from the disquiet in which they heard he found himself. The Duke writes that he had already summoned his troops in order to march with them in this direction after he got the first advice, but he then received other advice from his Ambassador here. These good offices were beyond measure acceptable, his most Christian Majesty having thanked the King Catholic and the Duke in very loving letters. The Dukes of Ferrara and Florence performed the like office, and I presume your Serenity will not have failed to do the same.

The Duke and the Cardinal of Ferrara are earnestly urging his most Christian Majesty to use his influence with the Pope, that his Holiness may favour the marriage of Cesare Gonzaga's niece, so that the negotiations and offers of the Farnese family through the King of Spain may not be interrupted; and of this they have had a promise, the French Ambassador at Rome having had a special commission accordingly. It is also reported openly at the Court that the Duke of Ferrara has a secret transaction with his Holiness, prompted by the Cardinal of Ferrara at the suggestion of the Duke of Florence, to give one of his sisters to one of the Pope's nephews, the brother of Cardinal Borromeo, his Holiness making him Duke of Camerino, adding also the State of Fermo in the March [of Ancona], and to make a secret league between them, namely, the Pope, Florence, and the said Duke of Ferrara, who not only wishes and prays the King of France to favour this his intention, but to take the said nephew of his Holiness under his protection, and to honour him with the knighthood of St. Michael, giving him the annual pension of 12,000 crowns which his most Christian Majesty paid the Duke when he was Prince of Ferrara. He on the other hand offers that his Holiness will create a number of cardinals dependent on his most Christian Majesty, and that he and all his house will depend on the fortunes and protection of France. It is not yet known what reply has been given him by the French ministry.

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They are anxiously expecting further advices from England after what was heard about M. de Glajon's first negotiation with that Queen, nor can the arrival of M. de Candalles, one of the first hostages, be long delayed, he being already known to have crossed the Channel; but according to reports received this morning very secretly the English fleet has taken three or four French vessels, and and by the relation of an individual who landed in Flanders from Scotland, and then came hither, Scottish affairs were going very badly, and the French forces were in great straits and suffering much, especially from want of money, of which whilst the King was here everyone who had means gave a sum for transmission to Scotland, but through Flanders, to avoid suspicion and risk, and under pretence that the remittance proceeds from some Flemish merchants trading there. To-morrow or next day the Grand Prior [Réné de Lorraine, Marquis d'Elbœuf] is to go to prepare the galleys, and proceed into the British Channel with them, so as not to lose so good a season for the passage, and to gain as much time as possible in case the galleys be required from failure of any adjustment.

On the day before yesterday the King of Denmark sent one of his gentlemen to return the Order of St. Michael, which was given him by the late most Christian King, without saying for what cause, a very strange proceeding; but it tacitly confirms what was said some time ago about a secret understanding between Germany, Lubeck and the other towns, the kingdom of Scotland, and this King of Denmark, who greatly suspects and fears the present King of France, who, in respect of the Duchess, mother of the Duke of Lorraine, is now his brother-in-law, on account of the Duchess's claim to Denmark in right of her father King Christian, who was despoiled of it, and died in prison. Others say that it is because he has agreed to serve the Queen of England against France, his brother, the Duke of Holstein, having gone to England some time ago with great offers of infantry and cavalry; so before discovering himself openly he chose for his honour to send back the order.

The King of Sweden on the contrary desires and requests the renewal for his subjects of many privileges enjoyed by them to trade and traffic in the kingdom, exporting and importing reciprocally many sorts of merchandise to the mutual benefit and advantage; they having for a long while, owing to the war with the States of Flanders, discontinued such commerce, which they now seek to resume, and which has been graciously conceded to them.

The Genoese nation, together with the Rucellai, bankers of Rome, who dissolved partnership with the other nations in the great loan, have settled their own credit, amounting to 540,000 crowns, apart, freely sacrificing 70,000, and for the remaining 470,000 they have taken security on the tenths of the clergy, which is considered excellent; one half is to be paid them in the middle of next March 1561, and the remainder in October of the same year, so that within 18 months from the present day they will have received the full amount. This, considering the nature of the times, is held to be a most advantageous bargain, nor would many others reject it could they get the like security.

Tours, 20th April 1560.

[*Italian.*]

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April 20.
Copy.
Venetian Archives.

152. PROTEST of M. MICHIEL DE SEURRE, French Ambassador (Extraordinary) to QUEEN ELIZABETH.*

Since the death of the most Christian King it has been openly seen that the King, his son, wished to succeed not only to the inheritance of his kingdom, but also to the same zeal and affection for the repose and quiet of Christendom, which had moved him to terminate the wars he had with the other kings, his neighbours, and to establish between them a good and lasting peace and friendship; the said successor not having omitted whatever was fitting and necessary for its maintenance and conservation, as testified by facts, and most especially with regard to the Queen of England, his good sister and cousin, towards whom he has used every possible good demonstration in his power, both by complying with the obligation of maintaining the hostages in England for the affair of Calais, as also by preserving for English subjects in this kingdom free and secure trade and contracts, no one of them being wronged or injured without reparation. Nevertheless, the Scots in this time of tranquillity having rebelled and withdrawn from their obedience to the said King and the Queen, his consort and their sovereign Lady, for the reduction of whom he had sent armed forces, the said Queen of England has fitted out a strong and powerful fleet, and an army likewise, and sent both to Scotland, founding the cause of these preparations on her suspicion that the French forces now there, and to be sent hereafter, were destined for the invasion of England, as she alleged had been threatened, under pretext that the Queen of France, Queen of Scotland, had the title and arms of England. But the King of France gave her immediately to understand by his Ambassadors the sincerity of his intention, and how averse he was to infringe the treaty, or attempt anything to the prejudice of the said sovereign Lady and her kingdom. To give her yet more certain testimony he has delayed the preparation of other forces destined by him for Scotland, and endeavoured to effect the reduction of the rebels by a favourable consideration of their misdeeds, which he was content to forget and to pardon if they tendered him their due obedience. Of this he has made declaration and offer to them, even praying the said sovereign Lady to mediate with them, to the end that this fact might relieve them [her ?] from any suspicion and jealousy of the said forces, offering to remove the greater part subsequently, leaving only such as should be required for the security of his territories, and [to ensure] obedience; which forces would be in such small number as no longer to leave any reasonable cause for doubt on this account; and as for the rest, that the said King on his part would appoint envoys (should she choose to do the like) to settle the other differences which might arise between their Majesties, and treat them amicably, as declared by the articles of the said peace.

To this proposal the said sovereign Lady offered no other expedient for the decision of all differences except the total recall of all the French forces in Scotland within a prefixed period, without choosing to enter into further negotiation and dispute; which

* This copy was enclosed in a despatch of Paulo Tiepolo. It is headed, "Protesto di Francesi in Inghilterra."

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cannot but be deemed a very strange proceeding, as in this time of peace negotiations are the mediators between Kings and Princes for the pacification of their differences, without its being lawful for one or the other to give laws or to impose conditions, which can only be applied to their own subjects and vassals. And what is worse, she has sent her fleet to Scotland, where it has made many depredations on the said King's subjects, both on its arrival on certain ships of war which were stationed for the safe custody of the Firth, and subsequently on many other vessels laden with provisions belonging to the said King and to many of his subjects. She has slso waged open war upon his ministers and soldiers there, to the point of endeavouring to land on the Island of Chaulx,* to take it by surprise, imprisoning many of the said soldiers, and doing many other warlike acts. This convinced the said King that the said sovereign Lady intended to proceed further, especially as no grounds were afforded by the King's forces, of the number of which he had always informed her, the causes of her complaints being alike groundless, as she has nothing to do with, nor anything to take cognizance of, in Scotland.

The King believes that he had given ample satisfaction by declaring his goodwill to maintain the said peace and by his offers to come to an amicable adjustment with her, as repeated by his Ambassador in England, the like being announced to her Ambassador resident with him. He has also appointed the Bishop of Valence, his Privy Councillor, a very worthy person, and of authority with him, and has sent him likewise to confirm to the said Lady his good intention, which is wholly inclined towards the repose of Christendom, and to the continuation of the good friendship between their Majesties; the Bishop being also charged to hear from her if she had still any scruple, so that he might give the King notice of it, and then proceed to Scotland to try and reduce the rebels to the obedience of the said King and of the Queen his consort, their sovereign princess, through the clemency of their Majesties, who in that case offer to forget all their past misdeeds, and then to recall the greater part of their forces, and thus relieve the Queen of England from any further doubt on the subject. Nor on the other hand did the King omit to employ the mediation of his good brother the King Catholic with the said Lady; whereupon King Philip, desiring the maintenance of peace, and well knowing the devastation caused by war, sent M. de Glajon [to England]. But notwithstanding so many good offices performed by the King of France, which easily make known to all Christendom the sincerity of his entire intention and aversion to turmoil, the King could not prevent the Queen of England from sending an army and fleet to Scotland, to expel the ministers and soldiers of the said Lords (King and Queen), as she has fully declared in a proclamation which she has had printed,† and which contains no semblance whatever of right, it being evident that

* *Sic; i.e.* Burntisland. (See Foreign Calendar, 1559-1560, Index.)

† See Foreign Calendar, 1558, 1559, pp. 472, 473.

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this would be the way to deprive the King and the Queen his consort of the said kingdom, which would be a very unjust result, and moreover a very bad example to all Christian princes, that subjects who have rebelled against their natural lords should be thus favoured in their rebellion.

Of all this the King of France has chosen to make a declaration to Queen Elizabeth, having given the Bishop an express commission to this effect, and again to renew the assurance of his desire for the preservation and duration of the peace, and the offer of an amicable negotiation (*trattato*), as previously proposed to the Queen; which the said Ambassador did on the 15th of this month both to the Queen and to the Lords of her Council in the presence of Signor Florens da Jaceto,* who on the said day presented to them the King's letters, asking credence for him in what concerned this office; the Ambassador praying the Queen to renounce hostilities, and to refer their differences for decision to personages to be elected by one side and the other. They answered him that their fleet had been for twelve days near the little harbour† ready to continue the undertaking for which the Queen ordered it to enter Scotland, namely, to expel the French; continuing the aforesaid threats, and [saying] that the Queen did not intend to lose time from interested motives, thus directly infringing the treaty of peace.

M. de Seurre, therefore, and the French Ambassadors with the Queen, being charged to protest against this rupture of the treaties, prayed the aforesaid M. de Glajon and the Bishop of Aquila, Ambassador of the King Catholic, to be present before the Queen, that they (the French) might make the protest in their presence, and remind [her] of all the offices performed by the King of France to satisfy her in what was reasonable, for the avoidance of any alteration of the good peace and friendship existing between their Majesties, so that they might bear witness that the King of France had not failed to do what he could to adjust matters amicably; but they having refused, because they had no commission from King Philip to that effect, M. de Seurre referred them to the testimony of the writing, which he had put into form as above, and then replied by word of mouth to the Queen in the presence of the Lords of her Council; and having obtained leave from her Majesty to execute what had been commanded him on this subject, he protested on behalf of the King of France, as he again protests with all humble reverence by the present writing, against the rupture of those treaties, and that all the preparations made and making by his Majesty for Scotland were merely to recover the obedience due to him and to the Queen his consort, having on this sole account offered to forget every offensive act of his subjects, and to pardon the past, as he again offers to do, and to comply with the said treaties, by appointing persons to settle amicably what

* The presentation of Diaceto *alias* Adjaceto to Queen Elizabeth on the 15th April 1560, is mentioned in Foreign Calendar, 1559–1560, p. 550, date 18th April, and it seems that he merely said the King of France was sorry to see her preparations for war.

† Query, "the Links beside Leith." (See Foreign Calendar, October 2, 1559, entry G, p. 6.)

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remains for decision between their Majesties, and also to use all such ways and means as may be used between friends, and render her secure by recalling his forces after the submission of his subjects. With regard to the fears she expresses about its being contrary to her interests to desist from her undertaking against his kingdom, and to accept terms, the King of France will endeavour to defend himself and to preserve his own, protesting that if he is compelled to enter into a war, as the sequel to this commencement made by the Queen of England, it will be very greatly to his regret and displeasure, as the whole world may judge, and solely in self-defence. And of all that is contained above the said M. de Seurre left a copy with the said Queen in her above-mentioned Council on the 20th April 1560, after Easter.

[*Italian.*]

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

153. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish Ambassador having just returned from the Court heard from the Cardinal of Lorraine that a gentleman who came from Scotland informed the King that not only had Lord Grey with the English forces entered the country, but that for six days he had been under (Pettilit) besieging it in every direction as closely as he could, of which the Cardinal complained bitterly to the Spanish Ambassador, telling him that his most Christian Majesty would send an express to King Philip giving him particular account of this proceeding on the part of the Queen of England, hoping it would displease him. The Queen's Ambassador, Throckmorton, has nevertheless not been recalled, and he told me that in a long conversation with the Spanish Ambassador he said to him that he understood that the King Catholic was sending great offers to the King of France for the Scottish expedition, which he disbelieved by reason of the good friendship subsisting between the King Catholic and the Queen his mistress; and that the Spaniard replied that it was quite true that the King, his master, had sent to offer four thousand infantry of his own subjects to be paid by the King of France, and should they not suffice he would send other three thousand, to be paid by the King Catholic, who intended them to serve solely for the punishment of the Scottish rebels, and that King Philip was moved thus to do not indeed to cause any hurt to the said Queen, but for the greater security of her realm, lest it give cause for the French to cross over to Scotland in much greater number; which statement was heard with great regret by the English Ambassador, who immediately sent an express to the Queen with this news.

Tours, 21st April 1560.

[*Italian.*]

April 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

154. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The King did not return from Calatrava till St. Mark's eve [24th April], *and was purposely absent from here on St. George's day* [23*rd April*] *to avoid the occasion for commemorating the Order of the*

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Garter, of which the English Ambassadors complained bitterly to me, although they commend the demonstrations made to them by his Majesty, and the words which they had from him in reply, amongst which were the following, that he did not wish to see the King of France stronger and more established in Scotland than he now is; but they nevertheless feel no security about his Majesty's mind, fearing lest the French may turn and change it at their pleasure.

These Ambassadors also narrated to me that the King of France has endeavoured to make this King believe that he contents himself with what is fair and reasonable, and that for his part he will not fail to disarm and quiet matters, as he had sent M. de Montluc to England to treat and conclude certain terms of agreement, with which the Queen of England ought to be very well satisfied, their substance being as follows: that his most Christian Majesty would remove all his troops from Scotland with the exception of sixteen banners (bandiere) *of infantry, to be dispersed in four fortresses; that he would permit that kingdom to be ruled according to its own laws and customs; and that henceforth his most Christian Majesty would no longer use the title of England, but only the arms, on account of the ties of blood; that the Queen of England on the other hand was to disarm, and not to have any understanding with the Scots. The Ambassadors say that the Queen would have remained content with these conditions had the French willed to carry them out in fact, and not used words and demonstrations only, but that on M. de Montluc's arrival in England,* when he was asked to produce his powers, he said he had none, and the French Ambassador resident in England said that he knew all about this matter, having instructions given him by his King, but when asked to let these be seen he replied that they were mislaid. Thus it is evident that the French are endeavouring not only to cajole and deceive the Queen whilst they are making preparations for war, but also to justify their cause with the Catholic King by giving him words, and making it appear that the wrong is on the side of the Queen of England; which proceeding is but too manifest, and if his Catholic Majesty chose he might very well know it.*

I am advised through a reliable channel that the Emperor's Ambassador resident in England has put an end to the negotiations for the Queen's marriage to the Archduke Charles, assuring her as delicately as he could that the Archduke had determined not to marry. I am told that the Emperor formed this resolve because the Queen required the Archduke to go to England, notwithstanding which she would not give any assurance of taking him for her husband; so it seemed that to treat this marriage any further would be too undignified for his Imperial Highness.

His Holiness has sent to tell the King that he thought of making Cardinals next Ember week, and would satisfy his Majesty. I understand that his Majesty will cause him to elect a brother of the Marquis of Pescara, and some other Spaniard, *although amongst these* [*Spaniards*] *his Majesty has a scarcity of persons fit for business.* I am also told that he may name those whom he already knows that the Pope is about to create, namely, Don Luis de Toledo; the brother

* Montluc, Bishop of Valence, was in England 21 March 1560. (See Foreign Calendar under that date, p. 465.)

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of the Duke of Mantua; the brother of Don Cesar Gonzaga; and Marco Altemps, a German, the Pope's nephew.

All the ships from Peru with the exception of three have arrived, bringing about 400,000 ducats for the King, and a larger sum for private individuals, some saying two millions and others much more. In past times it was usual for the King, on account of his need, to take all the money of private individuals, making them an assignment of so much per cent., so that many persons ceased to bring money into Spain, and many others endeavoured to bring it illegally, defrauding his Majesty of the entry duty. Now that peace is concluded the amount mentioned by me has been sent, the private individuals hoping that his Majesty will leave it to them, and they say that a much greater amount will be brought for the future when advice arrives in Peru that his Majesty will no longer lay hands on what belongs to others; he having already issued commands for all persons to receive the whole of the sum forwarded to them.

There is advice from Peru that incredibly rich gold mines have been found in the province of Popayan, one of which in particular, if such as they relate it to be, would alone suffice to supply the whole world abundantly with gold and lower its value.

In five or six days his Majesty will depart for Aranjuez, a pleasure residence seven leagues hence, whither he will also take the Queen, for whom he is still having certain rooms built, as those in being were not sufficiently numerous for her; and it is said that his Majesty will remain there until these Cortes adjourn, leaving the whole Court here to undergo the scorching and unsupportable heat, such as is usually felt in this city during the summer.

Toledo, 26th April 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

155. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador has had letters from his Queen advising him of what had taken place in Scotland to the 19th instant, and he told me that Lord Grey having joined the Scots on the 6th was under Little Leith (*Pettilit*), and having commenced battering it, some two thousand Frenchmen under their Colonel, M. de Martigues, made a sally and fought for a long while, the English and Scots losing some fifty men and the French about two hundred, and that Martigues was made prisoner; but the battle lasting, M. de la Brosse with almost all the rest of the garrison of Little Leith went out to enable their comrades to retreat, and the English being intent on the engagement, the person who had charge of Martigues, either not knowing who he was, or from inadvertency or carelessness, allowed him to escape, and he got back into Little Leith with the others. A report circulates at the Court that Lord Grey has been wounded in the leg by a harquebuse shot, but the Ambassador says he believes it to be untrue, because his advices containing minute details of the encounter do not allude to it.

The French being thus driven back into Little Leith on the 7th, the English and Scots, having made their approaches, commenced batter-

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ing it, continuing to do so briskly during four consecutive days from the 7th to the 12th, on which day the Queen Regent, who was in Edinburgh Castle, a quarter of a league from Little Leith, seeing the great danger which her forces might incur through the loss of that place, came to a parley. Lord Grey having gone to her, she told him that she was prepared to grant him all that he had asked, viz., to remove from Scotland without delay all the French troops, offering any security and guarantee which he might desire. After conferring with the Earls of Arran and Argyle, the principal Scottish chiefs, Lord Grey reported to the Queen Regent, that they not only insisted on the removal thence of all the soldiery and every other French minister and official, and also that she herself should depart with them, but they required to be assured that hereafter they should never have any other governor or representative of the King except a native Scot, in conformity with the constitution and precept of their realm, and at any rate they would not have a Frenchman. With this reply and decision of the Scottish chiefs Lord Grey despatched a courier to the Queen of England; and such is the state of affairs at the present time.

When the great danger of the Queen Regent was known here, she being at the mercy of the English, the most Christian Queen [Mary Stuart], both on account of her mother, lest she remain prisoner, as also from her Majesty's own fear for the loss of her kingdom, would take no sort of comfort or consolation given her either by the most Christian King, by the Queen-mother [Catherine de' Medici], by her uncles, or by the other Princes and Princesses of the Court; she shed most bitter tears incessantly, and at length from anguish and sorrow has taken to her bed.

Besides what is aforesaid the English Ambassador told me about the whole of the negotiation between M. de Glajon and his Queen, in conformity with what your Serenity will have already heard; but concerning the offer made by the King of Spain to this King of 7,000 infantry, of which as written by me 4,000 were to be at the cost of France and 3,000 of Spain, Throckmorton says that the Queen complained greatly. Glajon told her that the King Catholic had been induced to do this to relieve her from the suspicion she entertains that the French forces after pacifying the affairs of the Scots will turn against her, which they will be unable to do, if they depend on the King Catholic, being his subjects, and for the most part paid and maintained by him, whereas they will, on the contrary, be her defenders against the French. Notwithstanding all this the Queen answered M. de Glajon that she does not require to be secured in this way, and should Spanish troops come, not having been sent for, not only will she prevent their passage, and do all she can to forbid it, but give them battle as to her own enemies.

Here they are hourly expecting Don Garcilasso de la Vega from Spain, he being sent by the King Catholic about this agreement, on which the French Ministry rely greatly. Therefore all the supplies—nominally very great indeed—are not only made very slowly, but perhaps, as told me by an intelligent person, they will not proceed further than to avail themselves of the King of Spain, on

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which they are intent with all diligence, couriers passing to and fro daily to Spain, and from Spain to Flanders, great stress (*gran caso*) being also laid on the 3,000 Spaniards who are still in Flanders about to embark for Spain.

The English Ambassador also told me that the demand of the Scots (who are the subjects of the most Christian King,) not to have a French Governor, seemed very strange to M. de Glajon, and he spoke about this with the Queen of England, perhaps to induce her to deter the Scots from this opinion. She answered him that to any other person it might seem strange, but that he being a Fleming knew very well that, notwithstanding that Flanders and the other Low Countries are, like Spain, under the dominion of the King Catholic, yet they will not admit other governors than those of their own nation, nor will they have Spaniards for anything in this world; and although they do not say so openly, yet by freely protesting, as they do, against contributing to any sort of charge or payment, until the Spaniards are entirely removed, they are in fact doing the same thing as the Scots are now endeavouring to do.

The Bishop of Arras, on the other hand, writes from Flanders, that in Germany many troops are being mustered, on account, it is supposed, of the Queen of England, who proclaims that at her demand she can have as many as forty ensigns; and the Spanish Ambassador resident here says that a remonstrance has been made to her about these troops as a thing which displeases the King Catholic and his Ministers in Flanders, lest they disturb those Provinces by approaching or perhaps by traversing them. The Queen replied that seeing King Philip holds the new friendship in greater account than the old one, she is compelled to avail herself of the forces of those who show themselves her friends, and are able to supply her wants.

Here, as yet, not only is the English Ambassador not placed under any sort of guard, as customary in times of suspicion and distrust, but they allow him to write freely to England, and to receive letters thence; these French Ministers doing the like with the French Ambassador in England, writing and despatching messengers to him daily, and even on the day before yesterday, they sent a gentlemen to him. There is no visible sign of rupture, for even in England the Queen has accepted the hostages, who have been renewed, allowing those first sent to return, one of whom, M. de Candalles, has already arrived at the Court, but as he left England long before the events above mentioned, he knows nothing more on the subject.

On the day before yesterday, the Count de Feria, with his wife* and a large company (*gran compagnia*), passed through Amboise, which is the usual road from Flanders to Spain, his most Christian Majesty having come expressly from Chenonceau, the seat of the Queen-mother, to receive and lodge them in the Castle; and besides the many honours done them by the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, who both entertained them, they have also eaten at the King's table; and the most Christian Queen† presented the

* Jane Dormer.

† Thus was compensation made by Mary Stuart to Jane Dormer for having been made to ride from London to Rochester in the heat of the sun on the 27th July 1559. (See Foreign Calendar under that date, p. 422.)

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Countess with two very handsome gowns, one of cloth of gold with a raised pile, the other of crimson satin covered with golden embroidery, and a jewelled ornament for the neck, the entire present being considered of great value.

I am told that Count de Feria speaks very ill of the Queen of England, having said freely that although he considers himself almost an Englishman, his wife being English, yet should he go to Spain he will do his utmost to persuade the King Catholic to ally himself with his most Christian Majesty to the said Queen's detriment, which was the cause of his being yet more graciously received by these chief Ministers, who prayed him to continue of this mind (*in questa opinione*).

Tours, 26th April 1560.

[*Italian.*]

[April.] Copy. Venetian Archives.

156. An "Information" about events in Scotland; contained in a despatch dated Toledo, the 1st of June 1560.*

At the beginning of the month of April last the army of the Queen of England was quartered on the frontiers of Scotland, waiting for the conclusion of the agreements and league which by her mandate were being treated with the rebel heretics of the kingdom of Scotland; and after receiving the hostages of the said rebels the said Queen demanded that her army should enter the kingdom of Scotland to effect a junction with the aforesaid rebels against the French and the Scots who had remained faithful to their King and Queen. She also sent by sea from thirty to thirty-five ships, which landed heavy artillery, ammunition, and other materials of war, which they conveyed to the neighbourhood of Little Leith, one of the principal ports of Scotland. Having mustered their forces, the English commenced digging trenches and besieging the loyal French and Scots in Little Leith; and after battering the place with great fury and obstinacy with twenty-six pieces of artillery, on the 3rd of May they made an assault, which lasted from eleven p.m. till the next morning, the nights in that country being scarcely dark. The English were at length compelled to retreat with such loss as generally happens in these cases, and they were preparing for another assault by sea and land on the 12th May, of the result of which nothing is yet known. The English cavalry in the meanwhile with some of the rebel heretics went to plunder the towns of the Church, and it is heard that many poor ecclesiastics have been compelled to make their escape from the kingdom, some to France and some to the Low Countries of Flanders.

On the Monday before Easter [8th April] M. de Martigues, colonel of the French infantry, made a sally from the city to prevent the enemy from making the trenches which they had commenced; in this action some twelve hundred men were killed, and the French took two of the enemy's colours (*due bandiere*).

* This news-letter had been given to the Venetian Ambassador by Sebastien de l'Aubespine, Bishop of Limoges, French Ambassador at Toledo; Tiepolo's words about it in his despatch of 1st June being, "Having written thus far, the French Ambassador gave me an '*information*' about the events of Scotland, of which I think it well to send your Serenity a copy."

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Whilst these things were passing the Commissioners of France and of the Queen Governess of Scotland had an interview with Lord Grey [of Wilton], commander-in-chief of the Queen of England, for that one side and the other might put an end to these disturbances, which might cause harm and mischief to all Christendom; and the negotiation was proceeding favourably, the Scottish rebels being content to receive the mercy and pardon offered them by their King and Queen, but subsequently the Commissioners disagreed and separated owing to two difficulties between them, one of which was that the English would not restore to the Scots their hostages, nor would they allow the Scots, although they came to terms with their King and Queen, to renounce the league contracted by them with England.

The other difficulty was the "*interim*" which they demanded for the whole of Scotland until they received some decision about the "Council"; they also demanded that eight or ten churches should be reserved for the Scottish Protestants in several places of the kingdom, where they might freely and publicly preach their religion and sect.

[*Italian.*]

May 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

157. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Besides what I wrote on the 2nd instant* about the affairs of Scotland and England, I heard subsequently that the French Secretary brought word from his Ambassador, who also wrote, that after the office performed by M. de Glajon in the name of the King of Spain, to persuade the Queen to assent to a truce for the sake of treating the agreement without any suspicion or danger of some fresh accident, she sent for the said Ambassador [Gilles de Noailles] and said to him very good humouredly (*molto piacevolmente*), that although things had gone so far, yet seeing with how much warmth and earnestness the King of Spain exerted himself to effect the agreement for the reciprocal advantage of these two kingdoms, she herself also knowing the many inconveniences which might occur to one side and the other if they entered on open war, she determined, in case fair terms were offered her, not to close her ears, but to listen and accept such terms, being much more desirous of peace than war; and she invited the Ambassador openly to make known this her intention, in order to obtain that some person or sufficient authority might be sent hence to proceed with the treaty. The Ambassador adds (as was told me by one who says he saw his own letters) that having endeavoured to ascertain the cause of this change of mind, and why the Queen, having previously been quite bent on war, was now on the contrary so much inclined to peace, he discovered several causes for it, the first of which was that she had been greatly deceived about the insurrections in France, and the conspiracy on account of the religion, which disturbances (from positive assurances written to her hence) she

* Letter not found.

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believed to have had greater foundation, and that they would be the commencement of open sedition and civil war, first one province and then another detaching itself and rebelling entirely, so that the King of France and his Ministers would have had more than enough to think of in providing for affairs here.

Secondly, she had been given to understand that in Germany likewise some commotion was about to take place with regard to the affairs of Metz, a certain amount of troops being mustered there; which necessarily would not only limit but prevent reinforcements for Scotland.

Thirdly, which was of more importance, there was the great jealousy caused here by the King of Spain, from whom not only did she not anticipate any demonstration in favour of the French, except by words, but she believed that tacitly he would give assistance for the union of Scotland with England; so when she heard, on the contrary, that he had destined 3,000 Spaniards to assist the French in Scotland, and that they had already embarked on board seven large ships in Flanders, the news greatly agitated her.

Fourthly, and this disturbed her most of all, was to have heard from Lord Grey that immediately on entering Scotland and declaring himself in favour of the Scots, the French on his approaching Little Leith, instead of waiting for him would abandon it, thus rendering the expedition very safe and speedy for him; but seeing on the contrary the stout defence and resistance made at every hour more and more by those few French troops and the little progress which he (Lord Grey) had made, the Queen remained yet more in doubt, not knowing what the result of matters might be, most especially as she was informed by hourly advices hence from her Ambassador [Throckmorton] of the efficient naval and military preparations in Normandy and of all other necessary supplies for the expedition under the command of M. d'Aumale.

For these and other causes the Queen, persuaded by her Council, whose members were divided amongst themselves, seemed to incline to the agreement.

Owing to these advices, which are held in great account by reason of the authority and trust placed in the said Ambassador [Gilles de Noailles] through the good name and opinion he has gained for himself with these Guise lords, the most Christian King, by their advice, determined to send thither forthwith a personage express, having made choice of M. de Randan,* his Majesty's Chamberlain, who is in great favour with these Guise lords, and he departed post-wise this morning very well accompanied; but as the Ambassador's Secretary who came thence, preceded him, he will give this news of his mission in England, and endeavour to have ships sent to Boulogne or Calais, and ascertain how and in what way he will be admitted and received. The English Ambassador resident here [Throckmorton] has also despatched an express to announce the departure of M. de Randan, who from what I hear is commissioned to speak very clearly and in a very high tone about peace or war, to decide on one

* Charles de la Rochefoucauld, Count de Randan. (See Foreign Calendar, 1559–1560, Index, p. 635.)

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or the other, his most Christian Majesty not choosing any longer to tolerate the mode of proceeding practised by the Queen hitherto and still persevered in, of making war by deed, and by word denying it, their Ambassadors resident continuing at liberty to send and receive couriers and advices as if there was a firm and well established peace between their principals. On the return of M. de Randan a declaration of peace or open war is expected, but from the Queen's wish for the agreement, they believe and hope it will take place, as if any slight concession be made by the Queen to this side even in appearance, provided it save the honour and dignity of this Crown, they will for the rest condescend to her demands for the avoidance of quarrel.

On the night before last four of those arrested for the conspiracy who had been brought hither and put in a prison in this town made their escape, and amongst them was the master of the horse (*l'homo*) of the Prince of Condé, and another gentleman of the King of Navarre,* so much the more to their good fortune as they had been already sentenced to death, and in two days time their execution was to have taken place.

There was also that gentleman of the Stuart family who, as written by me, on discovery of the conspiracy was brought from Paris under such close custody, and a French preacher from Geneva.

Tours, 6th May 1560.

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

158. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Forwards copy of the declaration and proclamation made by the Queen of England on the 24th March, translated from the French, in which tongue it was published, whereby it appears how difficult the maintenance of peace between the English and French must be, and they write from Flanders that the Queen had already effected a junction of her forces with the Scots to expel the French from that kingdom.

The Duke of Holstein, uncle of the King of Denmark, who offered the Queen 2,000 horse and 30,000 of German infantry, has arrived in England; so he was well greeted and honoured, much to the jealousy and great discontent of the Duke of Finland, son of the King of Sweden, lest he should interrupt his marriage negotiation with the Queen.

The Cortes have determined to increase his Majesty's tenths by an additional 300,000 ducats annually, provided he leave [the collection of] them for another thirty years to the commons, but as yet the King has not chosen to accept this sum, wishing them to increase it somewhat, as they probably will; but the Cortes insist on these moneys being employed exclusively for payment of the King's debts, and to set free the revenues which are mortgaged to various persons.

* By name Sesselis. (See Foreign Calendar, 10 May 1560, p. 40.)

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It is calculated that in rather more than one year in these kingdoms of Castile alone his Majesty's annual revenues will be increased by about 300,000 ducats; partly by these tenths, partly by a new duty imposed on all exports and imports from Portugal into these kingdoms, partly from the improvement in the gabel of Seville, which in one year has increased upwards of 70,000 ducats, and partly from other less important sources.

His Majesty has not yet given any reply about the affairs of the Caraffas, so their agents here are in despair, and it is said that the King will not decide until the Court of Tendiglia gets to Rome and gives him more certain advice of the Pope's mind about this affair.

Toledo, 10th May 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

159. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King had let it be understood that he should depart last Monday, but early on Friday morning he mounted on horseback, accompanied solely by his chamberlains, and withdrew three leagues from this city, owing to the negotiations, which had so multiplied, that his Majesty was apprehensive of being compelled to remain here longer. The Queen departed only to-day, and will go to her consort, who has already arrived at Aranjuez.

Many negotiators were extremely dissatisfied with his Majesty's sudden departure, and above all the English Ambassadors, who on that same night had received letters from the Queen sent express by sea, it seeming to them that his Majesty having known the fact went away merely to avoid giving them audience.

The Queen of England writes all that had passed with the French about the proposed treaty of peace, and then adds that on the 7th of March M. de Glajon arrived in London from Flanders in the name of King Philip, who required her to recall her forces from Scotland, as his Catholic Majesty had determined to intervene and to send his army to Scotland to pacify matters, and reduce that kingdom to its due obedience to his most Christian Majesty, and to accept becoming terms. This announcement, the Ambassadors say, had greatly surprised the Queen, who had on the contrary expected from his Majesty a reply to the letters which she wrote him last November, requesting his counsel as to how she was to act *about the proceedings of the French, who were openly hostile to her; and she also marvelled at the King's mind to send his forces to Scotland, as she does not know with what design, and she has as much suspicion of the vicinity of the Spaniards as of that of the French; so she answered M. de Glajon that to recall her forces from Scotland would be to permit the French to become absolute masters of that kingdom, so as to be subsequently in better position to attack England, but that she did not refuse to negotiate an agreement, and that she believed it would not displease King Philip if concluded on fair terms, which could only be hoped from the French if her army remained in Scotland.*

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In the meanwhile 8,000 of her infantry and 2,000 horse had joined the Scots, who having sent hostages to England were besieging the French in Little Leith (*Petitlith*), having killed some of the garrison, and made about fifty of them prisoners. The French Ambassador resident in England had protested on the 20th April that the peace was broken, but it is nevertheless reported that delegates were to meet from both sides to negotiate an agreement.

These Ambassadors, on hearing that the King had departed, followed his Majesty to give him account of all these events, and to keep him, as far as possible, on friendly terms with the Queen; but I understand that the French Ambassador blames the Queen greatly for having been the first to commence hostilities without any legitimate cause, and endeavours to demonstrate that all her hopes and designs are founded on the new religion, which she favours, and which is not only very repugnant to the Kingdom of France but also to the States of his Catholic Majesty, from whom this French Ambassador obtained a promise that his Majesty would assist the French with 3,000 *infantry now in Flanders, to consist of Spaniards and Flemings. The Ambassador demanded these forces under pretence of wishing to show that the most Christian King does not design to have greater authority in Scotland than the King Catholic desires, and has no thought for the Kingdom of England, but* [*wishes*] *in fact to interest the Catholic King in this war against the Queen of England. It is moreover said that his Majesty has promised to give twenty ships fitted out in Flanders at his own cost for the transport of these troops to Scotland, and that the order is already gone to the Duchess Governor, that she may execute it in case the agreement between England and France do not take effect.*

Advices have been received that many English merchants who were at Antwerp, anticipating these disturbances, and fearing also personal arrest and seizure of their goods as security for loans contracted by the Queen on that mart, have withdrawn to England.

His Catholic Majesty's unexpected departure was also complained of by the Nuncio, who feared he might not obtain a decision about the affairs of the Caraffa family, which he had advocated so warmly, and which the King had promised him should at any rate be despatched. After some delay the King sent for the Nuncio and told him that the pension and naturalization as a Spanish subject would be conceded to Cardinal Caraffa, and also suitable compensation made to the Count of Montorio; and the King wished the Pope to allow this compensation to be granted in such a mode as to convince the world that regard for his Holiness alone moved the King to grant it, because the King knew the Count to be unfaithful, as shown by his yet wearing the Order of St. Michael of France. As his Majesty did not specify what compensation he would grant, nor when he would give it, the Nuncio requested him to supply this omission, that he might write with certainty to his Holiness; so the King took three or four days to consider. Signor Fabricio di Sanguini only awaits this decision for his departure, for which purpose he was sent hither by the Pope.

The Nuncio in the Pope's name had given the King to understand that the Pope wishes to hold a council general to devise

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some remedy for the many disorders generally prevalent about religion, praying his Majesty to give his assent to so pious a work, and grant his aid and counsel. His Majesty therefore assembled the principal prelates and theologians of this realm, amongst whom there was a great dispute whether it was desirable to convoke the council, they perhaps judging the state of other countries by that of Spain, where it seems to them that there is no need of regulation by a council. The King nevertheless answered the Nuncio that he hears willingly this design of his Holiness, and that in case of need he will favour the council by attending in person, but that for the present he cannot enter into any detail with his Holiness as to the time and place of holding a council, as it has seemed expedient to the King to write to the Emperor, who may know better than the King does what is most fitting; but that whatever his Catholic Majesty may say about this matter he wishes it to be understood as uttered with all respect and submission to his Holiness.

As the Pope had requested the King when nominating cardinals to take care to propose persons of ability and worth, such as could do some good service at the council, *whereby his Holiness seemed to exclude the brother of the Marquis of Pescara,* who is still young, for whom his Holiness had been already canvassed,* his Majesty said to the Nuncio that he would take care to nominate efficient persons, *but that it was difficult to find persons who were suited to this dignity, and from whom he and Christendom might hope for useful service, and especially he would be unwilling to propose any Spanish bishop, to avoid removing him from his see; so Gonzalo Perez, his Majesty's Secretary of State, is much talked of for this appointment, as also the Ambassador Vargas, though there might be some difficulty about the latter at Rome, on account of his wife, notwithstanding her having become a nun.*

Together with the Nuncio the Pope sent a collector to recover all the property of deceased Spanish clergy, which belongs to his Holiness, and the Nuncio obtained an order from the King for him to execute his office everywhere; but his Majesty makes two exceptions, one the property of the late Archbishop of Toledo, which is said to amount to 400,000 crowns; the other, the property of the Bishop of Cordova, the value of which is about 100,000 crowns. Having availed himself of these moneys in the last war, his Majesty does not choose the collector to meddle with them, and says that he himself will treat the matter with the Nuncio, to whom he will assign his reasons, to be represented to the Pope, to whose judgment the King will submit; so this business will end with some compromise.

M. de Polvilliers, who was Ambassador here from the Emperor, has departed, and his successor, Don Martin Guzman, has not arrived, either because his Imperial Majesty has changed his mind and will not send anyone else, as reported, or *because it does not*

* Don Iñigo Avalos was made Cardinal by Pius IV. on the 26th February 1561, (see Cardella, Vol. 5, pp. 9, 44 and 45,) and proved himself deserving of his grade.

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seem well for the Emperor to keep a Spaniard as his Ambassador at the Court of the King of Spain.

Toledo, 13th May 1650.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

160. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I wrote to your Serenity from Flanders that Pope Paul IV. had conceded the creation of three archbishoprics and fifteen bishoprics in the Flemish Low Countries, assigning to them the revenues of such abbacies as from time to time fell vacant, but no vacancies occurring it was impossible to execute this project, which was also impeded by other difficulties. Hearing that the Cardinal Lorraine as Archbishop of Cologne and the Bishop of Liege intend to oppose it in the interest of their respective jurisdictions, of which they would be deprived, the King Catholic in order to thwart their designs has resolved no longer to delay the nominations to the aforesaid archbishoprics and bishoprics, and has lately despatched a courier to Flanders with the nominations to most of them, desiring his sister, the Governess, to send an express to Rome for the confirmation of his nominees, and to have the Pope's consent to the necessary alterations made in the concession of Paul IV. His Majesty also urged the Nuncio to pray his Holiness in the King's name to favour so pious a work, in which the service of God was greatly concerned, because through the care of these bishops the Flemings would be better ruled, considering how confused and troubled they were about religion. The King also requested the Pope to allow him, until the Flemish abbacies fall vacant, to assign to the new bishops some pensions on benefices in Spain, as it would be too burdensome for him to provide for all the sees out of his own revenues; and although there were now vacant in Spain the three bishoprics of Siguenza, Segovia, and Jaen, with an annual rental of 80,000 ducats, he would be unable to avail himself of funds sufficient for a fourth part of what was required for the bishoprics, and therefore he (the King) will have to provide for the rest. This matter is kept a secret, and the names of the nominees are unknown; but his Majesty has given a subsidy of 20,000 crowns to the Bishop of Arras, with a vacant abbacy in Flanders yielding 10,000 crowns annually; so he may possibly be appointed Archbishop of Mechlin, which will be the chief of all the archbishoprics.

The Inquisition here has lately published an edict containing the underwritten articles, translated word for word from the Spanish tongue into Italian:—

That no son or grandson (*nepote*) of any person burnt, or reconciled to the Church, can hold office in the King's household, or at the Court.

That if he hold a public office in any place he is to lose it.

That he cannot be a merchant, apothecary, or vendor of spices or drugs.

That if any of the aforesaid persons have bought gold or silk, the sale of which had been prohibited them, they are to go to the

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inquisitors to report themselves within six days; otherwise on the expiration of that term they will be prosecuted with all rigour, and whoever shall fail to accuse them is to be excommunicated.

That no person of this kind can hold office, such as maggiordomo, accountant, carver (*scalco*), or any other charge in the household of anv nobleman.

Toledo, 21st May 1560.

[*Italian.*]

May 21. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

161. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the day before yesterday the Secretary of the French Ambassador in England arrived with news that the French troops in Little Leith seeing that they could make themselves masters of a battery of some pieces of artillery raised by the English, and easily bring them into the town, Messieurs de Martigues and De la Brosse with a considerable force made a sudden sally in that direction, and although they met with great resistance on the part of the English they gave them battle, fighting and forcing them, so that they took the artillery and commenced its conveyance towards Little Leith, which they would have gained had not the English been succoured by a great number of Scots, who left Edinburgh and came by a covered road at the bottom of a little valley without being attacked or discovered. Whilst the French were engaged with the English, these Scots on the other side commenced attempting to enter, almost all the French having gone out of it, and remained hemmed in between them and the English. If the Scots had been soldiers and had even less than middling knowledge of military tactics, they would have made themselves masters of the place, but being led in a disorderly manner, and guided solely by fury, according to their usual nature, they delayed so long as to give time and opportunity to the French to retire little by little from the English, leaving the artillery, and to turn against the Scots, closing upon them with good harquebuse shots; and fighting hand to hand they not only prevented them from attempting any longer to storm, but made them retreat with no little loss, although the French likewise left many dead on the field. The Secretary himself says that the loss on both sides was nearly equal.

This feat of arms by the French, besides certain other recent ones in which they displayed great courage and daring, induced Lord Grey to give the Queen his opinion that as he knows the French to be provisioned in Little Leith only for the whole of May, the place should be blockaded, cannonaded, and stormed, so as not to risk the loss, if not of all his forces, of the greatest part of them, seeing the courage of the French in defending themselves, and that being so many in number they may make a very stout resistance.

Concerning the agreement negotiated in England by M. de Glajon in the name of the King Catholic, the Secretary says, as confirmed by M. de Glajon's letters, that he has received an express from Spain, desiring him again most earnestly to represent to the Queen that while it grieved the King Catholic, and could on no account be tolerated by him, that the Queen should be harassed by anyone, his

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Majesty having a common interest with her, yet on the other hand it was most irksome to him that through her the affairs of Scotland should be brought to their present state against their natural and sovereign Prince and Lord, to whom his Catholic Majesty, from respect for his relationship and alliance with him, as also in all fairness and reasonable right, neither can nor will fail rendering all such favour and assistance as was in his power, without however offence or injury in any way to the said Queen and her kingdom. M. de Glajon told her that as she seemed so well disposed towards the agreement he was of opinion, lest some fresh disturbance in Scotland render it more difficult, that she would do well to consent to a truce and suspension of hostilities for twenty days, during which interval not only would Don Garcilasso de la Vega arrive here from Spain, but he (M. de Glajon) have convenience to come to France and get intelligence (*pigliar la parola*) from the most Christian King and Queen and their ministers, so as the more easily to conclude the agreement.

To this proposal of truce the Queen apparently replied that it not being a matter for herself to determine, she would first of all write about it to Lord Grey, and have his opinion about it, having referred the whole of this affair of Scotland to him. In conformity with what the King Catholic wrote to M. de Glajon in England, he wrote in fuller terms to the King of France, and sent to tell him so by M. de Lansac,* who returned from Spain two days ago. Whilst here at the Court they say that the King of Spain will declare himself openly in favour of the King of France against the Queen of England, it is told me, nevertheless, by a trusty friend, who has seen the original letters, that they contain nothing more than very loving words, nor do they go beyond general expressions, such as would be uttered by your Serenity or any other Prince who was the friend of this Crown.

By the advice of his ministers his Majesty here has determined that whether the agreement take place or not he will continue arming, diligent preparations being made, so that the supplies and forces already ordered may be speedily embarked; but he will not openly declare war on England till the fleet be in readiness, which will require time, as it must wait for the galleys which the Grand Prior is gone to procure at Marseilles, in order to convey ten companies of veteran infantry from the five fortresses in Piedmont. M. de Carria was sent two days ago to bring these forces, which will be replaced by an equal number of militia (*legionarii*). His Majesty, who had resolved to stay in this neighbourhood, and then go leisurely into Guienne and Gascony, has changed his mind, and will proceed to Normandy to be near the fleet, both to hasten it by his presence, and also yet more to urge and encourage these noblemen to embark on board of it, many of them already preparing to do so, so that with those who accompanied the Grand Prior to go across with the galleys, and those who will depart hence, the King will have few attendants, and perhaps be without any except his officials.

* Gui de St. Gelais. (See Foreign Calendar, 1559-1560, Index, p. 627.)

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The reply to the proclamation of the Queen of England has been prepared, but it is kept secret until it has been seen by all the Princes to whom the most Christian King sent it, including your Serenity.

A courier has arrived from Rome, despatched by M. de Bourdaisière [Bishop of Angoulême], with news not only of his arrival and honourable reception, but of the Pope's firm resolve to hold the future council, which his Holiness says he will attend in person, be it held either in France or Spain, or in the heart of Germany, or wherever these Princes shall think fit. If the Pope perseveres in this, it will prevent them from proceeding to a national council.

Tours, 21st May 1560.

[*Italian.*]

May 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

162. Nicolò da Ponte, Bernardo Navagero, and Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Concerning the affairs of England since the advices of the 4th instant, the English Ambassador resident here says that letters of the 13th announce the return from Scotland to England of the Bishop of Valence [Jean de Monluc], and his failure to negotiate any agreement with the Scots. Although he had proposed to them a general pardon, and an *interim* exercise of religion until the decision of a council general, owing to which offers great hope had prevailed that the agreement might take place; yet when he added that the Scots were utterly to renounce their friendship with the English, to surrender the fortresses, naming, besides Little Leith, Lillemburg (*sic*)* and Dunbar, to accept the French Ministers and Governors, and to give hostages in confirmation of their obedience, these conditions rendered matters quite hopeless. The Scots replied that they could not separate themselves from the English until all costs were repaid to the latter for their services both by sea and land, under which obligation they had consigned to the Queen as hostages eight of the chief noblemen of their kingdom. As to the fortresses, the Scots said that either they must be razed, or otherwise be garrisoned by Scottish captains named by his Majesty according to the laws of the realm; saying also that the same laws enacted that none but native Scots could be governors or ministers there. The Bishop of Valence, therefore, seeing that his proposal was fruitless, returned to England. By these same advices of the 13th it is stated that when the Queen heard of M. de Randan's appointment with an ample commission about the agreement she evinced pleasure; so orders were sent him to continue his journey, and he has arrived at Boulogne, but not venturing to cross in French vessels he was expecting some offered him by the Queen, who was sending to meet and receive him with honour.

* Query, Inchkeith. (See Foreign Calendars, 1559–1560, and 1560 and 1561.) Inchkeith is an island in the Firth of Forth, and the French called it the L'Isle aux Chevaux, which name the Venetian Ambassador seems to have converted into "Lillemburg." In Foreign Calendar, 1560–1561, pp. 77 and 78, this account of the terms proposed by Jean de Monluc are confirmed.

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Neither is it heard that Lord Grey since he cannonaded Little Leith has made much progress, it seeming to him perhaps, as reported here, that the garrison resisted his attacks more stoutly than he anticipated.

Here in the meanwhile the English Ambassador, being ill at Amboise, sent his Secretary with the Queen's reply to the French King's Protest, and the Secretary having presented it to the Cardinal of Lorraine, his Right Reverend Lordship told him not very graciously that he would read it to his Majesty, and that when the Ambassador was in a state to come to the Court he should hear from the King his Majesty's determination.*

Garcilasso de la Vega arrived last week, being sent by the King Catholic to bring about the agreement, and having been to visit the English Ambassador, on whose authority we mention the circumstance, he said he was commissioned to let the most Christian King know that in like manner as his King had sent M. de Glajon to England to persuade that Queen to desist from pretecting the Scots, it seeming to him a most shameful act for her to interfere in the affairs of the vassals of others, so he had sent him (De la Vega) hither to France to pray the most Christian King to assure the said Queen and rid her entirely of her suspicion and anxiety lest under pretence of these things he invade her kingdom. Yesterday, together with the Ambassador of the King Catholic resident here, he had his first audience.

Garcilasso says that besides these matters of England he was sent to offer his most Christian Majesty every sort of assistance that could proceed from the King Catholic, even personal, if the troubles about religion continue.

Blois, 22nd May 1560.

[*Italian.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

163. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassadors went to the King for the purpose written in my former letters, and his Majesty answered them briefly, as is his custom; but the Duke of Alva, with whom they wished to confer, was more diffuse, and clearly expressed the regret felt by his Majesty that the Queen had given favour and assistance to the Scottish rebels, but declared nevertheless that the conservation of the said Queen was no less desired by the King than that of his own states; yet as at any rate the rebels must be punished, lest other subjects take example from them to be disobedient to their sovereigns, so the King Catholic for this purpose, upon any request from the most Christian King, would give him the promised infantry, which, although they are to be paid by France, would notwithstanding execute the commands of King Philip, who had determined on all this for the benefit of the said Queen, in order to assure her that nothing whatever would be attempted against her, as the King Catholic

* In Foreign Calendar, date 20th April 1560 (pp. 564 to 568), both the Protest and the Queen's reply are published, but neither one or the other are to be found in the despatches from France now in the Venetian Archives. There is however a copy of the Protest among the despatches from Spain. See before, No. 152.

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would give his troops such orders that in case she was molested they would all pass over to her side. *But the Ambassadors add that on this account the Queen is but little indebted to his Majesty, because had it not been for her respect for him, Scotland by this time would have been quite rid of the French.*

They are now awaiting the result of the interview between the commissioners of both sides, and those appointed by King Philip to intervene as mediators.

Of the three ships expected from the Indies there is news but of one, which, when on the point of foundering, fell in with a caravel, whose crew preferred to throw their own cargo into the sea in order to receive the gold and silver and persons on board the ship; and thus the caravel arrived at the Azores, having on board gold and silver for the King and private individuals to the amount of upwards of 400,000 ducats.

The King has taken time to consider the case of the Count of Montorio; so Sanguini departs with the despatch of the pension and naturalization for Cardinal Caraffa. His Majesty has given orders for the restitution of the artillery and other effects of the Church in Paliano, the inhabitants of which place strongly urge that it should not be dismantled.

The King is still at Aranjuez, intent on the pleasures of the chase, to which he often takes the Queen.

Toledo, 26th May 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

164. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of Portugal having reduced the rate of interest to five per cent. annually on a loan of 1,000,000 of ducats due from him to the Portuguese, whereas formerly he was accustomed to pay 10 per cent.; this made the merchants who do business with him suspect that he would do the like by them, as took place lately, for the King, being debtor to several merchants for about 2,000,000, declared that for conscience sake he would not henceforth pay such interest, but reimburse his creditors annually with five per cent until they be paid in full by the proceeds of the spice contract.

The French Ambassador has given me an "information" about the events of Scotland, of which I send your Serenity a copy.*

Toledo, 1st June 1560.

[*Italian.*]

June 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

165. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The calamitous news has arrived of the defeat of the Christian fleet, with the loss of 30 galleys and 32 ships, which has caused infinite sorrow to this Court. In so difficult a case the King

* See before, No. 156.

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Catholic is expected to take the best advice he can for the safety of those who remained on land at Gerbes, to prevent other disasters so injurious to Christendom.

Toledo, 2nd June 1560.

[*Italian.*]

June 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

166. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has remained almost the whole of this day in consultation with the Duke of Alva, Don Juan Manrique, Don Antonio de Toledo, and Don Gutierre Lopez de Padilla; and his Majesty determined to commission a personage of authority to govern Sicily, whither he has ordered 5,000 infantry levied in Calabria to be sent, and likewise artillery and ammunition from the kingdom of Naples, *Sicily being almost defenceless owing to this unfortunate undertaking which the Duke, its viceroy, has attempted.**

A more considerable coastguard will be sent to the shores of Spain, the drum being beat for foot soldiers to that effect. The Spanish fleet has had orders to be ready to put to sea for service. Of the 20 galleys of Spain there will be the 17 that have been saved, seven of Prince Doria, two that are said to be at Naples, four of the Duke of Savoy, ten of the Duke of Florence, and eight from the Republic of Genoa, whose Ambassador offered them to the King Catholic. *It is also said that the King of Spain will ask France for her fleet, both by reason of the present need, as also to set Sultan Soliman by the ears with the most Christian King, who it would seem could not fairly* (honestamente) *in such necessity refuse this assistance, and to reciprocate the service rendered to France by the infantry which his Catholic Majesty is sending to Scotland, provided King Francis do not use the galleys against England, as he has done hitherto. These precautional measures seem to have been taken for the safe custody of the coast and states of the King Catholic, rather than as succour for the garrison of Gerbes.*

Several persons have inquired of me whether your Serenity would lend them your favour, which succour it is thought might remedy the late disaster; but I endeavoured to remove this hope by saying that I knew not how your Serenity could in fairness and to your benefit break the peace you have made with Sultan Soliman and wage war on him.

Toledo, 2nd June 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

167. NICOLÒ DA PONTE, BERNARDO NAVAGERO, and GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In this packet we send the reply of the Queen of England to the Protest made by the French Ambassador resident with her, which

* The Duke of Medina Celi, Viceroy of Sicily, was besieged in the new fort at Gerbes. (See Foreign Calendar, 1560–1561, pp. 80, 105, 114, 120, 148, 157, 380, and Index p. 612.)

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we could not obtain in time to enclose it with the last despatch. Today, when discoursing with the Cardinal of Lorraine about these affairs of England and Scotland, and on our asking what news had been brought by a gentleman who arrived thence yesterday, his Right Reverend Lordship announced the presence in England of M. de Randan, who had arranged a conference on the 5th instant to be held on the frontiers between the Queen's ministers and those of the most Christian King, which was to be attended by the Scottish chiefs, to negotiate an adjustment, for which purpose each side had named five individuals, the English delegates having already left London for the site of the conference. The Cardinal added that the most Christian King, for the sake of avoiding delay and impediments to the adjustment, had not chosen to give any further instruction to M. de Randan about its conditions, referring them absolutely to the will of the Queen Regent in Scotland, who might according to her opinion conclude any treaty whatever, which would be approved and ratified without contradiction by his most Christian Majesty and the Queen his consort.

Concerning Little Leith the Cardinal said that a yeoman of the chamber in the service of his most Christian Majesty, who departed thence on the 9th ultimo, and came hither by way of Flanders, related that the English troops had three times assaulted the place, twice by day and once by night, with scaling ladders, and that they had on each occasion been repulsed with much loss, more than six hundred of them having been killed the first time, so that now the remainder of the English do not exceed from 3,000 to 4,000, the Scots being rather more in number. Having seen that cannonading and assaults were fruitless, and having withdrawn the artillery, they commenced raising forts about the place to besiege it, as was done at La Mirandola, but the French commanders, as they assured his Majesty that they were not in the least afraid of being stormed, so with regard to siege they sent to say they were provisioned for the whole of July; the Cardinal adding his belief that they were victualled for a still longer period. He said that the Scots began to have greater suspicion and anxiety about the English, mutual distrust existing openly between them, than they had about the French; wherefore the Queen of England did not cease arming to the utmost by land and sea, having detained a great number of ships, both of Venetians and other foreigners and of the kingdom, that she may increase as much as possible her fleet now at sea, impressing men by force on board, her object being to fight the French fleet and prevent its landing re-inforcements in Scotland, should the war continue. It is also that the said Queen has given a subsidy to the Duke of Holstein,* brother of the King of Denmark, who has been in England for many months, for 7,000 foot and 1,000 German horse, who are already mustered for the service of the said Queen; and she has taken till the 1st of July either to dismiss them entirely or to send the supplement of their pay

* See Foreign Calendar, which shows that he was in London on the 9th April 1560, that the Queen made him a K.G. at Greenwich on the 20th June, and that he left England on the 28th June.

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so as to remove and embark them for England, hoping that by that date the conlusion or rejection of the agreement will have been accomplished.

I hear on good authority that the French Ministry suspect that in addition to these preparations the movements heard of in Germany are perhaps not for the affairs of Metz, the Cardinal himself having told me that not only the Emperor but almost all the Princes were arming, naming to us the Count Palatine, the Duke of Wurtemburg, the Duke of Bavaria, the Duke of Saxony, and others. Hence France is expected to consent to any fair adjustment of the affairs of Scotland and England ; and the Ministers here, having moreover heard that all the States and Princes of the Empire are to meet together next July either in person or by proxy, in order to ascertain better the movements of Germany, have determined that the Count Rhinegrave, Knight of St. Michael, who has been for many years in the service of France, and in whom they place great trust, is to repair to Germany, that through him he being popular with all the Princes there, the French Ministry may know the truth of what is to be treated and decided. The Rhinegrave will go thither, as he told me Giovanni (Michiel), under colour of having been invited, and of intending to be present at the wedding of John William of Saxony, the second born son of the late Duke John Frederick, who is also in the service of France, and who is affianced to a daughter of the Count Palatine.

On the day before yesterday M. de la Bourdaisière returned from Rome, having been sent to render " the obedience," with the report of the Pope's extreme displeasure, because the King of France has summoned (*intimato*) a National Council, his Holiness thinking to prevent it by the summons for a Council General at Trent; but so far as can be seen hitherto the Ministers here have no intention to desist from the National Council, considering it a much greater remedy for this Kingdom in the matter of religion, as it can be convoked more speedily and easily than the Council Universal, which would bring with it so many impediments.

M. de la Bourdaisière also brought apologies from Cardinal Tournon for not coming to take part in this Government as he had been called to do, by reason of his old age and want of strength.

In our conversation yesterday with the Cardinal of Lorraine, we having fallen on the topic of the bad news heard that morning by word of mouth from one who came from Genoa of the defeat of the Spanish fleet by the Turks, his Lordship confirmed the news, and showed us as a favour the extract of the advices (as he assured us) before he showed them to the King, as received at that moment from the Governor of Lyons, who announced letters from Rome of the 20th ultimo purporting that of 45 galleys only 17 had been saved, the names of which were specified in the advices one by one ; but by other letters also from Rome of the 24th, brought by the same courier, it was said that seven more had made their appearance in safety at Naples, making 24 in all, 21 having been lost, together with 34 transport ships, on board of which were the victuals and ammunition. For this loss his Right Reverend Lordship showed great regret, considering the benefit of Christendom, as did the King and the

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Queen-mother when talking with me Nicolò (da Ponte), the Cardinal saying that the expedition had been mismanaged and but little diligence used about it.

Romorantin, 3rd June 1560.

[*Italian.*]

June 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

168. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ambassadors (extraordinary) left Romorantin on the 3rd instant, they having sustained their state at this Court with such gravity, prudence, and splendour that the Duke de Guise told me freely that the King considered himself honoured and well satisfie l with the quality of the Ambassadors, it seeming to the Duke and the Cardinal that in these disturbances and movements of England they must have given them great repute. Those two personages were likewise very glad that Don Garcilasso de la Vega was here on a mission from the King Catholic, that he might write and relate it on his return to Spain. The Cardinal told me that the Ambassadors will be received and visited in Paris in the King's name and will have their presents in so much gilt plate.

His Majesty went this morning to two castles ten leagues hence belonging to the Duke de Longueville, where he will keep the festival of *Corpus Domini* and enjoy his usual field sports, taking subsequently the road either towards Normandy or Fontainebleau, according to what he may hear from England about the conclusion or rejection of the agreement, which must soon be known, as since the 5th of the month the delegates have been conferring at Newcastle on the frontier of England.

A few days ago there came hither from Germany certain chief loan contractors of the free towns of Augsburg, Ulm, Strasburg, and other towns interested in the great Lyons loan, to negotiate an adjustment. They had audience first of the Cardinal and then of the King, and finally to-day from the Privy Council they were to have had the ultimatum, but were referred to another sitting.

A courier from the Duke of Ferrara brought orders lately to his Ambassador here to complain grievously (*gravemente*) to the most Christian King and his Ministers that after it had been agreed to pay him the credit of the late Duke, his father, at the rate of 100,000 crowns annually, the assignments for the first year had been taken away.

Blois, 8th June 1560.

[*Italian.*]

June 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

169. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

All the Ambassadors have condoled with the King on the disaster at Gerbes. I have also endeavoured to make the King know how much regret it will have caused you, both on account of his Majesty, as also of all Christendom, and in conclusion that your Serenity had not failed in endeavouring to be informed of the proceedings of the Turkish fleet, to communicate them to the foreign ministers in Venice,

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and to send advices of them to Milan and to Rome, that they might reach the ears of those whom they concerned in time, and that the same news-letters had been sent to me likewise, but had arrived too late, though I prayed his Majesty to hear their contents, that he might know that your Serenity not only gave notice of the putting to sea of the said fleet, but also of its design of going to Barbary. I read to him the summaries lately received with the letters of the 4th and 15th ultimo, to which he listened very attentively, and then answered me with a cheerful countenance, thanking your Serenity, who, he said, will have had just cause to lament the disaster of so many Christians, but that with God's assistance he had formed such a resolve that he hoped you would be much comforted and satisfied. After those words and some other compliments I took leave of his Majesty, and went into the ante-room to the Duke of Alva, who told me almost the same as his Majesty, with this in addition, that they were sending Don Garcia de Toledo to Sicily, which would be sufficiently provided for; that with these Spanish galleys they were sending 2,000 infantry to Sardinia, and other places on the coast; that they would get together as many as 70 galleys, not including those of France (to use his own words), and 30 ships, on board of which they intended to embark 15,000 infantry, his Majesty having determined at any rate to succour his forces at Gerbes, for which purpose he had ordered a large levy of infantry.

On the first news of this disaster it was intended to assemble certain galleys, but on obtaining more correct information they found that although the Duke of Florence has the hulls of so many vessels he does not possess the other requisites for fitting them out. His Ambassador has offered but six, which is a much smaller number, and Genoa, which promises eight galleys, can scarcely have four ready to put to sea in time to use them, so they reckon only six. They also reckon on two only from the Duke of Savoy, but on the other hand they expect some other galleys which are said to be at Naples, and which escaped, in addition to the 17; and they will ask for the three galleys which the King of Portugal has, but they differ greatly from ours in size, and in the number of oarsmen.

I do not know yet whether they have asked for the French galleys, but I am very sure that whilst the Duke of Sessa stopped at Marseilles, certain private individuals, who own some of those galleys, treated with him to sell them to the King Catholic.

Your Serenity will have heard of the preparations made in the kingdom of Naples, where they have raised twelve thousand infantry to garrison the fortresses and to secure the territory. His Majesty has now sent in haste for Count Alberico da Lodron, who accompanied the Duke of Sessa, and has commissioned him to raise 4,000 infantry in Germany; so he will depart in two days for Augsburg. An order has also been given to levy 4,000 Italian infantry in Lombardy. The Germans say that their troops will remain to guard the Milanese, and that the Italian force to be raised, and the Spanish infantry already in that territory, will be put on board the fleet. *But I also hear that at this Court they suspect that through the opportunity afforded by this loss, some insurrection may ensue, knowing very well the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants, owing to the unbearable*

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taxes with which they are burdened; and here there are twelve or fourteen delegates from several places in the Milanese, who have come to remonstrate; nor does the Spanish Government place much trust in the chief personages (ne' principali) *of Italy, suspecting them of a dislike to see foreign troops there; for which reason the King Catholic is arming so efficiently, not so much to embark his forces on board the fleet, as to secure himself against any disturbance.*

The Dukes of Parma and Urbino have offered his Majesty their services on this occasion, wherever he may command, but I do not hear that he intends to avail himself of them.

King Philip had been induced by the Duke of Alva to appoint Don Garcia de Toledo, Admiral (General) *of the fleet, very much to the displeasure of Don Juan de Mendoza, son of the late Don Bernardino, Admiral* (General) *of the galleys of Spain, it seeming to him that he was too signally wronged by this preference of an individual to whom he was nowise inferior in nobility or experience, and the whole of the Mendoza family share his resentment; but to avoid openly opposing his Majesty's will, they made Prince Doria's agents complain that so long as the Prince lives, they cannot do him this wrong, he having heretofore as Admiral elected Marc' Antonio del Caretto as his lieutenant. About this there has been much dispute, there being on the one side the Duke of Alva and Don Antonio de Toledo, who maintain that this is for his Majesty's service, and on the other, Don Ruy Gomez, the Duke de Francavilla,* the Marquis de Mondejar, and Don Gutierre Lopez de Padilla; Don Juan Manrique showing himself undecided. It has therefore been determined that before deciding this affair, they will await the coming of Augustin Doria, who is to be sent by the Prince* [*Andrea Doria*] *to King Philip, with his opinion about the measures to be taken.*

The same personages have also been at strife about the nomination of commanders to levy the Italian infantry; the Duke of Alva wishing his Majesty to appoint them, which is tantamount to a commission from himself, as no other member of the Council can know better than he does who is most suited to this charge; but the others contradict him, saying that such authority should not be given to a governor of the Milanese.

The Duke of Sessa is proceeding on his journey leisurely, for the enjoyment of every convenience, that he may make his entry into Toledo more grandly, and in better order; but it is little to his repute that he has allowed all these deliberations to be held without him.

Two Ambassadors of quality have arrived from Genoa to congratulate the King on the peace, and on his marriage, and to thank him for what he caused their Republic to recover.

Toledo, 8th June 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Father-in-law of Don Ruy Gomez.

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June 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

170. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Duke of Sessa has arrived, and accompanied by the Duke of Alva, and almost all the other Lords and Knights (*cavalieri*) of the Court, he went to the King. He proceeded subsequently three leagues from Toledo to visit his mother-in-law, the widow of Covos; so until this morning I was unable to address him in terms expressive of your Serenity's great affection for him, and your extreme satisfaction at his having been a good neighbour to you. He answered me that he was born of the great Captain, who, for the service rendered by him to you at Cephalonia* deserved to be enrolled amongst your Serenity's patricians; and that you confirmed the same favour to the Duke of Sessa his father, whilst he was at Rome, for himself and his descendants; which he has always held in great esteem. For these reasons he has at all times (he told me) remembered he was a nobleman and member of that most illustrious Republic, to whom he has endeavoured to be a good neighbour (*di ben vicinare*); greatly desiring, after serving the King Catholic, to serve your Serenity.

From what I hear, the Duke is not well satisfied, owing to the small account in which they seem to hold him here, both because his people after many days' petition could not obtain lodging for him, so that he was compelled to reside with the Duke of Francavilla, and also because in the cabinet councils, held lately about a variety of measures, most especially as they concerned matters relating to the duchy of Milan, he was not summoned. Three causes are said to have made him come to Spain: one is, to legalise the sale made by him of the duchy of Terranova, in the kingdom of Naples, to Tomaso di Marino, in payment of his very heavy debts to him for the immoderate expenditure which he incurred for his pomps and pleasures; this he is expected to obtain from his Majesty, although he has no children, and is without hope of having any. The second, because after the peace of Cateau Cambresis, by the advice of the Duke of Alva, his authority was much restricted, above all in expenditure, and his body-guard was diminished, etc.; so he, being naturally pompous and prodigal, gave it to be understood that he would not stay, and that if not entirely satisfied, he would no more return; but having arrived in Spain, and seen that they do not hold him in such great estimation as he had persuaded himself would be the case, and as *there is no want of personages who desire his place, it is possible that he may change his mind.* A third cause is, that being envious of the Duke of Medina, who anticipated glory from his attempted undertaking [at Gerbes], the Duke of Sessa wished to propose another expedition to his Majesty, hoping that, as its author, he would be appointed commander-in-chief, and for want of other projects he proposed that of Algiers; but the defeat at Gerbes forbids this second enterprise, and the Duke of Sessa, perceiving the failure of his designs, greatly repents having come to Spain, and says incessantly to his intimate friends, "*Italiam quæro patriam.*"

* In the winter of the year 1500.

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He brought many personages with him, and many others also followed him at their own cost, so that upwards of a thousand persons crossed with him, including some military commanders; and amongst the principal of these are the two Counts of Lodrone and Arco, and an engineer heretofore in the service of France, who has brought drawings of all the fortresses in the Milanese as they stand at present, and in what form the Duke of Sessa would wish them to be improved. The Duke will have to discuss with the King this matter and many others which have been postponed till his arrival, especially that of the last tax on the Milanese, which was suspended at the request of a member of delegates *from the cities, who have come hither to complain of it.*

I will do my best to learn more about these negotiations, though it will be very difficult, as the King means to depart for Segovia, and will remain many days absent, taking with him only a few of his councillors; and according to report, he will also be followed by the Duke of Sessa; so possibly his Majesty, before he returns, will have settled a great part of these affairs.

Toledo, 14th June 1560.

[*Italian, the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

171. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The conference in England was postponed from the 5th to the 12th instant owing to the indisposition of Secretary Cecil, one of the English delegates, who could not attend it sooner, but in two or three days some conclusion is anxiously expected, this having made his Majesty remain in this neighbourhood, passing his time in visiting the villages hereabouts; nor does he know how to decide on any fixed residence until he is sure of the events in England, but the greater part of the Court say it will be at Fontainebleau.

During the last three days the Cardinal of Lorraine has been greatly troubled with anxieties and melancholy, and being also indisposed he has physicked himself and lived in retirement. Many reasons have been assigned for this retirement, but from what I hear on good authority the chief reason was that having lately had it proposed to the Parliament of Paris, and to all the others of this kingdom, that for the very urgent exigencies and present need of his Majesty they should consent to accommodate him with 800,000 francs, each of the Parliaments giving its quota, that of the Parliament of Paris being greater than the rest, and from which all the others take rule and example, this proposal was negatived, the Parliaments apologising for their refusal by saying that they expected his Majesty rather to exonerate the kingdom, which was greatly exhausted and reduced almost to extremities by the past grievous and incessant extortions, than to return again to burden and consume it utterly. It seems that the Cardinal took this denial the more to heart as he considers it a personal injury and affront to himself and his family, in whose hands the Government is, and not that the Parliaments were justified in their non-compliance, which displeases him. As a remedy he sum-

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moned hither to the Court M. de Thou, the chief President of the Parliament of Paris, a person of much credit and repute, with some others of the principal Councillors, and also the King's Procurator, who usually resides there, and immediately on their arrival they had a long conference with the Cardinal, the Chancellor,* and all these other Ministers, both publicly in the Council, and separately out of it, to acquaint them thoroughly with the King's necessities, and the grievous injury they were doing his Majesty by rejecting so fair a proposal. They were charged as earnestly as possible that as the proposal would be repeated they were to induce the Parliament to consent to it. That the affair may be yet more considered and held of importance the Ministers are also sending the Chancellor in person to Paris, thinking that by his presence and supreme authority yet more to move the Parliament. If it grant his Majesty's demand, the other Parliaments likewise will almost of necessity have to consent, whereas on the contrary the denial of the Parliament of Paris would cause that of all the others. The Chancellor departed today, taking with him the Treasurer "des Epargnes," and some of the finance officials.

Besides these anxieties, the Cardinal is every moment agitated by hearing that in the palace, in addition to printed [libels], letters are found daily, which circulate through Paris, and are occasionally presented on the sudden, even to the Queen Mother, by unknown persons, who disappear immediately afterwards, in abuse of the Cardinal and the Duke de Guise, whereby it is evident that the envy, indignation, and hatred of them has not only not diminished in the least, but increases more and more daily. In the said letters they are openly threatened that, notwithstanding all the care and good guard they have of themselves, before the end of next July they will fall into the hands of persons who will give them the punishment they deserve, and avenge the blood of those who have recently been put to death.

Accounts have been received of a considerable band of men seen in the woods round Villers Cotterets,† distant sixteen leagues from Paris, with indications that they were about to make some very mischievous commotion; but M. de Longueville, the Governor of Villers Cotterets, has sent to assure his Majesty that they are all common people and populace without any leader of importance or person of any name, and that for their greater safety they make their preachers perform their rites and preach in those woods without offending anyone, paying for what they take, and having been together for a day or two they return to their homes, and after three or four days according to their regulations they re-assemble. It is also said that the King of Navarre writes hither to the Court from Gascony that many noblemen of that province have sold their estates, and giving signs of some bad intention have joined together, but it is not known in what direction they have gone. To this must be added that at

* Michel de l'Hospital. (See Père Daniel, Vol. 10, p. 62.)

† Villers Cotterets, six leagues south-west of Soissons (see Maltebrun).

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Agen on the Loire a number of men had assembled to go and release by force (if unable to do so otherwise) an individual imprisoned on account of religion, but were anticipated by Messrs. de Lude and de Montluc, who in the King's name took possession of the place where the prisoner is, and routed the insurgents. All these disturbances greatly disquiet not only those whom they seem to concern more immediately than others, but everyone else who desires the tranquillity and union of France; and concerning this matter of religion his Majesty has determined to despatch M. d'Hum[ières] to Rome to inform the Pope better than his Holiness has known hitherto the need this kingdom has of a National Council, that he may cease his complaints.

On the day before yesterday the final decision was announced to the contractors for the great Lyons loan, the terms offered them being of three sorts, the best of which was that to the Germans, to whom the King offered to pay the capital and interest due to them, as promised by his late Majesty, for the last five fairs, within five years, namely, one instalment each year, and to the Italians, such as Lucchese, Florentines, Romans, Bolognese, and others, in eight years, without any interest either to these or those, the King retaining it in his own hands during the course of payment; so the Italians now here about this business are not only very dissatisfied, but almost in despair.

Chateaudun, 16th June 1560.

[*Italian.*]

June 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

172. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Since my last despatch the better news from Gerbes, that the disaster there was less serious than it had been at first reported, brought such comfort to this Court that they seem no longer to feel their loss, though as yet they only know for certain that the Duke of Medina is safe, that Gio. Andrea Doria has reached Sicily, and that some other galleys besides the 17, as also some ships, have likewise escaped, but without particulars, as the letters of the Duke of Medina have not arrived; and it is no longer said that the Count di Lodron will go to raise the German infantry.

To secure the realms of Spain against the fleet of Sultan Soliman the King Catholic was reminded in the time of Paul IV. to obtain permission from him to apply to that purpose the moneys of the "Cruzada," *which is an indulgence usually obtained every three years by the Kings of Spain from the Popes; and he has it proclaimed and preached throughout his realms, deriving from it annually some three hundred thousand crowns. But Paul IV. would never grant it, either from ill will to the King, or rather because the thing did not please him. It is possible that if expectations of profit or honour had been proposed to Paul IV., such as to give the Church annually a certain sum of money from the* "Cruzada," *and to call the fleet the fleet of the Roman Catholic Church, carrying its standard, the King might have obtained what he required, especially as Paul IV. sought the advantage and grandeur of the Apostolic See; but the Spanish*

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Ministry considered the late Pope so rude and intractable that they would not attempt this negotiation. Now that there is a more complaisant Pontiff, and perhaps a more friendly one, I understand, on very good authority, that by order of his Majesty the Count of Tendiglia has put the case before the Pope, who, evincing great satisfaction, answered that the King was to submit the proposal in writing, and not to speak about it to anyone. If the negotiation proceeds, a clause should be stipulated by his Holiness that the galleys paid with money derived from indulgences must not be employed against Christians.

By commission from the Pope, his Nuncio here informed King Philip that having heard of the proclamation by the French of the *National* Council, he knew that there was a necessity for publishing without delay a *General* Council, lest some greater schism should occur in the Church; so his Majesty was to take it in good part that the Pope had determined to publish the continuation of the Council of Trent. Immediately on receiving the reply of the King Catholic, who has not yet given it, Monsignor Canobio, the late Pope's agent at this Court, intends to depart express for Rome.

The English Ambassadors have received letters from their Queen of the 22nd ultimo, brought hither by a special courier from Antwerp, informing them that Commissioners with sufficient authority from one side and the other were to meet again on the frontiers of Scotland, to treat the agreement, which was not quite despaired of. In the meanwhile there was a suspension of hostilities, though Little Leith is still blockaded.

All the persons who came from France, in the Queen's service, have been dismissed, except her Majesty's preceptor, a physician, a dwarf, her secretary, those of the kitchen, and her stable grooms. The King has distributed fifteen thousand crowns amongst the persons discharged, besides paying their salaries, as desired by the Queen, who also gave them the horses and mules which she brought from France.

These domestics have been replaced by Spaniards, with whose service I understand the Queen and the ladies are much more satisfied; for the Frenchmen were very ill-dressed, dirty, careless, and disrespectful in their service; whereas the Spaniards make a very good appearance, both in apparel and cleanliness, and are so intent on their employment that they leave nothing to be wished for, and so respectful and obsequious, according to the national custom, that they seem to adore the ladies, rather than to wait on them.

Toledo, 17th June 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

173. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Yesterday afternoon the Cortes here came to their decision, which his Majesty approved, binding themselves to pay him in three years the ordinary and extraordinary "service," amounting to one million

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and two hundred thousand ducats; and on account of his marriage for the Queen's chopines (*per le chiapine della Reina*),* four hundred thousand ducats, within the same period. They then increased the rent of the tenths, which yield annually three hundred and twelve thousand ducats, for fifteen years, his Majesty not having chosen to grant it for a longer period, hoping on its expiration greatly to increase the rent. In conclusion, the Cortes agreed to vote him an additional 16,000 ducats for the salaries of officials. After Midsummer Day his Majesty is going to Segovia for his field-sports, and to enjoy the fresh breezes there.

Lord Montagu, one of the two English Ambassadors now here, departs tomorrow by leave from his Queen, and is extremely satisfied with the demonstrations made to him by the King, who not only complimented him verbally, and gave him a handsome present, but is sending one of his gentlemen to accompany him and provide for his wants as far as the seaside, where a ship is waiting to take him to England.

This nobleman favoured the Catholic party in England, nor did he ever consent to anything that was enacted against it; so as a well-disposed gentleman he is greatly loved and esteemed by all who know him here, and towards me he evinced many marks of goodwill in testimony of his gratitude for the courtesies which he says he received from your Serenity when passing through Venice on his way from Rome,† whither he had been with the Bishop of Ely [Thomas Thirlby] to render obedience to Pope Marcello II. in the name of the deceased Queen.

King Philip is about to despatch Don Juan Pacheco to Queen Elizabeth, to answer the justifications she endeavoured to make in disproof of her being guilty of the war; letting her discreetly know that she was not quite free from blame, exhorting her to make peace with France, and assuring her that the troops destined for Scotland were for her greater advantage. It is also said that Pacheco will drop a hint about religion, advising the union of the Church through the opportunity afforded by the future Council.

I send this by Monsignor Canobio, who is going with the King's reply about the Council; to the effect that the King had thus long delayed it, because he wished first of all to inform himself well about the affairs of France, and to have an opinion on them from several learned men of his own realms. He greatly commends this project of the Council General as pious and Christian, and a decree of his Holiness to proclaim and continue it at Trent would find immediate favour from his Majesty, who would even go in person to attend it, and also raise troops for its defence if necessary. But it is also essential for the Pope to persuade the Emperor and the King of France to be of his mind, that they together might seek the benefit of Christendom; his Majesty promising to perform an office in conformity with one and the other of them. In conclusion, in order to bring this holy work to a good result, the King advises his Holiness to make choice of Legates who lead good lives and who are learned.

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* Pin money.

† See Venetian Calendar, vol. vi., part 1, p. 177; date 2nd September, 1555.

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Three days ago a courier was sent to Milan to cancel the order previously given to raise troops, most especially to the captains, to whom the Count of Lodron had written that they were to go to Germany for that purpose.

Toledo, 18th June 1560.

[*Italian.*]

June 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

174. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the day of the Corpus Domini at Rouen an event occurred, which, as it has greatly increased the mental disquiet of the King and his Ministers about the matters of religion, will also disturb the mind of any other well disposed person having cognisance of it. On that day, when the procession passed through the city with the solemnities customary in all the other towns and places of the kingdom, it being accompanied, besides many other persons of respect, by M. de Villebon,* a knight of St. Michael, who on account of these disturbances about religion remains there in the King's name, this personage remarked that in front of a certain house before which the procession passed no tapestry nor any other decoration had been placed, like all the rest, which he resented; and having perhaps notice of some clandestine meeting held in that house by the Huguenots, he chose to verify the fact instantly. He therefore attempted to enter the house by force, but he met with such stout resistance on the part of its inmates that the procession was interrupted, and a very great tumult arose, both sides having recourse to arms. After much fighting, each party having several wounded, at length with the death of some of the defenders of the house and after very great toil the authorities quieted the uproar as well as they could.

Next morning upwards of two thousand persons appeared before the Royal Magistrates (*al Magistrato Regio*) not only very vehemently to demand justice and satisfaction for the death of those persons who had been killed, but to present also the "Confession" of what they believed and the mode in which they intended it should be allowed them to live, demanding that the said "Confession" should be sent to the King that it might be granted them by his Majesty, and protesting that if on that account his Ministers proceeded against any of them by arrest or capital punishment or other penalty, they without any respect would proceed against the said Ministers, in like manner imprisoning and putting to death an equal number of them. Yesterday the President and four Councillors of the Parliament of Rouen arrived at the Court, both to give relation of the case and also to present the said "Confession" and demand, about which I understand the Ministry know not what to decide and are extraordinarily disturbed, dreading very great difficulties in every quarter whether they find fault with the "Confession" or permit it; they being assured that the whole of Normandy is of the same

* For name and account of him, see Foreign Calendar, 1560–1561. Index, p. 626. At p. 82 in that volume, date Amboise, 26 May, 1560, Throckmorton wrote to Elizabeth, "Hears that Villebon is too weak for them of Rouen, and has been driven from thence."

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opinion as those who have declared themselves. I am also told that the Cardinal greatly complains of Villebon, accusing him of too much zeal and inquisitiveness in having thus caused such great turmoil, and that he ought rather to have dissembled and pretended not to see what did not please him, than to proceed to such extremities for the discovery of what was kept hidden, whereby he has done nothing but place all his Majesty's Ministers in danger and anxiety.

The King of Navarre writes that he has moved from Gascony to Guienne, to prevent, by his presence, many assemblies of evil nature, which he understood were being held secretly in several places of that province. Fresh commotions being thus heard of daily, and lest some sudden attack, like that of Amboise, be made on the King, who for his field sports does not go any distance from the villages and open places, as they are much nearer the woods than the walled cities, the Ministry, therefore, have provided that 300 men-at-arms with their archers are always to form the King's bodyguard and to accompany him wherever he goes, being quartered within two or three leagues of his lodging, which has been done for some time, but not in such numbers, notwithstanding the cost and very great inconvenience to which these men-at-arms are subjected, they being accustomed to remain, very much to their advantage, in their garrisons; and for this reason they have been ordered to make a muster general in arms on the tenth of next month.

The Cardinal of Lorraine also has determined to have himself followed and accompanied by ten brave and faithful men, who are to keep as close to his side as they can, each man with a loaded pistol under his cloak as much concealed as possible; the Duke de Guise when in the country and away from the Court having long done the like.

The despatch of M. de Mana to Rome was delayed till yesterday, the Cardinal of Lorraine choosing first of all to hear the statement of the late Nuncio's successor, the Bishop of Viterbo, who presented himself yesterday and complained mildly of the proclamation issued about the National Council, the Pope being very determined to hold a Council-General, and in such place as shall best please and suit the crowned heads (*i Principi*), nor will he allow any impediment to prevent him from attending it in person. He was answered that not only will his Majesty not impede so holy and necessary a determination on the part of his Holiness, but that he will aid it with all the power and authority he has with his fellow Sovereigns, so that immediately on its being put into effect, and when he sees the congregation of the Council-General at hand, and without impediment, he will at any rate desist from proclaiming the National Council, it never having been his intention to do anything further than to assemble the Prelates of the Kingdom with the other estates, as his Councillors, to take their opinion and counsel, together with the presence and intervention of a Legate Apostolic and Minister of his Holiness, and to apply some remedy for the present confusions and disorders, which do not admit of additional delay. The Cardinal of Lorraine apologised for himself by saying that it was neither by

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his order nor with his consent, but that the printers took the liberty to give to the "Congregation" which the King intends to convoke, according to the writing which his Majesty published, the name of "National Council." With this instruction M. de Mana has been sent to the Pope by the King, who with this opportunity writes also to his Ambassador resident with your Serenity to perform an especial office with you hereupon, although about this matter I am told on good authority that his Majesty, with all the favour shown by him to the congregation of the Council-General, will nevertheless not in the least intermit or delay assembling the National Council at the time appointed, if, from the impediments and disturbances that might arise, he should perceive that the Council-General is deferred. Here at present, in the meanwhile, a Royal Edict has been published, whereby the jurisdiction of legal processes relating to religion is completely taken away from the Courts of Parliament and from lay judges, who used to pass summary judgments, and is remitted to the ecclesiastical judge, which is interpreted as an assurance to accused persons that they need no longer fear the penalty of death, through the opportunity they will have of delaying sentences as long as they please, by means of appeals from the acts and sentences of Bishops to Archbishops, and from those at Rome to his Holiness in person.

Chartres, 21st June 1560.

[*Italian.*]

June 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

175. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Until to-day no advice has been received from England of the commencement of the conference, which had been postponed from the 5th to the 12th instant, but to-day my secretary brought word on his return from the Court, which is now residing in a palace five leagues hence, belonging to the Bishop of this city, that a courier had arrived from Scotland with news (which, although still kept very secret, my secretary nevertheless ascertained on the best authority) of the death of the Queen Regent (mother of the most Christian Queen), who died of flux in six days. As this event has delayed the conference, the Commissioners (*Deputati*) not yet having assembled, it may now be absolutely dissolved, owing to the death of the Queen Regent, to whom all power and authority had been remitted to make terms with the English and native Scots on such conditions and agreements as should please her, as fresh commissions and instructions must be despatched hence, and God knows whether the garrison of Little Leith can await the time required for proposals and replies, they being closely besieged. A Gascon ship got into Dunbar lately and returned in safety, having supplied the French with a small quantity of victuals, and about 16,000 francs, which were especially demanded by the most Christian King's officials from the great need they have of pecuniary supply, hoping to bribe the Scots to provide for their wants; but the sum was so small, and the provisions so few, that this succour was of very little use to them.

Your Serenity may imagine the regret of these Guise Lords, her Majesty's brothers, as also of the most Christian Queen, who loved

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her mother incredibly, and much more than daughters usually love their mothers. On publication of the news, which can by no means be kept secret, we shall hear to what sort of remedies and provisional measures his most Christian Majesty will have recourse for the preservation of Scotland, which by this catastrophe he is supposed to be in very great danger of losing entirely, although it was lately determined to send very considerable reinforcements, which they are intent on mustering, although very slowly, owing to the many difficulties and impediments about vessels and other requisites. The decision was for 600 men-at-arms with their archers, 300 mounted harquebusiers, and a great number of companies of infantry, besides the ten companies of veterans from Piedmont, who have already arrived, and are halting at a place on the Loire, near Orleans, until the rest of the forces are mustered, that they may be marched all together towards Normandy.

Since the news from Spain and Italy of the rout (*della rotta*) of the Spanish fleet, neither the Ambassador from Spain resident here,* nor Garcilasso de la Vega, who was sent here about English affairs, have as yet received any orders from Spain to ask the King of France for his galleys to succour those of Gerbes, nor do they expect any such commission, as his Catholic Majesty would hold their refusal in much more account, than any service which the grant of them would render him; whilst on this side, with the exception of general phrases of condolence, I do not understand that they have sent to make any further offer, signs being on the contrary hourly visible, indicating that the union between these two crowns slackens, instead of strengthening any longer, it having been heard lately with no little regret (although they dissemble it) that leave had been given to the officials and ministers who were sent hence to Spain with the [Spanish] Queen, and that they may all return with the exception of three or four who are to remain there from necessity, and although to those who return the King [Philip] gives a certain pecuniary recompense, it is nevertheless considered very little, and is held in small account here.

Chartres, 22nd June 1560.

[*Italian.*]

June 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

176. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

I have informed the King of your sorrow for the disaster at Gerbes, of which he said he was very certain, and thanking your Serenity kindly, he added his hope that ere long such arrangements would be made, that his friends and your Serenity would be content; though he could not sufficiently express his astonishment at not yet having been informed by the Duke of Medina Celi of the particulars of this event. I said that silence was to be interpreted as excellent news, for unless matters were in a better state than they had been at first reported, and if the Duke

* Thomas Perrenot de Granvelle. (See Foreign Calendar, 1559-1560, Index, p. 615.)

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or others had need of some fresh assistance from his Majesty, couriers would arrive daily.

His Majesty replied that he also explained it thus, but that he was nevertheless uneasy at not having received more certain and detailed intelligence, and he asked me if I had anything more from your Serenity. He then commenced asking about advices from Constantinople, but I have not yet received the summaries which your Serenity sent me. The Queen and the whole Court remain here; the only councillors who went with his Majesty being the Count de Feria, who arrived from Flanders four days previously, Don Antonio de Toledo, and the Duke of Alva. Don Juan Manrique has also gone home during this interval; Don Ruy Gomez remaining here much harassed by his quartan ague. *Having but two councillors with him, it is incredible that during this journey the King should form any important resolve, although he is followed by the Duke of Sessa; but* the King has ordered the council of justice here to treat the affairs of Milan.

Augustin Doria, who was sent hither by Prince Andrea [Doria], has already departed, having merely negotiated the Prince's private affairs, urging the payment to him of his arrears, that the lost galleys may be replaced.

The French Ambassador tells me that by order of his King he has offered his Catholic Majesty the galleys at Marseilles, and everything else in the power of that kingdom, for the defence of his realms, including troops.

Yesterday, on the square of this city, the King and Queen being present, there was a bull bait; and a number of cavaliers appeared in sumptuous liveries and performed the cane game, the entertainment succeeding very well.

This Court regretted to hear that the Pope purposed sending the Abbot of S. Saluto to the Queen of England, as the said Abbot is suspected of bearing ill will to the Spanish party, who a year and a half ago arrested him in Flanders, where he was accused of being a French spy; so the Pope has been requested to change his representative, as he is expected to do, to oblige the King Catholic, who more than anyone else can favour his Holiness's design.

King Philip has sent Don Alonso Osorio to pay a complimentary visit (*per officio di visitatione*) to the Duke of Savoy. This Duke, along the sea shore of Nice and Villa Franca, a territory possessed by him, which is of very little extent, intends to impose a duty of two per cent. on all ships passing those waters. He tried to obtain a license from the present Pope to exact the duty, but the Genoese, whom it would chiefly affect, so contrived to influence the Pope that he turned a deaf ear to his request; whereupon the Duke, knowing that he could not succeed in that quarter, gives it to be understood that the papal license was little needed, and that he of his own authority will impose this duty; so the Genoese have had recourse to this Court, and made their Ambassador request the King to cause the Duke to desist from this project, as it might cause some inconvenience.

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The King and the Duke of Alva, to whom his Majesty referred the matter, evinced suprise that the Duke of Savoy should choose to make this innovation, and promised to remonstrate with him about it.

Toledo, 25th June 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

177. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I wrote to your Serenity about this King's project to have 100 galleys constantly ready to put to sea; and I am assured on good authority that not only has his Majesty firmly determined to have the galleys, but to amass as much money as possible, most especially from the clergy and ecclesiastical property (*et cose ecclesiastiche*), to make an expedition against the infidels. *Talking on this subject with the Nuncio his Majesty said that he would still make the Turks repent them of the trick they have played him. His Majesty, finding the Pope* [*Pius IV.*] *compliant, does not fail trying to obtain all possible favours from him with a view to accumulate money.* He obtained the "*Cruzada*" for three years, yielding 900,000 crowns, but as during the vacancy of the See Apostolic, he had obtained another bull of indulgence, a difficulty arose as to whether the bull could any longer be published; but the Pope at length conceded its publication, everything being already prepared to that effect. It is now being preached, and will yield some 150,000 crowns, without diminishing the proceeds of the "*Cruzada*," which will not be proclaimed till near Christmas. Besides this the Pope has promised King Philip a subsidy from the Spanish clergy, as conceded heretofore by Julius III., amounting to the fourth part of their revenue, payable in three years; but a composition was made with the clergy for a smaller sum, so that they did not pay one-twentieth part, the Crown not receiving more than some 550,000 ducats. His Majesty wishes to obtain from the Pope that this fourth should be according to its real value, which would exceed two millions of gold, but this may be the subject of compromise.

Toledo, 28th June 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

178. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day before yesterday there arrived at the Court from England a French gentleman, by name M. de Bueil,* and also the

* Sir Nicholas Throckmorton wrote to Queen Elizabeth that M. de Bueil was the bastard son of the Count Sansar, and Lieutenant to the Duc de Longueville, and that he arrived at the Court of France from Scotland on the 27th, and on the 29th June 1560 was ordered back to the Commissioners at Edinburgh. (See Foreign Calendar, 1560–1561, p. 150, entry No. 254 (2), date Houdan, 30th June 1560.)

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Secretary of the Ambassador resident here [Sir Nicholas Throckmorton]. The Queen sent back the Secretary* to the Ambassador, and M. de Bueil was despatched by the French Commissioners at the Conference in Scotland to give account of what had taken place down to the 19th. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton told my Secretary, showing him confidentially his Queen's letters of the 23rd instant, that the Conference had been postponed from the 13th to the 17th, both on account of the serious indisposition of the Queen Regent and her subsequent demise, and also owing to a dispute between the Commissioners about three of the persons named by the King of France to take part in the Conference, viz., the Bishop of Amiens, [Nicole de Pellève], M. d' Oysel [Henri Cleutel], and M. de la Brosse, who being in Little Leith, the English would not consent to their going out of it, and returning thither after the Conference, as should the agreement not take place they would be enabled to give their countrymen information concerning the condition of that place, and its requirements, and to hear also of the measures and preparations which are being made here to succour them. At length it was agreed that of the French Commissioners two were to remain in Little Leith, the only one to go out of it being the Bishop of Amiens, who was to consider himself in the same condition as the besieged in case of the loss of that place. Thus, whereas the Commissioners were to have been five on each side, they were reduced to three. It was also agreed that the Scottish Commissioners were to treat with the French apart from the English, and that during the six days of the Conference a general truce and suspension of hostilities were to be proclaimed, but that during such period the persons in Little Leith might neither receive victuals and arms nor any other sort of provision or succour, nor on the other hand might the besiegers without move their trenches to advance nearer nor widen them, nor do anything else, and that everything was to remain in its present state.

On the 17th June, therefore, the Commissioners assembled at Edinburgh, and after all parties had exhibited their powers, they commenced negotiating, first of all the English apart from the Scots, demanding satisfaction from the French Commissioners on the part of their Queen for the use of the title and arms of England by the most Christian Queen and her consort, greatly exaggerating this injury and offence. The French said much in excuse for this fact, alleging many examples and showing that other Princes likewise, and the Emperor in particular, had attributed to themselves the title and the arms of States which they did not possess, and continued so to do, yet remained in peace and friendship with those who were the real possessors of them. Nevertheless the English Commissioners replied, and subsequently in the written answer given by them they inserted [a clause], that the most Christian King and the Queen, his consort, to remove any suspicion from the said Queen of England, should henceforth abstain from using the said title in any letter, writing-patent, or public act, and in

* This Secretary was Mr. Jones. (See Foreign Calendar as above, entry No. 255, p. 157.)

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like manner the arms, causing the seal to be broken, and should within four months remove all those that have been carved or painted either on walls or on wood, or [worked] in tapestries or any other material whatever, as otherwise all that was written and published with the said title was to be held null and void, and not to be in any way valid. On that day nothing was else treated.

On the morrow, the 18th, the Scottish Commissioners, having assembled apart from the English, also stated their grievances, to the effect that the redress required by them was that, conformably to the oath and obligation of their Queen, and of the most Christian King her husband, they (the Scotch) should be restored to and maintained in the usages, constitutions, and laws of their Kingdom, which had been altered and violated by the French Ministers, not only with regard to the affairs of justice and of the government, but also with regard to the custody of the Scottish fortresses, from all which charges the Scottish Ministers and officials had gradually been removed and had been replaced by Frenchmen; the chief of those dismissed from the judicature being the Lord Chancellor and the Secretaries, and also many other officials, who, under pretence of religion and otherwise, had been put to death, first one and then another, by the French, for the gratification of their wishes, they having taken the course of oppressing everybody, and of changing the entire government; and by the introduction of so many soldiers into Little Leith they could easily make themselves masters of all the rest, and expel the Scots thence, depriving them completely of the liberties of the Kingdom, to their utter ruin.

The Scotch Commissioners moreover demanded permission to live according to the religion accepted by them, and which they believed to be the best.

To these proposals, after much discourse, and when they had been put in writing, the French Commissioners replied also in writing, that the most Christian King and Queen would for this once use that indulgence which parents are wont to show towards their children, with the hope that by forgiving their subjects the present injuries and offences, the latter would know and acknowledge their error, and having repented would come to confess it spontaneously, asking pardon and humbling themselves before their Lords and Sovereigns, and disposing themselves to be their loyal subjects and vassals as long as they lived. The Commissioners promised in the names of their Majesties that all the soldiers and armed forces in Little Leith, which would be completely razed, should be immediately withdrawn, no other garrisons remaining in Scotland, except a small one at Dunbar on the English frontier, and another at Inchkeith for its security, but consisting of so few men that they would alarm no one. And that the satisfaction the Scots demanded about the officials and Ministers of the Courts of Law and of the Government would be given them by re-appointing part of the Scots and part of the French, but such and so few of the latter that they would be acknowledged and approved by the native Scots. The clause about replacing French Ministers was, nevertheless, not put into writing, but was agreed to by word of mouth. As to the matter of religion, the Commissioners replied that the Council

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General being on the eve of assembling, the decision would be referred to that Assembly, during which interval their Majesties conceded to the Scots an "interim," thus—that in the meanwhile, without any penalty or censure, they might worship in their own manner.

After the resolution of these principal heads (*capi*), part belonging to the English, and part to the Scots, the French Commissioners thought that nothing else remained for proposal, and that the agreement was, as it were, already concluded and settled, when on the morrow, the 19th, contrary to all their expectations and opinions, the English Commissioners advanced fresh proposals, demanding in the name of their Queen amends for her honour and its entire reparation, of which they said she had been robbed by the King and Queen of France, who had usurped her title and her arms, proclaimed and declared her a bastard, and bereaved her also of her honour and repute, not only with other sovereigns, but with her own subjects likewise; they therefore demanded as damages and compensation 500,000 crowns, and the restitution of Calais.

The French Commissioners, astonished beyond measure, said they had neither authority nor commission to answer this matter, and that they must write to France and await their Majesties' reply; and as the French chose the proposal to be put into writing, it was thus done by the English Commissioners, but the latter added in the writing that with regard to these damages and compensation their Queen would be content to abide by the decision of the King Catholic. Thereupon both sides adjourned the Conference until the receipt of a reply from France. M. de Bueil does not expect to arrive before the surrender of Little Leith, the garrison being reduced to extremities, as for many days, notwithstanding their expulsion of all useless mouths, they had nothing to eat and drink but a very little bread and water; and on the 23rd, the day of his departure from England, when the truce expired, he thought they would be still more closely blockaded by the English forces (the English Ambassador also saying that the Duke of Norfolk was to march in that direction with 7,000 infantry), so that they could no longer hold out.

Throckmorton also told my Secretary, what your Serenity will have already heard, that the Queen having discovered a great conspiracy formed against her by the Catholics, whom they call Papists, she had imprisoned upwards of twenty of the ringleaders; and that having heard of the despatch to her from Rome of the Abbot of San Saluto, and of his arrival in Flanders, she did not choose him to cross until he first sent to show her his instructions, as if the Pope sent to pray her to assist at the Council she would willingly give him audience, having already determined, should the Council be free and universal, to send thither all her bishops and submit to it; but if the said Abbot had been sent to England for other purposes, namely at the suggestion and in favour of the Papists in England, she did not choose that he should cross, looking upon him as a scandalous person who willingly intermeddled in negotiations, and under this pretence of treating about religion, might perhaps intermeddle in other matters, which would not please her.

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The death of the Queen Regent of Scotland, her mother, was concealed from the most Christian Queen till the day before yesterday, when it was at length told her by the Cardinal of Lorraine; for which her Majesty showed and still shows such signs of grief, that during the greater part of yesterday she passed from one agony to another.

The Queen Regent died in Edinburgh Castle, which is held by the Kingdom of Scotland, she having retired thither after the war broke out, being admitted by the warder, but only with her maids of honour and three or four of her most necessary servants, to avoid the peril and indignity of remaining besieged with the rest of the French in Little Leith. She recommended the execution of her will, with regard to her property in France, to the Duchess of Guise, her mother, who is still alive and very strong, she being sister to the father of the present King of Navarre; and what the Queen Regent possessed in Scotland by right of dowry, she bequeathed to certain Scottish Lords, her servants, who have long served her faithfully and lovingly, nor did they ever desert her. Queen Elizabeth has conceded to the Queen Regent's women a passport through England that they may return hither to France.

The President and Councillors of Rouen are still at the Court, awaiting the decision of the Ministry about the recent religious commotion which occurred lately at Rouen, as in my despatch of the 22nd, nor do the Ministers yet know what to determine, being perplexed and troubled, as at every hour they hear of fresh disturbances throughout Gascony, where things are brought to such a pass that the Protestants not only preach there, but freely exercise all other rites, the few Catholics in the territory being so much alarmed, that from fear the priests no longer dare to celebrate the Mass.

Owing to the convenience afforded him by these woods, his most Christian Majesty continues to live in the neighbouring villages, five or six leagues hence, (not choosing to be at Fontainebleau till the 12th July, together with the two Queens, his mother and his consort); but he will attend the anniversary funeral service of the late King on the 10th July, which they purpose solemnizing separately in two monasteries, those nearest to the place where their Majesties now are, the Queen in one, and his Majesty in another.

The police in Paris, when pursuing a murderer, entered a house at a venture, into which they thought the culprit had made his escape where they found and arrested the man who printed and placarded over the walls of Paris the writings against the Guise family and the Cardinal; they found there also the printed copies and a great number of the said writings.

Chartres, 30th June 1560.

[*Italian.*]

July 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

179. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Several persons have arrived on a mission from the Viceroy of Sicily, and from others, not so much to give account of what took

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place, as to justify themselves, each endeavouring to prove that the blame of the disaster was not his. Gio. Andrea Doria wrote distinctly attributing it to the Viceroy of Sicily [the Duke of Medina Celi], who did not allow him to depart with the galleys when he wished. *But no confirmation has been received of the good news from Italy, to the effect that all the ships had been saved and many other galleys, besides the first seventeen; and the only comfort is the hope that the fortress erected at Gerbes may hold out through the valour displayed by its defenders; but it is incredible that the King will form any fresh and important decision without the opinion of the Duke of Alva, to whose authority and knowledge he defers more than to those of any one else.*

The Duke of Sessa has been again lately to see his mother-in-law, and will now go to the King, who has told him to prepare his writings and affairs, as on his return his Majesty will attend to the matter.

The news from Rome of the imprisonment of the Caraffas has caused more satisfaction than surprise here, as besides such ill will being borne them that no one takes their part, it seems that the King will be relieved from the obligation, which greatly distressed him, to benefit and give a pension to an individual who had done him small service.*

The conclusion of the marriage of the sister of the Duke of Montalto to the German Emps† is disapproved of here, as it seems a novelty requiring restriction, that the chief feudatories of the Kingdom of Naples should form any marriage without first asking the opinion and consent (volontà) *of the King; this being the second instance, as Don Cesare Gonzaga also married without awaiting the reply of his Majesty, whose father the Emperor showed himself very severe against those who took this liberty.*

The Aragonese have urged his Majesty to visit their kingdom, and he answered them that he greatly wished it, and would go thither as soon as the illness of his son [Don Carlos] permitted.

King Philip is compelled by important causes to go to Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, both because for many years he has had no subsidy from those kingdoms, which will never give anything to their sovereign unless he is there himself to hold the Cortes, in order that they, on the other hand, may obtain some compensation from him; as also because until now his Majesty has not been sworn King, nor his son Prince, in those realms, which act it is now intended to perform jointly; *but the son has had a very severe quartan ague, and is so weak and reduced that it would be dangerous for him to travel.*

Toledo, 9th July 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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* The imprisonment of the nephews of Paul IV. took place on the 13th June 1560; they were executed on the 4th March 1561. (See Pallavicino, "*Istoria del Concilio di Trento*," Vol. 3, p. 412, foot note (c), p. 414 foot note (a), edition Faenza, 1793.)

† "Nel Emps Todesco" (*sic*); to the German Altemps? The family name of the Counts of Altemps, Barons of Hohenembs, was Sitico. (See Cardella, Vol. 5, p. 40 *seq.*)

1560. July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

180. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Last night the English Ambassador [Sir Nicholas Throckmorton] received an express from his Queen announcing the conclusion of the agreement between the French Commissioners, her said Majesty and the Kingdom of Scotland, almost in conformity with the particulars written by me heretofore, as your Serenity will learn by the accompanying chief articles communicated to my Secretary by Throckmorton himself, who sent them off immediately to the Court of his most Christian Majesty. The King and the Cardinal of Lorraine, with a very few attendants, are on their way to Fontainebleau, after having been in Paris for five or six days with all the Princes and nearly all the officials; but the Queen Mother went to a place of hers called Monceaux, and the Duke de Guise to his county of Nanteuil.

This news will appear so much the less strange as it was foreseen and expected. It was heard shortly before that Monsieur de Martigues, the colonel of the infantry, had been killed by two harquebuse shots; he was a person of very noble lineage, of the house of Luxemburg, and greatly favoured by these Lords of the Guise family, for young as he was he conducted himself admirably;* but the English Ambassador knows nothing about it.

Paris, 15th July 1560.

[*Italian.*]

[Articles of Agreement between Scotland and France]; enclosed in foregoing Despatch.†

That all the soldiers now in Little Leith (*Pettilit*) on publication of the agreement, will immediately evacuate it, and the Queen of England will allow the personages of superior grade and consideration to pass through her Kingdom that they may proceed to France, and she will provide all others with ships for their voyage thither by sea, the French Commissioners giving hostages for the restitution of the ships lent to them in their primary condition.

That Little Leith shall be immediately dismantled and reduced to such condition as in the opinion of commanders, to be appointed for this purpose by the English Commissioners, will render its fortification impossible for the future.

That Dunbar and Inchkeith shall remain in their present state; each of those fortresses to be garrisoned by only 60 French soldiers with their Captains, but who are to be paid and mustered by the Scottish Ministry (*dalli ministri Scocesi*).

That all the fortresses and castles which have been commenced in the Kingdom of Scotland shall be levelled at the same time and with the same conditions as Little Leith.

That the Government of the Kingdom of Scotland shall henceforth be constituted as follows:—

* In Foreign Calendar, date June 28, 1560, p. 149, it is seen that M. de Martigues died in Leith on the 28th June 1560.

† Compare with the first enclosure in Tiepolo's despatch of 5th Sept. 1560.

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That of the three Estates of the kingdom, clergy, lords, and commons, there shall now be elected twenty-four native Scots, who will then elect twelve others, of whom the most Christian King and Queen to name seven most to their liking, the Estates nominating the other five. These twelve are to rule the kingdom for life, and as they die off their successors to be elected in the same way; all these persons together having royal authority and absolute power in the Government.

That the Scots shall be permitted to live in their own fashion about religion without any hindrance.

That all the rebels who from the year 1558 until the present time have renounced their allegiance to the most Christian King and Queen, shall have their estates, offices, and profits restored to them, and shall be received as their Majesties' good vassals.

That for the future the said most Christian King and Queen shall no longer use the title of King of England, either in letters or writings, or in public acts, and such instruments and public acts as have been passed hitherto shall be repealed within the term of four months, or otherwise they shall be taken (*s'intenderanno*) as inoperative. The like to be done in all places where the arms of England have been painted or engraved, as quartered with those of their said Majesties, and for the future they are never to be used again in any place, nor on any occasion.

That the treaty of agreement shall be signed by the most Christian King and Queen, by the Queen of England, and by the Parliament of Scotland. And should their most Christian Majesties fail in performing the contents of the treaty relating to the Scots, the said Queen of England may in that case undertake their protection, to enforce the observance of what was granted. (*Et mancando esse MM^ta^ Christ^me^ al contenuto di essa appartenente a Scocesi, potrà in questo caso la detta Regina d'Inghilterra prender la protection loro, per far che sia osservato ciò che fusse stato accordato.*)

EXTRACT of the SUMMARY of the principal ARTICLES agreed to between the Commissioners of Her Majesty the Queen of England and those of France and Scotland on the 6th July 1560; also enclosed in the foregoing despatch.

First of all, the King and Queen of France will not only abandon the style, title, and arms of England and Ireland within the precise period expressed in the treaty, but will bind themselves never again to use them for the future, and no longer to bear the said title and arms; and they will in like manner prohibit their subjects from using the said title in all their realms and signories in any way whatever; they on their part making every possible prohibition against placing or quartering in any manner the arms of England with those of France or of Scotland.

All letters patent or other writings and instruments executed hitherto, in which mention is made of the said title, or to which any seal is affixed furnished with the said arms, are to be renewed without inserting in them the title or arms of England or Ireland; and all documents or instruments containing the said title or sealed with the said arms, unless renewed within the term of six months

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after the publication of the present treaty, will be annulled and of no value.

The Kingdom of Scotland to be governed by a Council of twelve noblemen of the country, to be chosen from twenty-four, who are in the first place to be elected and nominated by the Parliament of the three Estates of that kingdom; and of these twelve the Queen of Scotland is to name seven, and the Lords of the Parliament to elect the five others.

All matters transacted since March 1558 to be considered null and consigned to oblivion, the Parliament giving a general pardon and assurance that every one in Scotland shall be restored to his office.

No Frenchman to hold any office in Scotland.

Only one hundred and twenty French soldiers to remain in Scotland, viz., sixty in Dunbar and as many more in Inchkeith (*nell' Isola di Cavalli*), who are to make their musters every month, and to be paid by the Council of the Kingdom, having their due (*dretto*) according to the laws of Scotland.

No ammunition or provisions to be taken to Scotland, except once in every six months; these supplies being solely for the two fortresses and for the said number of 120 soldiers.

No foreign vessel with troops for the future to be brought to Scotland without the consent and will of the Scots.

Little Leith to be demolished (*sarà rovinato*) in the sight and presence of the Commissioners of the Queen of England, and reduced to such a state as they shall think fit.

Nothing was said about the affairs of the religion in Scotland, but everything was allowed to pass in silence without any dispute.

The league between her Majesty the Queen and the nobility of Scotland passed in like manner without being amended.

And finally, in the said treaty between the said Queen of England and the King and Queen of France, their French Majesties are bound to the Queen of England for the fulfilment and observance of the aforesaid conventions relating to the subjects and kingdom of Scotland.

[*Italian.*]

July 18. Archiv. dell' Avogaria di Comun (Frari).

181. [Death of Alvise Priuli.]

The most noble Messer Alvise Priuli has been brought dead from Padua to San Severo.*

[*Italian.*]

[July 18.] Raccolta Cicogna, No. 2892. Correr Museum.

182. Extract from the Genealogy of the Priuli Family.

Alvise Priuli, Bishop, was born in the year 1497. He took priest's orders in 1526, under the protection of Cardinal Pisani, brother-in-law of Antonio Priuli, his brother. He was a prelate of much learning, and acquired the Greek, Chaldean, and Latin languages, for which he was much esteemed at Court. In 1528 he

* *i.e.*, to the parish church there, which no longer exists. The Priuli palace at San Severo is described by Ruskin (Stones of Venice II. 264).

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went as Ambassador to England with Cardinal Pole, with whom he was most intimate, and whom he followed in all his (the Cardinal's) journeys and nunciatures for thirty years continuously, in Germany, in France, at the Council of Trent, and in England. In his absence he was designated Bishop of Brescia; and on his return he was elected Bishop of Verona, but he died on the 28th (*sic*) of July before he obtained the investiture.

When he was nominated by the Republic to the bishopric of Brescia, he was "elected" by Pope Julius [III.] as successor to Cardinal Durante. Although he was in England at the time with Cardinal Pole, he accepted the charge against his will, so as not to abandon it. By Cardinal Pole, who died in 1558, he was appointed sole heir to all his (the Cardinal's) possessions, but he refused the whole, and would accept only the breviary and journal [of the Cardinal].

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Delib. Senato (Secreta), v. 72, p. 19.

183. The Signory of Venice to [Mary Stuart,] Queen of France.

A letter of condolence on the death of the Queen, her mother, which has caused them much grief, owing to the singular virtues, goodness, and religion, for which she was remarkable.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Ibid.

184. The Same to the Cardinal of Lorraine.

A similar letter.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Ibid.

185. The Same to their Ambassador in France.

Commission to perform suitable offices of condolence on the same occasion with the King, the Queen, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the other Lords of the Guise family.

[*Italian.*]

July 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

186. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The news of the agreement with England and Scotland was confirmed by Monsieur de Lignerolles, he having been despatched from the Conference by the French Commissioners and arrived at the Court three days after the first advice received by the Ambassador of the Queen of England, who told me that the person sent by him to announce this intelligence to the Cardinal of Lorraine, saw that his Right Rev. Lordship remained not only greatly surprised, but astounded, as by an event which had happened contrary to his expectation. The Cardinal inquired whether M. de Bueil, who was sent off on the 1st instant with the ultimatum had yet arrived, but when he saw Throckmorton's Articles of the Agreement signed on the 6th July he perceived that by that day de Bueil could scarcely have arrived in London, still less at the site of the conference in the heart of Scotland; so his regret was yet greater, but he said

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nothing further. Nothing else been heard from England, but Queen Elizabeth cannot delay sending to have the agreement signed, notwithstanding which she has taken into her service the Duke of Holstein, the brother of the King of Denmark, with considerable pay, honouring him also with the Order of the Garter. She has also pensioned one of the Dukes of Lunenburg, and was daily expecting John, King designate of Sweden, who was going with upwards of 400 horsemen to England, to make himself known to the Queen, and, with regard to his marriage with her, to see whether he could manage his affairs better in person than through his brother the Duke of Finland, who remained so long a time in England last year; about which marriage, Throckmorton says, she will now make up her mind.

It is also heard that the said Queen, anticipating some revolution about the affairs of the religion, has caused to be arrested and put in the Tower the principal Bishops who were "deprived" by her for being Catholics, namely the Archbishop of York, who was Lord Chancellor [Nicholas Heath], the Bishop of Ely [Thomas Thirlby], the Bishop of Winchester [John Whyte], the Bishop of Worcester [Richard Pate], the late Abbot of Westminster [John Feckenham], a most exemplary person, and Dr. [John] Boxall, also a Churchman and Chief Secretary of State to the late Queen Mary.

Although the most Christian King went to Fontainbleau he nevertheless visited the Queen Mother subsequently at Monceaux; the Duke de Guise also going to his county of Nanteuil, and the greater part of the Lords and officials of the Court going here and there, many also coming to this town (*terra*); so no business was transacted at the Court, nor did anyone go thither.

The muster-general of the men-at-arms commenced on the 20th in their garrisons, and is continued daily; they have been paid, but under heavy penalties are forbidden to quit their quarters during the whole of the month of August; and besides the eight companies who since these disturbances usually follow his Majesty and lodge in the places nearest to the Court, they have now added two hundred horse harquebusiers, and have issued an order about carrying pistols.

The suspicion, not to say the fear, of these chief Ministers about many malcontents and seditious characters, who evince their evil disposition more and more hourly, continues. A few days ago the Government hanged and then quartered the printer of the anonymous placards posted on the walls of this city (*città*); but it chanced that the said printer having revealed the name of some of the authors and composers of the said writings, one of them, having been found and arrested, whilst being taken from one prison to another, was rescued in one of the principal thoroughfares of Paris, and neither then nor since have the assailants ever been recognised.

During the last week and this present one the Constable being in Paris was much visited and honoured by everybody, especially by many of the noblemen of the Court, and whenever he went out he was accompanied by two hundred gentlemen on horseback with the same amount of followers as he used to have formerly. He has not chosen to refer the lawsuit about the County of Dammartin, pending

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between him and the Duke de Guise, who was content that certain judges should compromise the matter, whereas the Constable chooses the Parliament to continue judging it.

Paris, 22nd July 1560.

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

187. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador from Lucca informs me that the Duke of Florence is negotiating his nomination as King.

Since the election of the present Pope, much more is said about this negotiation of the Duke of Florence than previously, for according to report it continues; the French Ambassador* having more than once assured me that he knew the matter was being treated not only with the Pope, but also with the Emperor; and at this Court I hear that there are various opinions, for whilst the Duke of Alva is the close and affectionate kinsman of the said Duke, greatly desiring the title of King for him, and favouring the negotiation, and also hoping by these means to advance his own fortune; Don Ruy Gomez on the contrary thinks that nothing could be more prejudicial to King Philip than to have another King in Italy, most especially an Italian, so great, so wealthy, and so fortunate as Cosmo de' Medici. All these difficulties being very well known to the Duke of Florence, he thinks to remove them by marrying the Prince his son† to the Princess [of Portugal, Joanna of Austria], sister of the King Catholic. *I wrote heretofore that the Princess was very averse to the marriage, as she considered it too degrading, this opinion being confirmed by the Kingdom of Portugal, who sent to pray her to have regard for her dignity, and that of the King of Portugal her son; but the Duke of Florence, who for the accomplishment of his designs omits no device, found means to make her change her mind according to his will; and certain leading ladies who are constantly with the Princess, and the Duke of Alva likewise, who frequently visits her, when the opportunity offers, do what they can to aid the matter. Moreover the Papal Nuncio, when visiting her occasionally, always endeavours to talk to her about the affairs of Italy, commending that country, its cities, and customs, and above all to extol and exalt the City of Florence, the state and the political position of the Duke. Thus it is that the Princess, having apparently abandoned her first harshness, disposes herself towards what is desired; and I know that when I was talking to her Highness about the coming to this Court of the Prince of Florence, on my saying that after his father he would have a revenue of a million of crowns, she rejoined, as if interested in the matter, that it was much more. In fact, she being handsome and a Spaniard, and always reared with every luxury, it may be reasonably credited that she longs for a husband; nor were she perchance to search all Christendom could she find a richer or greater one than the Prince of Florence, as the Prince of Spain*

* Sebastien de l'Aubespine, Bishop of Limoges.

† Francesco Maria de' Medici, Cosmo's eldest son, in the year 1565 married Joanna of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I.

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[*Don Carlos*], *on whom she had already laid the basis of her whole design, owing to his indisposition, has not only failed to grow tall, as was hoped, but has also become so weak and feeble that for many years he will not be marriageable. Many persons therefore infer that this matrimonial alliance will take place as being so dignified, and that the King Catholic will not only not prevent, but rather afford every sort of favour to the Duke that he may obtain the title of King.*

Toledo, 28th July 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

188. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Since the audience which the Nuncio had yesterday of the most Christian King, he has been in lengthy conference with the Right Reverend of Lorraine about the affairs of the religion. The Cardinal told him that his Majesty and his Ministers were so troubled and perplexed on this account that they knew not which way to turn for the formation of some good resolve, as not only was he advised by the Bishop of Agen that all the inhabitants of that city, in a state of furious insurrection, went to the churches, destroyed all the images and maltreated certain priests, but he, the Cardinal, through certain written papers which were dropped before the Queen Mother whilst she was at supper, had understood that unless she speedily released certain preachers imprisoned at Troyes, she would become the most unhappy Princess living. But what matters and presses more is, that his Majesty has been informed through several channels that a very great number of these persons who are disaffected in religious matters have secretly settled to bring to pass in a few days a design against the King and his Ministers of worse quality than the recent Amboise conspiracy. The Cardinal uttered these words most mournfully, showing that the grief of the King and his Ministers is so much the greater, as this tremendous calamity has advanced so far that no remedy can any longer be expected from human prudence or counsel, but only from the hand of God. The Nuncio then told me that he informed the Cardinal confidentially of a paragraph in a letter, written from Flanders by the Abbot of San Saluto [Vincenzo Parpaglia], to the effect that many of the chief personages of the United Provinces asserted publicly that the enmity between the Guise Lords and the House of Montmorency had become so open and proceeded so far, owing to the dispute about Dammartin, that it was expected they would take up arms, which in the United Provinces they supposed to be of very great consequence. The Cardinal, having read the paragraph, after remaining in great suspense, said that the Houses of Guise and Montmorency had so fair-minded a Sovereign that he would soon make his Ministers of Justice ascertain on which side the wrong was, so that by these means, and not by force of arms, their differences would be terminated.

Melun,* 30th July 1560.

[*Italian.*]

* Whilst the French Court was at Fontainebleau, the Venetian Ambassador generally lodged at Melun.

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Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

189. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Princes and Lords of the Kingdom, all the Governors of the Provinces, and all persons entitled to a seat in the Privy Council, have been summoned to attend on the 20th instant for the discussion of many matters. The summons was served on all of them by letter, with the exception of the King of Navarre and the Constable, to each of whom his Majesty sent a gentleman; and the Cardinal of Lorraine is intent on composing a long discourse not only to give an account of his administration in confutation of the current reports of his adjusting matters in his own way, but also to prove that the troubled state of the kingdom with regard to religion, justice, and policy, and above all the great debts of the Crown, are owing to past misrule, so as to justify and exonerate himself at the expense of those in power at that time. It is also said that remedies will be proposed, and that with the intervention and in the presence of so many great personages, his Majesty will establish and confirm the present government, so that no one may any longer dare to say that it has been usurped. The King of Navarre is expected with his two brothers, the Cardinal of Bourbon and the Prince of Condé, who are all together; so the Guises have desired the Marshal of St. André [Jacques d'Albon], now at his castles in Gascony, who is very much in their confidence, to ascertain and give precise notice of the number and quality of their retinue, that the Guises may be prepared to receive and meet them in like manner, as also to show that the followers of the House of Guise are not fewer than theirs.

During the last three days the gates of Paris have been closed, no one being allowed exit or entrance except by the wickets; while the public officials with a strong guard inspected all dwellings, at all hours of the night, taking note of the inmates and insisting upon seeing them one by one; and if they found harquebuses, spears, or pikes, they seized them, prohibiting any but gentlemen or persons of some account to carry a sword. They also imprisoned a large number of persons found in the taverns, retail wine shops, and brothels, and hanged some of them as vagabonds and ill-disposed. This search was made to find Maligni, one of the chiefs of the Amboise conspiracy, and who is suspected to have returned with more plots and designs than ever.

Melun, 8th August 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

190. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

We Ambassadors have only just returned from Paris, whither we went by the King's orders to attend the obsequies on the 12th and 13th, in the Church of Notre Dame, of the Queen Regent of Scotland. Several personages [named] attended on behalf of the King and Queen [Mary Stuart].

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The Ambassadors of Spain, England, and Florence were not present, the two latter owing to questions of precedence between them and the Ambassadors of Ferrara and Portugal.

The Constable Montmorency arrived at the Court to-day, and made his appearance with a numerous and honourable company, having with him his nephews the Cardinal Chatillon, the Admiral, and M. d' Andelot, his brother-in-law the Count de Villars, all his sons, sons-in-law, friends, dependants, and his servants, exceeding 600 horsemen in number. Immediately on arriving, and in his riding gear, he went to pay his respects to the Queen Mother, the King having gone out hunting. Her Majesty received him very graciously, and the whole Court in like manner evinced great satisfaction for the coming of his Excellency, no person of any condition soever failing to go immediately to pay him their respects. M. d'Aumale [Claude de Lorraine] also arrived, and to-morrow the Marshal de St. André is expected. Yesterday one of the chief gentlemen of the King of Navarre arrived at the Court to inform his Majesty that he could not be here at the time appointed him, as he was so far away; so they immediately despatched M. de Carrouges to the said King to tell him to make the journey as speedily as possible. In the meanwhile the intimation made to all the members of the Privy Council to be at the Court on the 20th instant has been prolonged till the end of the month.

On the day before yesterday the English Ambassador, by order of his Queen, went to tell the Cardinal of Lorraine, that it having been settled by the treaty of agreement, that two months after its date both their Majesties were to ratify it, Queen Elizabeth wished to know, the time being so far advanced, what persons King Francis intended to send, that her Majesty might also make her election. The Cardinal answered him that his Majesty having been unable conveniently to confer with Jean de Monluc, Bishop of Valence, and M. de Larochefaucauld, who had returned from England, he was then undecided about this election, but that he would not fail to comply with his obligation in due time. Throckmorton supposes this delay to be for the purpose of putting his Queen to expense for a longer period, it being known that she will not disarm till the treaty be ratified.

Throckmorton also told me that the son of the King of Sweden would delay his passage to England longer than was expected, his father having determined to abdicate and renounce the kingdom to him, so that he might obtain (*habbi*) better conditions in his marriage with Queen Elizabeth. To pass this act it was necessary to convoke the Estates of Sweden, which would take a long while, but during this interval both father and son have sent to propose very advantageous terms to the Queen, offering, should her Majesty consent to the marriage, to bind themselves to send to England annually 200,000 crowns, to be expended for the benefit of English subjects, and in time of war to keep 50 armed ships at their own cost, with other particular conditions very profitable for England, which that King defers making known until his coming to her.

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On the other hand the Spanish Ambassador in England* has again commenced negotiating in the name of his King in favour of Archduke Ferdinand, but neither with the one or the other, nor with those who speak to her on behalf of the Earl of Arundel, does the Queen go beyond general words. In the meanwhile (as the Ambassador says) her chief ministers and most intimate servants cannot yet well comprehend towards whom she is most inclined.

Melun, 16th August 1560.

[*Italian.*]

[Aug. 19.] Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

191. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King returned to this city on the 24th ultimo, and on the next morning of St. James's day he went to church with the knights of that Order, all in their long white robes as usual; his Majesty not having yet held a chapter of the said knights, or of the others of Alcantara and Calatrava, as all of them have not yet arrived; but he will hold it one of these days, and in short they will be bound to maintain a certain number of galleys.

The Pope has granted his Majesty power, but with the consent of the Bishops, to sell episcopal fiefs and jurisdictions, yielding an annual rental of 25,000 crowns, the King assigning them double the amount on his Exchequer. These fiefs, being very valuable, are expected to find purchasers at 2,500,000 crowns. The Pope has also granted to his Majesty two-fourths of the "fruits" of priests, to be levied in six years, amounting to 1,100,000 ducats; and the "*Cruzada*" in like manner for six years, whereas at first he had granted it for three. The latter may yield 1,800,000 crowns, but owing to the heavy incidental expenses, and the payment of 100,000 crowns which will have to be made towards the building of St. Peter's at Rome, the King Catholic will not receive thence more than a million and a half of ducats.

These concessions from his Holiness have all been made for the sake of the fleet; the first, viz., the sale of the fiefs, for the building and fitting-out of the galleys; and the subsidy of the priests and the "*Cruzada*" for their maintenance and constant pay; as although the Pope did not choose to concede them in perpetuity, as was demanded of him, not to release the King of Spain entirely from having need of the Pontiffs, he says that he and all his successors, for a work so good and beneficial to Christendom, will, with much good will, go on from time to time confirming the same concessions.

From the priests' subsidy and the "*Cruzada*" they will have a fund of about 450,000 ducats annually; and it is thought that the additional 600,000 ducats required for the pay of the 100 galley crews will be contributed by these Spanish knights of the three orders, so that the deficit would be small.

The King declares that he will at any rate have these 100 galleys, and said particularly to one of the chief personages of this Court, from whom I heard it, that amongst them he means to include

* Alvarez de Quadra, Bishop of Aquila.

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some of Genoa, and some of Florence, to keep these principalities bound to his friendship; and that he will not pay any individual for more than a certain number of galleys, apparently to avoid being subsequently compelled to appoint a Captain General against his will; which words seem to relate solely to Gio. Andrea Doria, who occasionally gave it to be understood that unless after the death of Prince Andrea they make him (Captain?) General (*Generale*), he will renounce this service, which, as he owns many in galleys, is of great account.

His Majesty also said, that besides these 100 galleys, he intends to have 50 others, paid by the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, so that at any time he may have 50 galleys ready to put to sea; and he will also keep 50 hulls in several places, that they may be ready case of need, to increase the fleet to a total of 200 sail.

If these words proceeded from his Majesty's heart, and were not intended to obtain what he has already obtained from the Pope, and he is intent on these promises, although many difficulties will arise before the completion of so grand a work, nevertheless owing to the many States possessed by him, chiefly situate on the sea, and by reason of his great forces, there is no doubt that he will be able to effect it; and there is already here a Neapolitan who by a writing given to the King, which I have seen, offered to find for him in the Kingdom of Naples as many cavaliers and individuals as at their own cost would in a very short time construct and fit out 60 *galleys, provided his Majesty would pay them at the usual rate of* 6,000 *crowns annually.*

Marco dal Zuffo has arrived at this Court, being sent by Cardinal Caraffa to recommend his cause and that of the others to his Majesty; *and already their defenders have declared themselves, viz., the King's Confessor,* to whom when in Flanders the Cardinal promised for certain to have him made Cardinal, and Don Ruy Gomez, in opposition to the Duke of Alva; and it is also said that Gonzalo Perez will favour the Caraffas.*

During the King's absence the Duke of Sessa never went to his Majesty, having at Madrid fallen ill of fever, but he has now returned. *During his absence the same persons who accompanied him from Italy, they being chief personages who take part in all the affairs of state in the Milanese, accuse him of having shown the same imprudence in Spain as at Milan, and that his bad mode of negotiating had put himself and everything else to confusion, so that he feigned indisposition, and could not determine on coming to the Court. He had presented some of his accounts for expenses incurred, which were beyond measure exorbitant, having pledged for that purpose a very great quantity of the state revenue; so they sent to Milan for information, and made an inquiry unknown to him, which he deeply resented; but now that he has returned to the Court the King seems so gracious that he hopes for the best possible decision.*

* Francisco Bernardo de Fresneda. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," entry No. 734, date Brussels, 14th March, 1558, p. 364.)

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Your Serenity will have already heard of the death of the Queen Regent of Scotland, and that the peace between France and England,* of which there are as yet no particulars, has been concluded, *it being only heard that it is very disadvantageous for the French.*

The galleys of Spain are to join the others now in Italy. On board these galleys there are some twenty-five Greeks, your Serenity's subjects, who went as volunteers to serve in various capacities as mariners, but being very dissatisfied, five of them came to me asking for advice with regard to obtaining payment, they being heavy creditors. I replied that the best advice I could give them would be, that, having such ample means near home for employment on board your Serenity's large fleet, and the many vessels you and your subjects have at sea, they should not come to such remote parts. Their rejoinder was, that they would free themselves as soon as they could, and even if unable to obtain their arrears, they were determined to re-enter your Serenity's service.

The King of Tunis, this King's feudatory, is rendering much assistance to the Turkish fleet at Gerbes.

[Toledo, 19th August 1560.]†

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

192. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has been four days at the monastery of San Juan de los Reyes, built of yore by the King Catholic, and held chapters of the knights, requiring them to contribute for fitting out galleys, and for service at Oran against the infidels, according to the obligation wherewith they were instituted and endowed with such vast revenues; so they are now consulting together about these matters, and about some regulation of their statutes.

The Ambassador Vargas writes a report from Rome that the King Catholic had procured the imprisonment of the Caraffas at the very time when he was showing himself favourable to the Cardinal,‡ by rewarding him, and promising much to the Duke.§ Vargas added that he had moved in their favour in order to remove this suspicion. *These words are written by him artfully, and, as it is said, with the counsel of Cardinal Farnese,‖ the matter being reduced to a point of honour. I understand that the King has been persuaded to favour their cause as much as he can.*

The Marquis of Montebello ¶ is come hither to obtain the protection of his Majesty.

The Ambassador from Florence has informed the King that the Pope desired to make Don Garcia, the son of the Duke, Captain-General on the sea, and that the Duke requests his Majesty's advice *on this proposal. I hear on good authority that his Majesty's reply*

* Peace was proclaimed in England on the 17th July 1560. (See "Foreign Calendar," under that date, p. 178.)

† The end of this despatch is wanting. The date is supplied from the following despatch.

‡ Carlo Caraffa. § Giovanni Caraffa, Duke of Paliano.

‖ Alessandro Farnese, brother of the Duke of Parma.

¶ Antonio Caraffa, brother of the Duke of Paliano, and of Cardinal Carlo Caraffa.

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was that he had always desired the Duke's advantage, but that the Duke should beware of putting Don Garcia too far forward. This unexpected reply, contrary to all the Duke's wishes, and somewhat pungent, pierced the Ambassador to the heart, so that he told several persons that Don Garcia, seeing the small account in which he was held here, would become a Frenchman, and though no importance is attached to the Ambassador's words, yet they cause great irritation, and much abuse of the Duke.

It is heard that sixteen galleys of Spain, which have been able to effect their repairs, are already on their voyage to Italy to join the others.

The Cardinal of Urbino* sent lately an agent to this Court to negotiate about some 10,000 crowns demanded of him at Naples for the Duchy of Sora, and the King has been pleased to show him favour therein. *According to report the Duke of Urbino, his brother, was the cause of the Cardinal's having sent this individual, not so much by reason of the negotiation's importance, as because in this way the Cardinal might become obliged to his Catholic Majesty's party, whereas previously he seemed to depend on that of France.*

Four ships have arrived at Lisbon from the Indies with a cargo of 17,000 quintals of pepper, but little other spices and few drugs. They bring word that another ship in their company was lost.

Ten ships have also arrived at Seville from New Spain with 230,000 ducats for the King, and a large sum for private individuals; and these vessels are also well laden with several sorts of merchandise.

The day before yesterday Monsignor Santa Croce, the Nuncio destined for Portugal arrived, and Don Juan Garcilasso de la Vega returned from France, as also Don Juan Pacheco from England, they having gone to those countries to treat the agreement.

The Papal Nuncio here has obtained licence from the King for the sister of the Duke of Montalto to marry the Pope's nephew, Hannibal Altemps, *though the Spanish Ministry is displeased, because the licence was demanded after the conclusion of the marriage.*

On the day before yesterday, his Majesty determined to send his master of the horse and councillor Don Antonio de Toledo, a leading man, to France, it is said, about matters of religion, to the end that they may not hold the National Council in that Kingdom. But besides this, his mission is attributed to many other causes, amongst which I have heard that he may possibly be instructed to entertain the negotiation for the marriage of the French King's sister to Don Carlos, which was commenced when the Count de Feria on his way from Flanders passed through the Court of France, where something was said to him about it; *but the Prince, as already written by me, is in a very bad state of health, and many persons think his life is in danger; others also say that Don Antonio, after having been to France, will go to Flanders to devise some arrange-*

* Giulio Feltrio della Rovere, made Cardinal at the age of 13 on the 27th July 1547, by Pope Paul III. (See Cardella, Vol. 4. p. 287.)

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ment with those provinces, which misconduct themselves, and fail to make due payment of the subsidies, complaining that the Spanish garrisons had not been removed, according to the promise given by the King to the States.

It is also reported that he will cross over to England to dissuade the Queen from marrying the son of the King of Sweden, as she seems inclined to do, nor would King Philip approve of this union with such a Lutheran Prince, who is richer than any other one in Christendom. But all this is rumour, except the alleged cause of religion, which is universally supposed to be true, though it is not the only one.

What I can indeed assure your Serenity is, that Don Antonio, although a great personage by reason of his nobility and wealth, and above all from the favour shown him by the King, with whom he confers at all hours, is not considered by anyone to be an able negotiator.

In this city last Sunday the King and Queen were present at a bull bait and cane game, performed by the chief lords of this Court, which succeeded very well; and there was a dance at the palace in the evening, when two companies of very sumptuously clad maskers made their appearance, the chief of one of them being his Majesty's son, Don Carlos, that he might thus have some diversion, but on entering the ball room, he unmasked instantly.

The Count de Tendiglia has had permission to return [from Rome], and it continues to be said that Vargas will be removed from the embassy there, but no one has been elected in his stead. Vargas demanded a subsidy for the journey he is about to make when following the Pope to Bologna, and a very considerable one will be granted him.

Toledo, 28th August 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

193. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Ministry's suspicion of some strange commotion and conspiracy about to take place on account of religion, and of the hatred and indignation conceived against them, as they were warned from many quarters, has in part come to light, causing them so much the more anxiety as they have already apparently discovered that this stir does [not] proceed from popular leaders (*homini populari*) and from private gentlemen, like the Amboise conspiracy, but that it comprises the chief personages of the kingdom, including Knights of St. Michael and Princes, there being already in prison the Vidâme de Chartres, who is considered to be on a par with the Princes, and from his invariable courage has always been employed in the most honourable offices. Last night he was arrested in Paris at his own lodging, a fact of such great importance that I give the particulars as told me on the best authority.

There arrived lately at the Court a Basque gentleman, a native of a province on the frontiers of Navarre, who was quite unknown

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to people in general, but the moment he appeared the Duke de Guise suspected him, and to ascertain who he was, whence he came, and what he was doing, the Duke desired one of his most trusty gentlemen to learn all about him, in which he succeeded so well, that having formed an intimacy with him very speedily he heard that this Basque had been sent privily by the King of Navarre to hear all that was to be treated at this conference of the Princes, and to let him know the names of all those who were to attend it, and what was said on the subject. The Basque had also brought letters to many of these Princes, and in particular to the Constable and his sons, from whom he had already got the reply, and hearing that the conference was to end soon, he was about to return, but having some business in Paris he should take that road. All this being told to the Duke, he desired his gentleman to accompany him, and they went together to the lodging of the Vidâme, where the Basque was received and lodged; and as the Basque was returning postwise to the King of Navarre, the Duke de Guise had him and his valises with the letters and writings seized at Etampes, and sent immediately to the Court, not more than eight leagues distant from that place. In the valise many letters were found addressed both to the King of Navarre and to his brother the Prince of Condé, and amongst them were those of the Constable and his son, Montmorency, though they were merely letters of ceremony; but those of importance were what the Vidâme wrote to the aforesaid Prince, part in cipher and part without, but so long and diffuse as clearly to indicate that for many months there had been an intrigue (*pratica*) between the said Prince of Condé and the Vidâme for a conspiracy and insurrection, and that it was ready to be put in execution from day to day.

Shortly after the letters the Basque prisoner arrived at Fontainebleau under custody from Etampes, and being immediately examined by the Cardinal of Lorraine, he not only confirmed the contents of the letters, but much more that had passed through his hands, which the Cardinal did not then care to know. Though it was past ten at night the Cardinal went to the Queen Mother, telling her all that had happened. She sent to inform the King, and, to proceed more maturely, summoned the Constable and the Chancellor [Michel de l'Hôpital], who had long been in bed; and when all were assembled they consulted till one a.m., when they sent postwise to Paris the Captain of the Guard, the Provost of Paris, who was at Court, and the Seneschal of Agenois, all persons of importance, to arrest the Vidâme in Paris, giving them a letter to the Parliament there to have the city archers and all the other guards. Such was their speed that they found the Vidâme in bed, and when the Captain of the Guard told him that he was the King's prisoner, without discomposing himself in the least he said, "Bring hither my clothes; I am very glad, for the King will now be convinced of what he has hitherto doubted;" and having dressed himself quietly, he was taken to the Bastille, where he is in close custody. The arrest of this personage has alarmed everybody, it being feared that he is not alone but has many followers, and that he may compromise a multitude of noblemen and persons of condition, his friends and

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relations; he being cousin-german of Maligni, the author (*autore*) of the Amboise conspiracy, and of his brother, and the Vidâme not having any children they are his sole heirs.

Owing to this event the Court in two days will quit Fontainebleau, where they had intended to remain till after All Saints' day, and will go to St. Germain, that in case of any insurrection, instead of being in an open place like Fontainebleau, they may be protected by a castle with moats, which is more easily guarded and fortified; and thither they will convey the Vidâme and examine him.

On the first day of the conference of the Princes a very daring act was committed by the Admiral,* who, before the King and the others took their seats, presented to his Majesty with his own hand two petitions, or requests, as they are called here, which being read purported that the kingdom petitioned his Majesty, in the matter of religion, to concede the petitioners two churches in two parts of the kingdom for greater convenience, that they might there exercise their rites and ceremonies as private congregations without being molested by any one, and meetings would thus be obviated. Although the King urged the Admiral repeatedly to say from whom he had received the requests, he denied all knowledge of them upon oath, which yet more provoked the King, who surlily ordered him to take his seat, and called upon them (the Princes) to commence proposing the object of the conference.

On the other days much was said about religion, especially by M. [Charles] de Marillac, Archbishop of Vienne, to his infinite praise, and to the admiration of everybody, from what he said and his suggestions. It was settled at any rate to hold the "Council National" at Paris on the 10th January, waiting to see whether during this interval the Council General will be held; and it was determined to send the Bishop of Valence [Jean de Monluc] to the Pope, to give him account of this necessary resolve.

The decree for the bishops and all curates to go and reside at their churches was confirmed, the bishops being prohibited in the future to proceed against any one in the matter of religion, except the preachers, and the persons in whose houses the meetings (*le congregationi*) are held, tacitly permitting the others to live in their own way, which is interpreted as a virtual "interim."

Melun, 30th August 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

194. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Nuncio Santa Croce will remain here some days before going to his legation in Portugal, as he is ordered to wait and hear how they mean to receive him, because in that kingdom the affairs of religion are ruled by the King's uncle, the Cardinal, who will dislike the coming of the Nuncio, because authority will be taken from the Cardinal.

* Gaspar, Comte de Coligny, Seigneur de Chastillon, Admiral of France.

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Whilst Santa Croce stays here, he will receive the property of priests dying in Spain, which belongs to the Pope. Santa Croce has been commissioned by his Holiness to give account to King Philip of the accusations against the Caraffas, which are many and great. He also brings information that the Duke of Savoy had already intended to make the expedition against Geneva, for which his Holiness had promised him assistance; but subsequently, considering that the present moment was inopportune for hostilities, the convocation of the Council General being now talked about, the Pope, lest it seem that they intend to use force instead of reason, now dissuaded the Duke from the enterprise, and King Philip approves of the Pope's having done so.

Santa Croce also notified the replies received by his Holiness about the Council from the Emperor and from France, and prayed his Majesty to send a person from himself to France, to prevent the National Council, which the most Christian King has promised his subjects; but King Philip had previously appointed Don Antonio de Toledo, who departed yesterday evening; *and I have confirmation of what I wrote, that he will afterwards proceed to Flanders, both for the need of those States, and to thwart the marriage of the Queen of England.*

In addition the Nuncio brought the Pope's determination about the case of the Archbishop of Toledo [Bartolome Caranza], who, having been charged with heresy more than a year ago, is in such close imprisonment that he has neither seen nor spoken to anyone. The Archbishop of Seville, as General of the Inquisition, laid claim to judge him, but the Archbishop of Toledo declared the Archbishop of Seville to be also suspected, owing to several disputes between them, about which the King, the Princess [of Portugal, his sister], and many principal personages were examined. The judges appointed concerning this matter passed sentence that the Archbishop of Seville was a suspected judge, and inadmissible therefore to decide this cause; but the Archbishop of Seville, alleging that repute was thus withdrawn from the office of the Inquisition, which is so important in Spain, appealed to the Pope, *and persuaded the King to believe him.* His Holiness however made this case known to several persons, and having heard that besides the strife between the Archbishops various irregularities had occurred, amongst which was the deprivation of the Archbishop of Toledo of the administration of the revenues of the archbishopric before cognisance of the cause, the Pope has declared that his Majesty is to depute another impartial person to draw up the process against the Archbishop. *His Holiness has laboured earnestly to convince his Majesty that this determination does not diminish the authority of the Inquisition, as it shows what great care is taken that the persons charged with so important an office should be devoid of any suspicion of partiality.*

Last week the Inquisition arrested the Abbot of Valladolid, brother of the Admiral of Castile,* one of the chief grandees in Spain.

* The office was hereditary in the Cabrera family.

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By letters written in the King's name the Abbot was summoned to come to his Majesty, it being promised him that in a week he should be liberated. On arriving he was put in prison. The accusation against him is that he favoured the Archbishop of Toledo by writing to Rome, and to the Nuncio here, about the Archbishop of Seville and some other members of the Inquisition, *calling them ignorant and full of prejudice. All this tends to make everybody not only respect the holy office, but to fear it.*

The Nuncio Santa Croce has complained in the Pope's name, that unknown to his Holiness indulgences were obtained at Rome, and then published and preached in Spain otherwise than intended by him, as was especially done with regard to a bull lately obtained from the Congregation of Indulgences, which was sold on account of the King to the merchants for 244,000 crowns; but in Spain such is the custom, and as it combines profit it can with difficulty be annulled. In conclusion, the Pope chose Santa Croce, accompanied by the other Nuncio,* to testify to his Majesty that his Holiness is well inclined towards the Farnese family, and that he will never permit any injury to be done to them. His Majesty in reply said the Farnese family was so allied with him † that it cannot be touched without touching his Majesty likewise; and that whosoever offends the Farnese family might rely on having to do, not only with King Philip's friends and confederates, but with the King himself. *Here they strongly suspect that the Pope is hostile to the Farnese family, both owing to the relationship contracted with the Duke of Urbino's daughter, who lays claim to Camerino, which was heretofore exchanged for Parma and Piacenza; and also at the instigation of several Italian princes, and principally of the Duke of Florence, who is considered omnipotent with his Holiness and unfriendly to the house of Farnese; the Dukes of Ferrara and Mantua being also their enemies, the one from past wars, and the other because that family deprived the Cardinal of Mantua of the Popedom. This suspicion has increased owing to the flight from Italy of Duke Ottavio, lest he should be summoned to Rome, and above all by reason of the Pope's going to Bologna. Therefore, amongst the other orders given by the Marquis of Pescara to Don Giorgio Manrique, whom he sent to this Court, he charged him to ascertain from his Majesty how he was to regulate himself in case Duke Ottavio was attacked. The King answered firmly, making sure that on its being known how warmly he means to protect the Farnese family, everybody would beware of injuring them.*

The Ambassador from Lucca has informed his Majesty that his Lords had discovered through several channels that the Duke of Florence was treating to have himself named King of Tuscany, which if it took place they very well knew would be prejudicial to their liberty; so they had recourse to his Majesty as to the sole protector from whom they had constantly promised themselves all assistance. *The Ambassador tells me that to this discourse his Majesty*

* The Bishop of Terracina (see before date, 7 April).

† The consort of Duke Ottavio Farnese was King Philip's sister.

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replied that when the occurrence came to pass he would prove to the city of Lucca how much he desires its preservation, by reason of his well known affection for that place, and he exhorted the Ambassador to be of good cheer in this matter.

Toledo, 2nd September 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

195. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago, Don Giorgio Manrique arrived at this Court from Milan, having been sent by the Marquis of Pescara to procure pay for the soldiers, who had already begun to mutiny, and about the suspension, ordered by the King, of the taxes imposed in the Milanese, which deprived the Marquis of means to pay the troops. They have now provided sufficiently for the present need, and Don Giorgio is returning to Milan.

The Marquis of Pescara sent by Don Giorgio to notify two things to the King in the name of his brother-in-law the Duke of Mantua:* first, that the Duke would exchange Montferrat for Cremona; secondly, that the Duke offered to marry according to the will of his Majesty. *With regard to the first proposal I hear it has been neither accepted nor refused,* and as regards the marriage, his Majesty replied, that he would wish the Duke to take for his wife one of the daughters of the Emperor, the King having ordered Don Giorgio [Manrique], should the Duke consent to this, to go to Germany to negotiate the marriage in his name with the Emperor.

The Nuncio here has requested King Philip to give his sister the Princess [of Portugal] for wife to the Prince of Florence, saying that the Prince would be content to take her without any dower, and moreover that the Pope was ready to name the Duke of Florence King. His Majesty replied that he must refer this matter to his sister, though he would be very pleased were the marriage to take place, especially on such honourable conditions as those mentioned by the Nuncio; but the King subsequently told the Nuncio that his sister had firmly determined not to marry, so that the Nuncio was to pray the Pope to treat the marriage of the Prince of Florence with one of the daughters of the Emperor. The King's answer has not yet discouraged the Duke's adherents, who believe that his Majesty chooses greater entreaty to be made him in this matter; which agrees with what the Nuncio told me, that he did not think the Pope would solicit the marriage of the Emperor's daughter, as he greatly desires this marriage with the Princess [of Portugal]. The Pope and the Duke, by thus announcing to King Philip the Duke's design of having himself made King, may think that they may carry it into effect; and although this might greatly offend his Majesty, yet nevertheless he looks to nothing else but his own interest.

* Hernando Francisco d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, was the Consort of Isabella di Gonzaga, sister of Duke William of Mantua. (See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 442.)

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The Ambassador from Lucca dreads this proposal more than any one else.

A courier has been despatched to Flanders to the Duchess Governess, who is to give notice to Don Antonio de Toledo in France, *if she thinks that his going* [*to Flanders*] *can assist in bringing back the inhabitants there to their duty.*

The King has granted the Duke of Sessa power to authorise the sale made by him of the duchy of Terra Nuova, in the kingdom of Naples, to Signor Tommaso Marin, and although at first there was a difficulty about the title, they nevertheless at length consented to style him Duke.

Toledo, 5th September 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

196. ARTICLES of the TREATY and AGREEMENT made between the most Christian King and Queen and the Scots: enclosed in the foregoing despatch.*

First. That the soldiers of France or of any other nation shall not pass into Scotland without the consent of the three Estates of the kingdom, except in case of invasion.

Secondly. That all the French soldiers shall be removed thence, save one hundred and twenty as is aforesaid.†

Thirdly. That the three Estates shall name twenty-four persons, of whom the Queen Consort of the most Christian King will select seven and the Estates five, to form a Council; and should it seem necessary to have fourteen councillors the Queen will choose eight, and the Estates six.

Fourthly. All the civil and criminal law courts shall be served by native Scots, and not by foreigners of another nation.

Fifthly. The soldiers shall pay in ready money for the victuals taken by them.

Sixthly. The Scots shall perform in everything the service due from them to the most Christian King and Queen his wife, as native subjects are bound to do.

Seventhly. The three Estates shall keep the kingdom in quiet, and all that has been done illegally shall be forgotten.

Ninthly. The towns, possessions, and pensions belonging to the Duke of Châtellerault, his son, and all the others are to be restored.

Tenthly. Should anyone contrary to the ordinances raise a force within the kingdom, he shall be pursued by the three Estates like a rebel, without the King or Queen having need to send any foreign force to subdue them.

[*Italian.*]

* Compare with the enclosures in Michiel's despatch of 15th July 1560.

† In the first Article. (See Foreign Calendar, 1560–1561, date 6 July 1560, p. 172.)

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197. ARTICLES of the TREATY and AGREEMENT made between the Queen of England and the most Christian King and Queen; also enclosed in the foregoing despatch.*

First. That perpetual peace be made and continue between the two crowns and their states and subjects.

Secondly. The treaty of Cateau Cambresis is approved and ratified, and resumes its original force and vigour.

Thirdly. All French soldiers shall leave Scotland except one hundred and twenty, of whom sixty will remain in garrison at Dunbar and sixty on the island of Inchkeith.

Fourthly. All hostilities shall cease, and no French men-of-war shall be sent to England, Ireland, or Scotland; nor from England or Ireland to France.

Fifthly. The right and just title which the Queen of England has to the Crown of that kingdom and Ireland is confessed and acknowledged by the most Christian King and his wife to appertain and belong to her Majesty alone, by express words and by a manifest declaration.

Sixthly. That the most Christian King and Queen will no longer bear the arms and title of England, and will prohibit their subjects from making public or any other exhibition of them.

Seventhly. That all letters patent, writings, or public instruments made with the said title and sealed with the said arms shall be revoked and cancelled.

Eighthly. As compensation for the costs incurred by the Queen on this occasion, together with the restitution of Calais, and [or ?] 500,000 crowns damages, which by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis France was bound to restore; it is agreed that for this purpose commissioners are to be appointed by one side and the other, to treat about the costs, and if they do not agree within three months the matter shall be referred for arbitration to the King Catholic, to pass sentence in the following year.†

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

198. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Nearly two months have elapsed since the Duke of Alva has left the Court, for since accompanying the King to Madrid until now, he has never returned. The cause of his absence is very well known to proceed from dissatisfaction on his part, because, as he exceeds all the other Ministers in authority and understanding, so he wishes everything to depend upon himself alone, nor can he suffer others, unworthy to be compared with him, to have power equal to his, and superior to it in some respects. A circumstance occurred a few days before his departure which led him to form this

* Compare with Foreign Calendar as before, 6th July 1560, p. 173.
† See Foreign Calendar, 6th July 1560, 7th Article, p. 174, lines 3, 4, 5.

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resolve. His Majesty was closeted with Secretary Erasso,* as is his frequent custom, the King greatly respecting his judgment and opinion, not only in the financial matters which are intrusted to him alone, but also in all other matters; the King having ordered him not to open the door to anyone until their conversation had ended.

In the meanwhile the Duke of Alva came, and after trying to open the door, rapped more than once, so Erasso, approaching it, replied that the Duke could not enter, and repeated the same answer, although the Duke told him who he was; but at length he opened the door, when the Duke in a rage, less from having been denied entry than because the King was taking counsel privily from this person, whom the Duke considers his personal enemy and opposed to him, in the King's hearing let fly a volley of abuse against Erasso, and in a violent rage asked his Majesty as a favour to give him leave to go home, as he could no longer tolerate such contemptuous treatment. The King replied that the Duke had little cause for such great anger, and the Duke rejoined that the causes of his anger were great and just, as they concerned both honour and substance, because for his Majesty's service he had sold and mortgaged many estates, and that in lieu of the reward given him by the King in Flanders, from which he had hitherto derived but little benefit, he should prefer being recompensed for those expenses, as equity and justice required; but that the King should well remember how after the toil endured by the Duke for his service in Italy, and after security had been established there, he was deprived of that government that he might be much more opposed and harassed at this Court, where he was at length so despised that Erasso dared to shut the door in his face, though he the Duke was the King's Maggiordomo; wherefore he prayed his Majesty to grant him leave to go home, that he might at least live there with his mind more quiet and at ease.

The King did all he could to *appease the Duke, but at length, as the Duke insisted on having leave of absence, his Majesty said he would grant it him for a few days, but not as he required it; though even now, after availing himself of this leave for so long a while, he does not say when he will return, notwithstanding the King's repeated orders for him to do so; and as a favourable demonstration the King has sent to ask the Duke's advice about various matters.*

Such was the cause of the departure of the Duke of Alva, from whose absence this Court suffers greatly, for he exceeds all other Ministers in experience and judgment. It is said that he absented himself willingly whilst the affairs of the Duke of Sessa were under discussion, as he knew that the result would not be in accordance with the hopes of the Duke of Sessa; and being considered unfriendly to the Duke of Sessa, he (the Duke of Alva) wished to avoid the imputation of having opposed him.

It is considered certain here that the King Catholic has reduced the rate of interest paid by him in the Milanese, amounting to seven,

* Erasso, Francisco de, Spanish Secretary to Charles V. and Philip II. (See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 423.)

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eight, ten and twelve per cent., to only five, but the decree has not yet been published.

Last Sunday a tournament was held in the quadrangle of the palace. The challengers were three Flemings, who comported themselves very well, meeting with pike and sword some seventy cavaliers, who made their appearance in magnificent array, and with beautiful devices. Amongst them was the King, who chose to play his part in person, there being in his Majesty's company, Don John of Austria, the Prince of Parma, Don Ruy Gomez, a son of the Duke of Alva, and two other cavaliers. Don John of Austria, lad as he is, fought very gracefully, and the Prince of Parma who is also a youth, broke all three of his spears, for which feat he won the prize. I was present at this entertainment, with the Apostolic Nuncios and the Ambassadors of France and England, and as I went with the French Ambassador before the entertainment commenced, we being in the Queen's antechamber, the French Ambassador sent to request audience of her Majesty, to whom he was introduced. Whilst he remained within, all the persons in the antechamber being dismissed, except myself, who was told to remain, there came thither her Majesty's French maids of honour, who commenced dancing together with as much grace and courtesy as I ever beheld, performing many and several sorts of French, Spanish, and Italian dances. When the French Ambassador came forth from the audience chamber, he told me that the Queen, lest it should weary me to remain in solitude, had desired these ladies to dance before me; and I was much pleased with so agreeable and delightful a spectacle (*felice vista*), and with the great courtesy shown me.

Toledo, 11th September 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

199. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

A Turk, who says he came from Sultan Bayazet, remains outside Toledo, without having had audience of the King, who twice sent to him his Chief Secretary of State, Gonzalo Perez, to hear why he came, and with what commission, but he always replied pertinaciously that he had been sent to his Majesty, and that to him alone does he intend to communicate his mission. Here they greatly doubt his having a mission from Bayazet, as there is not sufficient confirmation of its credibility. Gonzalo Perez asked me whether I knew anything about him, especially as he was heard to say that some three years since he went to Venice to ask your Serenity for 800 wheel harquebuses (*archibusi da ruota*) and that he obtained them. I utterly denied this story to Gonzalo, assuring him that your Serenity never granted arms, nor whatever might serve for warfare, to infidels, and that if at any time similar demands had been made, the invariable answer was that our religion prohibited the grant, which seemed to satisfy that barbarous race. On my telling Perez that I had no information from your Serenity about this individual, he added that he had written to the Secretary

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resident with you for information; and it would assuredly cause great pleasure here could any certain news be given of this individual, that they might make sure of his being an envoy from Bayazet. His name is Cassan Chiaus, and he is a man about 34 years of age, knowing many languages, being no less astute than all other natives of Corfu, and from Christian he has turned Mahometan.

A fortnight ago last Sunday, an act was performed at Murcia which is called at Toledo an act of Inquisition, whereat twenty-nine individuals were burnt as Jews, and amongst them were some chief personages (*et tra questi alcuni homeni principali*), so that the confiscation of their property will yield the King upwards of 400,000 ducats. I have already informed your Serenity that a Jew, whilst a prisoner in that city, corrupted a great part of the population, and how the plot was discovered;* so punishment of the culprits has not yet ended. The twenty-nine persons who were burnt lately, were all impenitent (*ostinati in non voler confessar*), but if they had recanted (*che se havessero confessato*), and demanded mercy even at the last, their lives would have been spared, though with loss of their property and freedom, by virtue of a privilege to this effect which is enjoyed by the Kingdoms of Murcia, Granada, Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, but which is not conceded to those of Castile, where, unless recantation be made within a certain period, the individual who omits to make it is necessarily put to death.

The King had several times represented to his most Christian Majesty that the latter should no longer tolerate the audacity of those who cause religious disturbance in France, but that on ascertaining who were the chief ringleaders he should irrespectively punish them in this cause, which concerns the salvation of souls, the conservation of the kingdom, its dignity and grandeur, as also the nobility (*sic*) of other realms, King Philip promising the King of France every sort of assistance required by him. Consequently, after the arrest of the Vidâme de Chartres, and the summons to the Court of the Prince de Condé, brother of the King of Navarre, who is suspected in this matter, his most Christian Majesty, to anticipate greater evil, has requested the King Catholic, according to his promise, to have military forces ready both in Spain and Flanders, that the King of France may avail himself of them if necessary. King Philip has therefore sent orders to Flanders that on receiving any request there from his most Christian Majesty, the three thousand Spaniards still in those Provinces, and five hundred cavalry, were to go to France for his service. It has also been determined to raise some two thousand infantry about Narbonne, and another four thousand in Biscay, and to make them march with a large body of Spanish cavalry into the Kingdom of Navarre, so that if requested they may assist his most Christian Majesty; these forces to be under the command of Don Juan Manrique. *But although it is reported that they are raising this new infantry solely for the service of France, yet from what the French Ambassador told me I know on*

* Letter not found.

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good authority that whether France does or does not avail herself of this infantry, it is their intention here to send it subsequently to Italy and Sicily in lieu of the forces lost by Spain at Gerbes.

A herald is being sent to Italy, to convey the order of the Fleece to the Duke of Urbino and to Marc Antonio Colonna.

It was reported here lately that all the Italian powers had leagued together, to which King Philip showed that he gave no credit, for at that very time his Majesty regulated the Milanese soldiery and determined to suppress that expense; notwithstanding which, certain Ambassadors of the Italian powers obtained an interview with his Majesty in order to remove from his mind the thought that the report might be true, and I learn from themselves that King Philip assured them he had not the slightest suspicion on the subject. More than one of those Ambassadors asked whether I had spoken to his Majesty about this rumour, and my constant reply was that I had not, neither was it my intention to do so, lest it appear that I attached importance to these reports, which were held by me in no account, knowing that his Majesty was quite convinced of your Serenity's friendship and good understanding with him.

Toledo, 28th September 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

200. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the morning of the 11th the King came to this city, but only remained there to dine, and during the short time occupied by him in addressing the presidents and chief councillors of the Parliament, the deputies of the city, and the doctors and theologians of the Sorbonne, whom he received in the great hall of the Louvre, his Majesty's usual lodging, he informed them that he was hastening to Orleans, because he heard daily of fresh disturbances in the neighbouring towns, the people of Amboise and Tours having stormed the prisons and released all those who had been put in confinement as agitators (*seduttori*) on account of religion, which had also given rise to a strange report at Blois. He assigned as the reason for his having raised an army, that it was to oppose the rebels who had raised insurrections in various provinces by clandestine understandings and plots having for object to remove the present government and to introduce a new one, changing the religion and oppressing the kingdom universally and his Majesty in person. With regard to religion, the King said that he chose to live and die in the one in which his predecessors had lived and died. He recommended to them the quiet of the city, and said he trusted they would not fail to be his good and loyal subjects in like manner as he would endeavour to be their good master and good King; adding in conclusion that from circumstances, and owing to his present need, though to his very great regret, he was compelled both for his own defence and for their safety and preservation to avail himself of a loan of 400,000 francs, which from the love and devotion they

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evinced for him, would, he was sure, be accepted and paid willingly. After having performed this office, he departed immediately, taking the road towards Orleans, being escorted not only by his usual foot and horse guards, more heavily armed than is customary, but also by three companies of veteran infantry which had arrived on that day from the garrisons of Picardy, very well armed, and numbering more than three hundred men in each company. With this force he passed through the city, not without much murmur from the whole populace and from all these burgesses, who considered themselves greatly offended, because his Majesty had shown distrust of them by passing in battle array, and also because he held them in small account, his Majesty having shown himself openly and in public without making any other entry, it having been customary for former Kings, when they had not performed the usual entry with great pomp and solemnity, not to show themselves, but to pass through Paris privately (*occultamente*).

The Vidâme de Chartres has been brought back to the Bastille, his indictment having been drawn up, and his affairs will proceed according to the turn taken by those of the King of Navarre; and the Constable, who until now hoped well for him, seems at present to have changed his opinion.

During the Constable's absence from the Court the especial care of this city has been recommended to him, he residing in places so near at hand as Chantilly and Enghien. Last night to his very great joy one of his daughters-in-law, the wife of his eldest son, François de Montmorency, [Diane], bastard daughter of the late King Henry, was delivered of a son, who is the first born of his family.

Paris, 15th October 1560.

P.S.—Detained till the 20th.

To-day the most Christian King made his entry into Orleans, and the Queen Mother is going two days in advance to her seat of Chenonceau near Amboise, where the King of Navarre is expected, that she may speak with him before he comes to the Court. The King of Navarre was two days' journey on this side of Poitiers, and had but forty or fifty horsemen in all. His brother, the Prince of Condé, it is said, remained a little in the rear unwell, or feigning to have tertian ague.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

201. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The King returned from his field sports to Toledo three days ago, being accompanied by the Duke of Alva, who for counsel, authority, and ability occupies the chief place at this Court.

Don Antonio de Toledo has come from France, bringing fair promises from the most Christian King, who wishes to satisfy his Catholic Majesty in whatever way he can, but knows clearly that unless the Council-General be held soon, and in any other place of Germany than Trent, as at Cologne, Mayence, or some such place,

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it would cause the utter ruin and confusion of France, unless his most Christian Majesty observe his promise to convoke the National Council.

Don Antonio did not proceed to Flanders, because to remedy affairs there the presence of other persons was needed. According to report there has been some important religious commotion at Antwerp, and it is notorious that almost the entire population there in this respect are very corrupt; so it is apprehended, should the National Council take place in France, that it may give them an opportunity to make some perilous rebellion, most especially as in those provinces there is no person who has sufficient authority to oppose it (*remediarvi*); *advice having been received that these people render scarcely any obedience to Madame the Governess, who for this reason wishes the Serene King to release her from the charge she holds. The Province of Brabant gave his Majesty to understand heretofore that according to their privileges no bastard could be appointed to rule them, and therefore they consider it lawful to be disobedient, and with their example the other Provinces likewise fail in what is due from them.*

I am assured on the best authority that these are the causes which induced his Majesty to consider whom he could most advantageously place in that government, and all of his most prudent councillors came to the conclusion that no one could succeed but his Majesty in person, as to no Spaniard would obedience ever be rendered by the inhabitants, amongst whom there is no personage in such esteem that the others would consent to be subject to him; nor can Spain trust the Duchess of Lorraine, whose son is so interested in the affairs of France, whilst Don Carlos is too young, and still infirm, nor has the King's sister, the Princess of Portugal, such knowledge as is required for the charge; and what matters greatly, she would hardly abandon Spanish customs, and her haughty manners, so utterly ill adapted to gain the love of those people, who expect their Prince to be very gracious and affable, almost like the French, on which account Charles the Fifth and King Philip were much more condescending *and familiar with them than with any other nation. Hence it is inferred that his Majesty will have to go thither shortly, and nothing is talked of at Toledo but the voyage to Flanders.*

The Spanish infantry, who until now have been kept in Flanders, so much to the dissatisfaction of the people there, were to embark for Spain, from whence, together with the five or six thousand now being raised, they will be sent to Naples and Sicily.

The Ambassador from England resident here [*Sir Thomas Chamberlain*] *has recent letters from his colleague at the Court of France* [*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton*], *showing he has great doubts whether the peace made between his Queen and the most Christian King will take effect, as until then his Majesty had not chosen to sign the treaty as he was bound to do, and from day to day devised reasons for protracting the business.*

Toledo, 23rd October 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Nov. 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

202. Giovanni Michiel and Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

We arrived here yesterday almost at the same hour as the King of Navarre and his brother the Prince of Condé, whose coming with him was only known three days previously, it having been first affirmed that he had remained sick on the road; and with them there was also the Cardinal d'Armagnac, but all of them with very few followers. On their entry they were not met by any one in the name of the most Christian King, but the day before they were met by their brother the Cardinal [Charles Junior] de Bourbon and the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon [Charles de Bourbon], of the same blood and family. The said King with the personage aforesaid went straight to dismount at the lodging of his most Christian Majesty, who as soon as he heard of their coming withdrew into the chamber of the Queen Mother, where there were also present the most Christian Queen [Mary Stuart], the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke de Guise, and all the chief Lords of the Court. Many persons remarked that notwithstanding the many and very humble bows made almost kneeling, contrary to custom, by the King of Navarre, when he entered the chamber and approached his most Christian Majesty, his Majesty received him most austerely, motioning him to pay his respects first of all to the Queen Mother, who was at his Majesty's side, and showing that he received him as a subject, and not as a King, nor did he move even one step to meet him. With great difficulty he raised his bonnet, but he would not raise it to the Prince of Condé, who was presented to his Majesty by the King of Navarre (although on other occasions the most Christian King doffs his bonnet to any petty gentleman of his own subjects); and he made no reply to certain words uttered by the Prince. It was also remarked that they neither saluted nor said a word to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke de Guise, who were leaning against a window behind the Queen. Shortly afterwards his most Christian Majesty, together with the Queen, the King of Navarre, his brother the Cardinal of Bourbon, the said Lords de Guise and the Chancellor, withdrew into the cabinet of the Queen Mother. They then sent for Condé, on whose appearance all the four captains of the guard were ordered to take him to prison immediately, and he was given in custody to two knights of St. Michael; nor were the very earnest prayers of the King of Navarre and the Cardinal his brother, who both even knelt before his most Christian Majesty, beseeching him to let them have Condé in ward to present him on his Majesty's demand, of any avail. This arrest has greatly disturbed and alarmed the whole Court, as being contrary to general expectation, which anticipated a gracious greeting rather than this arrest of Condé, whose brother, the King, to-day on this festival of All Saints, feigning illness, would not go abroad, nor show himself in public from sorrow (*per dispiacer*).

Orders have been given for the conveyance hither from Paris of the Vidâme de Chartres, that he may be examined face to face with Condé.

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Very strict guard is kept in this city, there being four companies of veteran infantry, and they are expecting four others, and two thousand Germans to be sent by the Duke of Lorraine; and to prevent any cause of insurrection and tumult a royal edict has been issued, desiring all the burgesses of Orleans under heavy penalties to bring all their weapons, even knives, when they exceed certain dimensions, to the Town Hall.

Four days ago Cardinal Tournon arrived, all the Princes and Lords of the Court going forth to meet him, and the Queen Mother has already been twice to visit him at his lodging, such is the opinion and trust she places in him. His Right Reverend Lordship does not fail to attend the Council of Affairs daily, but he would not be present yesterday at the arrest of the Prince of Condé. Yesterday there were hanged in effigy Monsieur de Maligni, one of the chiefs of the Amboise conspiracy, and Monsieur de Montbrun, who has at length retired with his wife and children to Geneva, and whose castle of Montbrun has been razed to the ground, and all his estates confiscated, but the Cardinal of Tournon has obtained them from his Majesty for two of the younger sons of Montbrun, whom he is educating as his nephews.

His most Christian Majesty has sent an express to Rome confirming what he settled here lately with the Nuncio about the site of the Council, that he would consent to the city of Vercelli, his Holiness having repeated the demand through the Bishop of Cornwall (*Cornovaglia*), whom he sent hither lately.

Orleans, 1st November 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

203. Giovanni Michiel and Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 2nd instant, two of his most Christian Majesty's chamberlains accompanied us to the Palace, and first of all, according to the custom of this Court, to the Cardinal of Lorraine. I, Surian, executed with his Right Reverend Lordship the commission enjoined me by your Serenity, and he answered in his usual fashion, with much graciousness and eloquence, of which he makes especial profession. He himself then conducted us to the chamber of the most Christian King, where there were many Cardinals and almost all the principal Lords of the Court.

I, Surian, stated my commission to the King, commending his virtues, especially the affection he evinces for the [Roman Catholic] religion, according to the custom of his most Christian ancestors, and in conclusion thanked him for the demonstration made in favour of the two Ambassadors [Extraordinary] as a mark of his affection for the Republic. His Majesty listened most attentively to everything, and then replied in a very few words, as is his custom, that I was welcome, and that he saw me willingly, both out of respect for your Serenity, as he would see any one else sent by you, and from the particular information received about me, inviting me always to go freely to him on every occasion, as he would do no less for me than

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for my most noble predecessor. This office being ended, I, Giovanni (Michiel), to avoid inconveniencing his Majesty by a fresh audience, then took leave, thanking him in the first place for the favourable and benign demonstrations made towards me by the late most Christian King of blessed memory and by his Majesty in all such things as I had to treat in your Serenity's name, as also for the many and constant favours conferred on myself, the unworthy representative and Ambassador of the Republic; beseeching him also, if in the course of this my legation I had not so completely fulfilled, as was my duty, the will and intention of your Serenity in honouring and serving his Majesty in such a way as becomes so great a Prince, he would attribute it to my imperfection, and not to any wish to diminish the goodwill he bore the Signory. In reply his Majesty briefly testified that I had given him much satisfaction, adding some words in my praise which it does not become me to repeat, and embracing me with much familiarity and graciousness he dismissed me.

We then went to the Queens, who received us most graciously, answering us with demonstrations of great and singular affection for the Republic. I, Giovanni (Michiel), then took leave of them, their Majesties, from respect for your Serenity, bearing more honourable testimony to my conduct than it deserved.

We then visited the brothers of his most Christian Majesty, the King of Navarre, the Cardinals Tournon, Guise, and Armagnac, the Duke de Guise, and the Chancellor, who all reciprocated most honourably toward your Serenity.

Orleans, 8th November 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

204. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Pope's replies to the Emperor and to the most Christian King about the Council having come into my hands, I send copies.

To the King Catholic his Holiness has announced his resolution to raise the suspension of the Council of Trent, where it is again to assemble, and having met, it may then be transferred to some other secure and convenient site, should it seem fit; which he is determined to do, even should there be no one else with him but King Philip. His Catholic Majesty has replied, as told me by the Nuncio, that he refers himself to the will of his Holiness, exhorting him, however, after assembling the Council at Trent, for the satisfaction of the Emperor and of France, to transfer it to Vercelli, or rather to Besançon, a place of great plenty, very convenient for both the French and the Germans, situated in the midst of the jurisdiction of the King Catholic, and surrounded on one side by Alsace and the county of Ferretto, which are the Emperor's territories, and on another side by Fribourg and Soleure, two Swiss Catholic Cantons, and on the remaining side by France. King Philip promises to be always with his forces in favour of the Pope and of the Catholic faith, as also to announce his resolve to the most Christian King. With this reply, his

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Majesty chose Monsignor Gherio to depart, so that having come hither for this service, he may now also return with a decisive reply.

Toledo, 9th November 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

205. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The French Ambassador resident here * tells me that the reason why the most Christian King has not yet confirmed the peace with England, proceeds from his not choosing to sign it until he also signs the one with Scotland, both of them having been drawn up jointly, nor can the one with Scotland be signed before the arrival of the Scottish Ambassadors, who are still on their way; but first of all they will have to give account of the right whereby, contrary to the treaties, they in their Parliament utterly abolished the Catholic religion in Scotland, introducing almost all the English Articles, of which Act of the Scottish Parliament he gave me the accompanying copy.†

Toledo, 9th November 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

206. Giovanni Michiel and Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Doge and Senate.

After the arrest of the Prince of Condé, the King on the same evening sent to the "*procurator Regio*," to send from Paris the President De Thou, the Greffier Du Tillet, and two other principal councillors of the Parliament, who have all arrived at the Court, that he might avail himself of them to draw up the indictment against the Prince, who is kept in very close custody, being guarded by one hundred archers, nor is he allowed to speak with anyone, or to be served by any but two servants only, who never go out of his chamber. Meanwhile the King of Navarre, his brother Cardinal Bourbon, and his kinsman Cardinal Armagnac, have been every day lately sometimes together and sometimes separately in close and long conferences with the Queen Mother and the Cardinal of Lorraine, to the latter of whom however the King of Navarre did not choose to speak for two or three days after his arrival, doing the like also by the Duke de Guise, and evincing most open enmity towards both one and the other, yet they are now reconciled. Although his most Christian Majesty treats the King of Navarre very graciously, so that almost every morning the latter attends the Council of Affairs, and hunts familiarly with his Majesty, nevertheless the most experienced courtiers say that the decision about the Prince of Condé will be long delayed, and God knows with what result. The Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, also of the Bourbon family, anticipating [an evil result], is greatly grieved, saying that he was the principal instrument for inducing these Lords, on his word, to place themselves so freely in his Majesty's hands, he having had a solemn promise from the Queen Mother that none of them should

* Sebastien de l'Aubespine, Bishop of Limoges (see before).
† Not found.

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ever be arrested; and having now seen the reverse, he complained at length to the Queen Mother, who answered him apologetically that the arrest of the Prince took place by command of the King, her son, but that she would not fail to perform every good office with his most Christian Majesty for Condé's benefit.

The charges against the Prince are very important, for besides being named by almost all those who were put to death at Amboise, and in the processes drawn up at Montpelier and other parts of the kingdom, he is seriously accused by many who were taken at the last insurrection at Lyons* not only of being an accomplice in that tumult, but the author of it (*ma autore di quel tumulto*). On the day when we took leave of the King of Navarre he said to us, "Lords Ambassadors! I pray you not to have a sinister opinion of the Prince, my brother, who chose to obey his Sovereign and come as he ought, with all humility and submission, to place himself in his hands, as I assure you that he will be honourably acquitted, he never having done anything unworthy of himself, nor devised anything against this Crown; and assure the Signory of this in my name."

Subsequently, by order of his most Christian Majesty, Madame de Roye, mother of the Prince's wife and sister of the Cardinal de Chastillon,† a lady of great spirit, was arrested, she having dared lately to write a letter to the Queen Mother demanding of her a safe-conduct for her daughter that she might go to her husband, when he was with the King of Navarre, which letter was considered replete with arrogance; it being also suspected that she had knowledge of the charges brought against the Prince and a share in them. This morning also, in the Chamber itself of his most Christian Majesty, they arrested one of the servants of the King of Navarre, on suspicion of his spying for the King all that was said and done at the Court, and especially in his Majesty's Chamber. At Bourg-en-Bresse, which belongs to the Duke of Savoy, another Frenchman has also been arrested at his Majesty's earnest suit; he gave himself various names, sometimes La Fratea (*sic*), sometimes M. Fontana [? Fontaine], and sometimes adopting another name; and to prevent his surrender to the agents of the King of France, the French refugees in Geneva (*quelli di Ginevra*) would have paid as much as 30,000 crowns. Much has been said lately about the arrest of M. Damville,‡ the Constable's second son, who is a very bold man, and has more followers than all the Constable's other sons, but the report proved vain, as they are expecting both him and his other brothers with their father at the Court in a few days. The like was said of the Admiral, of his brother M. d'Andelot, of the Count de la Rochefaucauld, brother-in-law of the Prince of Condé, and of M. de Senarpont,§ all Knights of St. Michael, and persons of great consideration. Not-

* On the 5th September 1560. (See Père Daniel, Vol. 10, p. 83.)

† Odet de Coligny.

‡ Henri de Montmorency, Baron de Damville.

§ Jean de Mouchy (see the late Sir W. Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 488).

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withstanding all these rumours and arrests, the Cardinals of Tournon and Armagnac, much to their comfort, were able to assure us that [public] affairs would suffer no further disturbance with regard to the religion or seditious insurrections, owing to the good measures adopted; and concerning the arrest of the Prince, the Cardinal of Lorraine also told us that his own brothers were pacified and convinced that it was impossible to proceed otherwise, his Right Reverend Lordship giving us the same hope that affairs would proceed well and without cause for greater innovation.

His most Christian Majesty has summoned all the Knights of St. Michael, both those of this Kingdom and those in Italy, to the Court, to be present at a Chapter on the second Christmas holiday, in order to publish therein the processes instituted against those of the said Order who are now under arrest, and to the end that the Chapter, besides correcting many disorders and abuses introduced into the said Order, and making inquiry about such of the Knights as should be suspected of heresy, may deprive them of the Order which is only given to Catholics and those who live Catholically.

The French Ambassador at the Imperial Court wrote lately that the Emperor had assented to Trent as the site of the Council-General, and the Kings of France and Spain being of the same opinion, there was no longer any occasion to speak of Vercelli or any other Italian city. The Ambassador also sent two letters, addressed by the Emperor, one to his most Christian Majesty, the other to the Queen Mother, praying both of them earnestly to desist from the Council National, demonstrating the harm it would do universally, and its great detriment to Christendom.

On the day before yesterday an Ambassador came to his Majesty from the Kingdom of Scotland about the ratification of the agreement, and to-day Throckmorton urged the King to ratify it, the arrival of this Ambassador having removed any impediment to his Majesty's signature to the articles already agreed to between his Ministers and those of Queen Elizabeth; but the King replied that he had not yet had convenience to hear the Scottish Ambassador,* but will soon give him audience, and in four or six days will let Throckmorton know his will. This delay, though short, disturbs the English Ambassador, as, first for one cause and then for another, his Majesty delays the ratification, for some particular design of his own.

Orleans, 10th November 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

270. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The most Christian King had determined to go last Monday with the Queens to Chambord and Chenonceau, some twelve leagues hence, to remain there for their pleasure till the end of the month, but on the preceding Sunday he had a sudden attack of extreme

* James St. John, Lord Sandilands (see Foreign Calendar, 1560–1561, Index, p. 623).

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cold accompanied with some fever, an indisposition to which he is subject, and which he is said to have inherited from his father and grandfather. It is caused by a certain flow of catarrh, which exudes from the right ear, and if the discharge be stopped, he suffers great pain in the teeth and jaws, with a certain inflammation behind the ear, like a large nut, which increases or decreases according to the greater or lesser virulence of the humour. His Majesty is still suffering from this malady, and though his health continues to improve he is not yet free from fever, this being its fourth day, and he not only does not quit the house or his chamber, but not even his bed, no one being admitted to see him but those most intimate with him. The cause of this accident is supposed to be the sudden change of weather, from extreme mildness like that of spring to bitter and excessive cold, against which the King took no precaution, and he is now made to remain in bed much to his regret, the Queen Mother willing it so, more from the fear which arises from too much female tenderness than from any need, as if this malady had befallen a private individual, not only would he not have remained in bed, but have gone wherever he pleased and where his presence was needed; but with kings and great princes, who personally are of great consequence, their slightest indisposition is held in account. Many persons have alleged that the malady is serious, and that it is underrated by those who are interested. His Majesty's constitution is said to be defective, and an astrological prediction is quoted that his life will not exceed 18 years. Everyone therefore talks according to his ideas, calculating that were any catastrophe to take place at the present moment, which may God avert, not only would the present Ministry be totally excluded, but a general revolution might be expected throughout the kingdom in the matter of religion, as the successor being a minor would perhaps be placed under ward of the King of Navarre, his oldest and nearest kinsman, who, either by consenting to the humour of the people, who for the most part are infected with this plague, or from inability to repress and curb them, would open the road to such licence and confusion as would cause the ruin of France and of all Christendom, as with this example the neighbouring provinces, and most especially Italy, would become insolent, nor could they be ruled by their Princes. But I hope that at present the Lord God will avert this evil, as I am assured that his Majesty's indisposition is not serious.

Orleans, 20th November 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

208. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Morone* has sent Monsignor Gherio to this Court not so much to give account how his affairs had proceeded, and the injury he had received therein, and his need, as to consolidate the favour

* Cardinal Morone had been appointed by Cardinal Pole to act as his Vice Protector of England at Rome, whilst he was Queen Mary's Prime Minister, and various notices of the treatment to which these two churchmen were subjected at that period by Pope Paul IV. may be read in the Venetian Calendars.

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shown him by this side should the Popedom become vacant. Monsignor Gherio therefore brought an autograph letter from Pius IV., which, recommending Cardinal Morone to the King, as his very dear relation, told his Majesty that Monsignor Gherio would communicate other matters to him on his Holiness' behalf. For this reason Gherio has been treated as a public official accredited to his Majesty. He had a good reception from the King and all the chief personages, who had long known and esteemed him, and he is charged to assure Cardinal Morone of the King's goodwill, and that of all others, and of their wish to be of use to him on every occasion.

First of all, Gherio mentioned the Pope's desire to have the Council continued at Trent; and then gave the reasons which had moved his Holiness to proceed against the Caraffas, narrating their proved and manifest crimes; but the King nevertheless has determined to favour them, and has given orders for the Pope to be requested to hold them recommended for his sake.

Monsignor Gherio also spoke in behalf of the Borromeos, persuading his Majesty to favour them as the Pope's nephews, and thus to acknowledge the favours so largely conceded by his Holiness, viz., the subsidies from the priests, the Crusade bull, the power to sell church property, and other permits, which will yield his Majesty great treasure.

Besides all these things the King has strongly urged the Pope to give the red hat to Don Iñigo, brother of the Marquis Pescara.

The Ambassador Vargas, who is now at Rome, will be sent to the Council, but it is not known whether with the title of Ambassador, as the Bishop of Terracina, the Nuncio here, has exhorted his Majesty, for the prevention of dispute about precedence, to send thither either a Cardinal or a Prince, who would be placed apart from the Ambassadors; *telling him plainly that should there be a dispute between his Ambassador and the one from France, the Council could not do less than maintain the Frenchman in possession till some other decision was made in this matter, as hitherto the proofs in favour of France are too evident; so should King Philip have a mind to obtain a decision that the first place belongs to him, as being the greatest Prince in Christendom, and the one who more than all the rest defends the Catholic Church, and resists the infidels, he should prevent the occurrence at the commencement of anything prejudicial to his interests. The Nuncio also told him that to advance this claim he should keep Ambassadors, as formerly, at foreign Courts, as by omitting to do so he deprived himself of their valuable advice; saying, in particular, that from few places could the King be better informed than from Venice, where if there had been a Spanish resident Ambassador, he might perhaps have been able to give timely notice to Gerbes of the approach of the Turkish fleet, so that the King's fleet would not have been taken unawares; and besides he must well know that your Serenity would confer and negotiate with other form of speed with his Ambassador than with such people as he keeps with you. His Majesty thanked the Nuncio for the other things he said; but as to sending an Ambassador to Venice he did not answer one word. The Nuncio then asked me whether the Venetian Ambassadors now on*

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their way were commissioned to say anything about this; I said certainly not.

Five ships have arrived from the Indies with money from Peru, but not so much as on former occasions, and less than was expected, for his Majesty's portion does not amount to 150,000 crowns, and that of private individuals is about 1,200,000.

The Genoese, Otthobon Giustiniano, who is one of his Majesty's heavy creditors at Milan, has come hither to attend to his affairs, and those of his partners; and being compelled by his creditors to give security for his debts, which he cannot pay, unless the King satisfy his claims, he has taken sanctuary in a church; many other persons, who have hitherto had much credit, being expected to do the like; but with regard to Giustiniano, to facilitate certain proposed negotiations about some of his arrears, the King has ordered verbally the alcaldes of the Court and city not to molest him for a few days.

Toledo, 22nd November 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 22. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

209. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The King's health continues to improve, and though he is still in bed, and last night had a slight return of fever, yet everyone feels certain that his Majesty's malady is not dangerous, nor is there any doubt but that in two or three days he will have quite recovered.

During this interval public affairs are not adjourned, and amongst the rest, the condition of what relates to the Prince of Condé is as follows. The Chancellor with the other Commissioners for drawing up his indictment having gone to examine him, he answered their interrogatories thus, that he being a prince of the blood had to give account of himself to the King alone and to judges suitable to a prince of the blood, referring to the Parliament with the twelve Peers of France, who seem to be the ordinary judges in similar cases, *though nevertheless in these times the Kings choose to have supreme authority in everything.* When he was told that these Commissioners had been sent by the King not to judge his cause, but solely to draw up the indictment, and that when it was formed, competent judges would be appointed; he replied that he well knew that the Chancellor [Michel de l' Hôpital] and the other Commissioners (*Deputati*) were the dependants of his enemies, who sought to deprive him of his honour and his life, so that he would never answer them, but if his Majesty would appoint him judges suitable to a prince of the blood, and if they should elect ministers to examine him, he would answer all their questions and prove his innocence. Therefore, being unable to obtain anything else from him, the Commissioners reported to the Council of Affairs, who were on the point of issuing a decree that not choosing to reply the Prince was to be held convicted, and that the witnesses were to be brought face to face with him, and sentence passed. But this thing having reached the ears of the King of Navarre and other kinsmen of the Prince, they warned the members

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of the Council not to proceed in this way for the love of God, as it would be a bad example and entail the resentment of all the Parliaments in the Kingdom, and also acquire a bad name with all foreign Powers; so the matter still remains in suspense, and will continue so till after the assembly of the three Estates, and perhaps longer.

I have also heard on good authority that in the Privy Council the King of Navarre, when talking with his most Christian Majesty and the Queen Mother, led away by his feelings (*vinto dalla passione*), said that two of his other brothers had died for this Crown, one having been killed by accident, viz., Monsieur d'Enghien, who defeated the Marquis del Guasto (*Vasto*)* at Cerisoles, the other having died in battle when the Constable was routed; and for these deserts, such is their thirst for his blood, this other one also would soon be put to death. Being quite exasperated he wished to proceed further, but the Queen Mother interrupted him, saying he must be calm, as nothing but justice would be done. Seeing that he had exceeded the due limits he apologised to his Majesty, alleging fraternal love as his excuse. Cardinal Armagnac tells me that before the King of Navarre came to this Court he sent an envoy to the Pope professing himself the devoted son of the See Apostolic, but on arriving here he confessed to his most Christian Majesty that he had been seduced by heretics, excusing himself that being an unlettered man he had fallen into error, for which in like manner as he asked pardon of God, so did he pray his most Christian Majesty not to impute it to anything but his not knowing better; and in this fervour he not only disclosed that in this his need certain French personages offered him their substance and personal assistance, but even showed their letters to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke de Guise, *for which perhaps he does not merit so much praise as for having acknowledged his error.* He has also informed about a man of Geneva, who, after the arrest of the Prince of Condé, was sent by the people at Geneva to the King of Navarre, to offer him all their forces and assistance; which person, being in his most Christian Majesty's chamber, mingling with others according to the custom of this Court, no watch being kept to prevent any one's entrance, was arrested, as a suspected spy of the King of Navarre, as we wrote on the 10th. This event may cause greater reserve on the part of those who attend to nothing but to excite this and the other Prince to contaminate the Catholic religion.

But to return to the Prince of Condé, the Spanish Ambassador† informed me that the most Christian King told him that he would shed his own blood for the justification of the Prince (*che quel Principe si giustificasse*), and Cardinal Tournon uttered the same words to the Cardinal de Bourbon, the Prince's brother, to whom the King recommended him; adding moreover that he [Francis II.] will never dare (*che lui non ardirà mai*) to take the life of the Prince, who is of very Christian lineage, which deserved well of our holy faith, but if the Prince has defiled that blood, as he would have done if the charges brought against him be true, it was for the interest of the Cardinal de Bourbon and of the King of Navarre to have him

* See Venetian Calendar, vol. iv., No. 375; 6th April 1546.

† Thomas Perrenot, Count de Chantonay, brother of the Bishop of Arras.

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severely punished. This is the state of the Prince's affair, *nor can it yet be ascertained what will happen, though the general opinion is that in no event will he be condemned to death, but that the worst that can befall him is confinement in the Castle of Loches, where Ludovic Sforza, the Moor, died; or he will be kept thus in suspense till his most Christian Majesty be of an age and in a condition to decide for himself that which if it were determined at present would render this Guise family, which has the whole Government in its hands, more detested than ever.*

Orleans, 22nd November 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

210. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

A few days ago the English Ambassador [*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton*] *was sent for to the Court, and the Duke de Guise told him in the name of his most Christian Majesty that for the present he would not ratify the articles of the peace, and that he would send a person to Queen Elizabeth to give account of the causes which induced him to suspend his consent. This seemed a very serious matter to the Ambassador, as it appeared to him that his Queen had been deceived, for when she had an army in the field the ratification was promised her at the appointed time, but when she disarmed entirely it was delayed under various pretences, which are no longer valid, for though an Ambassador had already arrived from Scotland with most ample authority from the whole kingdom, they now announce this decision to Queen Elizabeth. On the other hand, however, the articles are of such a sort that it never could be credited that the King of France would approve them even had the rope been round his neck, as through their acceptance not only would he lose all authority in his kingdom of Scotland, but cede it in a certain way* (in certo modo) *to the Queen of England, who has undertaken its protection against his most Christian Majesty.*

It is indeed true that the English being then in arms, and the French almost completely driven out of Scotland, and France being in a state of confusion everywhere, it was thought fit not to refuse the proposed conditions, but to procrastinate and give words, taking advantage of time. This as seen by the result was wise policy, *for Queen Elizabeth has already disarmed, and the King of France is still at liberty to sign or not to sign.* The same policy continues at present, it being now said designedly *that they will send a person to England* to gain more time, and although they have already *elected the individual for this purpose, viz., M. de L'Isle, brother of the Ambassador resident with your Serenity, he will be despatched* as late as possible, *and even if sent he will go first to Scotland* to see the state of affairs *in that kingdom,* under pretext however *of hearing whether the commission of the Ambassador* [*Lord Sandilands*] *who came hither, is granted by the authority and with the consent of the whole kingdom, or of only a few persons; for although this individual is one of the chief personages, in Scotland but little credit is given him, as heretofore he was a*

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Churchman and a Knight of Malta, and of his own authority *made himself a layman* and took a wife. Such is the present state of this affair, *which should be held of great importance, because it is a fresh seed of war which would have brought forth its fruit* already had France been otherwise situated, but the present state of affairs *causes the Ministry to procrastinate contrary to their nature.*

Having written thus far on the 23rd, to-day being the 24th, I am informed *on the best authority that the King is very weak and feeble, and that having taken a slight purge this morning before daybreak, he vomited it a few hours afterwards. I cannot comprehend what right these physicians had to purge him* on the seventh [morning?], for I know that our physicians would consider it *a great mistake,* most especially seeing that the slightest *accident is very hurtful to his most Christian Majesty,* for during the last few days, *although the fever was very slight, he nevertheless suffered so much that he seemed almost delirious. My informant is a person of importance and one of the few who enter his Majesty's chamber, and he remains there almost constantly; and as this thing is kept very secret he requested me not to divulge it.*

The Cardinal of Lorraine has told the Nuncio that the Emperor wishes the Pope to have the Council General held at Inspruck and not at Trent as previously settled; and the Nuncio, *seeing these changes, and remembering that the French Ministry did not wish for the Council General either in Italy or Germany, is of opinion that neither they nor the Emperor wish for it by any means, the Pope alone desiring it.*

It is now the 25th, and the courier being still here I may add that *I am assured that the King is rather better this morning, having derived some benefit from yesterday's medicine,* although *his stomach rejected it. The medicine was given him from necessity, as the physicians, seeing that the malady attacked his head,* and apprehending *some catastrophe,* endeavoured to *avert it. His Majesty* nevertheless *remains very weak,* but there are fair hopes after seeing *this slight improvement.*

Orleans, 25th November 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

211. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

After my despatch of the 25th ultimo, his Majesty's inflammation of the head with slight fever continued till the eleventh day, viz., the 28th November, when it seemed advisable to these physicians to give him another dose of rhubarb, greatly to the derangement of his stomach, which rejected it, as on the former occasion, but until yesterday he felt tolerably well, everybody hoping that the malady would terminate favourably. But last night, which was the fourteenth [from the commencement of the illness], his Majesty had no rest both from very violent pain in the head and sickness and from fever, so he is in a bad way (*in un mal termine*), and in some danger. Although they endeavour to conceal the malady more than ever, the Queen Mother cannot suppress the signs of her sorrow, which is in-

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creased by the recollection of the predictions made by many astrologers, who all prognosticated his very short life. Contrary to custom the gates of the Court have also been closed during the whole of this day; no one entered his Majesty's chamber except the Queens and the three Guises, and no one is allowed access to the ante-chamber, which used to be crowded.

Orleans, 1st December 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

212. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I wrote this night that the most Christian King was worse. I have now to tell you that *laborat in extremis*, and he can live but for a few hours.

Orleans, 2nd December 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

213. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 1st instant I informed your Serenity that the King was worse, and this last night I wrote that his life was despaired of. He now still continues lingering without any other hope than in the mercy of God, and in the event of his death, which according to human judgment may be considered certain, it will take place at a time when all the three Estates will be assembled in this city as already summoned, with all the nearest in blood, and all the greatest and chiefest personages of the kingdom, so that it may be hoped, by the will of our Lord God, that the government of the new King may be settled by universal consent and without the din of arms, which is greatly feared from the rivalry of the nobles and the evil humours of the people about religion, and because the present government is not loved. From the result an estimate may be made of the good or evil about to befall this realm. As yet the general opinion is that the House of Guise will do everything possible to unite with the King of Navarre, and there is already some talk of releasing the Prince of Condé, and that the most Christian King's sister, Marguerite, will be given in marriage to the son of the King of Navarre, one of whose daughters will be given to the son of the Duke de Guise.

The whole Court is now constantly engaged at prayers, and processions are being made in all the churches of the city, which are attended very piously by the brothers and the sister of his most Christian Majesty, by the King of Navarre, and many other personages. May our Lord God grant that such fruit may be derived thence as shall be most beneficial for the Christian commonwealth.

I am this moment informed that a serious insurrection of 12,000 men has taken place at Bordeaux, caused by the arrest of the Prince of Condé, and the Spanish Ambassador* has been sent for to the

* Thomas Perrenot, Count de Chantonay. (See before, Despatch dated November 22.)

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Court, that he may write to the King Catholic for his assistance to quell this and other commotions which may arise in those parts from this opportunity of the death of the King.

Orleans, 3rd December 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

214. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

It has pleased our Lord God that the most Christian King, last night a little before midnight, should pass to a better life and end the agony in which he lay from Saturday evening until the day of his death.

The Crown descends to the late King's brother, the Duke of Orleans, by name Charles, a youth ten years of age, of handsome presence, gracious, and high and noble spirited. His governor hitherto has been M. de Cipierre,* a Knight of St. Michael, who being a soldier by profession has also trained the youth accordingly. This King will be in ward till he is fourteen years old, during which interval the kingdom will be ruled by others. It is believed that the Queen Mother will still retain her authority, but it cannot yet be known authentically what other persons will have the chief care of the Government. As this is a very rare case, and one which has never occurred in France, no certain rule has been laid down, but it is generally said that with the Queen Mother there will be associated the King of Navarre, the Constable, the Cardinals of Tournon and Lorraine, the Duke de Guise, the Chancellor, and the two Marshals Brissac [Charles de Cossé] and St. André [Jacques d'Albon]. But amongst the chief personages *there are many old and new enmities, and most especially between the King of Navarre, the House of Guise, and the Constable;* and besides this *the said Constable is of such a nature that he will admit no one to be equal to himself, nor will the Cardinal of Lorraine tolerate any superior.* It is believed that the Queen Mother *will favour the House of Guise as much as she can; because from them she has derived the whole or the greater part of the repute enjoyed by her hitherto; but although the Duke de Guise is popular, and above all with the nobility, yet everybody so detests the Cardinal of Lorraine that, if the matter depended upon universal suffrage, not only would he have no part in the Government, but perhaps not be in this world. It is already reported that his Right Reverend Lordship has sent his favourite and precious effects into Lorraine for greater safety;* it being also said that at any rate *he will withdraw into that territory and free himself from these functions,* in which, having *for colleagues his equals or persons of greater authority, he may lose much and gain nothing.* The King of Navarre is naturally pliant and tractable, and very dear to the kingdom both on this account *and also perhaps because of the new religion, to which the majority seem greatly to incline; and heretofore his Majesty favoured this sect, of which the leader is supposed to be*

* Philibert de Marcilly, Seigneur de Cipierre, Governor of Orleans. (See the late Sir W. Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 434.)

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his brother the Prince of Condé, who, as he is daring and resolute, were the said King head of this Government, would be apt (saria atto) *to make him consent to many things which might produce such divisions in the faith as the Cardinal of Tournon told me he dreaded.* The Papal Nuncio has also urged the Queen Mother several times to confirm his Majesty [Charles IX.] in the good will always evinced by him for the affairs of the religion, which offices are very acceptable to the Cardinal of Tournon, and very favourable to the Cardinal of Lorraine. The like has also been done by the Spanish Ambassador, *though no one in this Government can please the King Catholic more than the Constable for his own respects* (per sui rispetti). So by reason of this most grievous catastrophe the affairs of this great kingdom *are in such danger as every one can understand.* May our Lord God vouchsafe *to stretch forth His hand for the universal welfare of Christendom.*

Orleans, 6th December 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

215. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It was determined yesterday in the Council that the "Estates" were to be held at the appointed time, which will commence this week, this decision being so much the more in favour of the religion, as it does not allow time for those who desire change to carry on their clandestine designs with the cities and provinces to make them send mischievous persons, as they might easily have done had this assembly been deferred; and it is credible that the persons already appointed are of such a sort that they will not propose any innovation, having been elected during the lifetime of the late King, who both of his own will and by the advice of his Ministers always evinced very great ardour about the affairs of the religion.

Until now the Queen Mother is considered the chief personage and superintendent of the government in all things, and application will be made to her about negotiations, both to give supreme authority to her Majesty, *and also not to appoint any President of the Council and to prevent competition.* Orders have been already given for the Ambassadors and others, who wish for audience, to ask it of her Majesty through the Secretaries. By this new regulation it will not be necessary to give account of one's business first of all either to the Cardinal of Lorraine, or to the Constable, or to anyone else, as was usually done hitherto, but at once to address the Queen, who, should the matter need to be referred to the Council, will propose it and give the reply according to their decision; and if the members of the Council require any special information, the Ambassador or others who have to treat the business will be introduced to the Council, and be heard and expedited.

The personages who will rule with the Queen are the eight mentioned in my last, viz., the King of Navarre, the Constable, the Duke de Guise, the two Cardinals, Tournon and Lorraine, the two Marshals, Brissac and St. André, and the Chancellor.

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As not one of them will be superior to the others, all may remain well satisfied, *provided the ambition of some of them do not exceed their reason and their duty.* More honour will be rendered to the King of Navarre than to the others on account of his rank, and because he is next of kin and in great favour with the kingdom, but he will not have greater authority than the others in the decisions, and he, like the rest, will pay respect to the Queen Mother, who is maintained in this eminent position through her ability and industry, and by the advice of the House of Guise, and by various other means, including the assistance of the Papal Nuncio and the Spanish Ambassador, who all exercised influence in favour of her Majesty's authority, saying that their Princes desired this. The late courier was sent by the Nuncio to the Pope *at the persuasion of the Queen and of these Guise lords, to induce his Holiness to write hither warmly on the subject of the religion, commending the Queen and her good will, and exhorting her to continue in it, offering also all his forces and authority in her favour and for the benefit of the kingdom; which proceeding is expected to be very beneficial in confirming the sentiments of those who are well disposed and in curbing their opponents.*

The new King has confirmed in his service all the gentlemen and courtiers employed by his predecessor, and this morning the Order of St. Michael was given in public to his most Christian Majesty and to his brother the Duke of Angoulême. So by degrees every one will forget the death of the late King except the young Queen, his widow, who being no less noble minded than beautiful and graceful in appearance, the thoughts of widowhood at so early an age, and of the loss of a consort who was so great a King and who so dearly loved her, and also that she is dispossessed of the Crown of France with little hope of recovering that of Scotland, which is her sole patrimony and dower, so afflict her that she will not receive any consolation, but, brooding over her disasters with constant tears and passionate and doleful lamentations, she universally inspires great pity.

The body of the late King has been opened, and the whole brain was found diseased (*et hanno trovato guasto tutto il cervello*), so that no medical treatment could ever have cured it. They have made his statue as usual, and go to serve it daily, performing the ordinary ceremonies; but the funeral will either be less stately than usual, or postponed, owing to the present straitened state of the finances of the Kingdom.

Orleans, 8th December 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

216. ANDREA BADOER and AUGUSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassadors Extraordinary, and PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador in Ordinary, with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty, having appointed us audience for Sunday, sent his Maggiordomo the Marquis de las Navas,* who took us to him, there

* Don Pedro de Ayala. (See the late Sir Wm. Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 421.)

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being present the Duke of Alva, and many other chief lords and gentlemen of his Court; his Majesty doffing his bonnet, and receiving us with a cheerful countenance.

Next day we went to the Queen, and afterwards to the Prince [Don Carlos] and Princess [of Portugal], son and sister of the King Catholic, and also to his illegitimate brother, Don John of Austria, performing with her Majesty, their Highnesses, and his Excellency such offices as commissioned us by your Serenity, and with which they all seemed much satisfied.

Toledo, 13th December 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Delib. Senato (Secreta), vol. 72, f. 37.

217. The Doge and Senate to [Charles IX.] King of France.

A letter of condolence on the death of his brother the late King [Francis II.]

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Ib. f. 38.

218. The Same to the Queen Mother [Catherine de' Medici].

A similar letter.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Ib. f. 38.

219. The Same to the Queen Widow [Mary Queen of Scotland].

A similar letter, referring to the goodness and promise of her late husband.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Ib. f. 38.

220. The Same to [Michiel Surian,] their Ambassador in France.

Commanding him to condole with the new King of France on the death of his brother, and to congratulate him on his succession; and also to condole with the Queen Mother and the Queen Widow, and with the principal personages of the Court. And as the writers have chiefly at heart the affairs of the religion, the Ambassador is to favour and assist the offices which the Papal Nuncio has performed and will perform on this account with the Queen Mother and every one else with whom it may be necessary.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

221. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Since my last of the 8th instant, I went to visit the new most Christian King and the Queen Mother, and I found them both together, which was I believe arranged on my account, both not to give me occasion to go and speak apart to his most Christian Majesty, who from his tender age cannot know how to receive or answer an Ambassador as becoming, as also to spare me fatigue, the Queen knowing that I had a slight attack of gout; and I was very glad of this favour, by so much the more as her Majesty chose me to remain seated the whole time for my greater convenience, although many

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Cardinals and Princes present remained standing. I endeavoured to convince her that her joys and sorrows and the advantages and disadvantages of this kingdom are felt by you like those of a sovereign and of a realm to whom you are bound by the most friendly ties. The Queen answered me most kindly, making such a demonstration that it seemed to proceed from a well affected disposition towards the most excellent Republic; and the most Christian King [Charles IX.], young as he is, said, "Well do I know what a good friend the Signory was to my father and to this kingdom, and therefore write to them that I shall always assist the maintenance of that friendship with all good will."

I also visited the Constable, who received me so much to the honour and favour of the Republic that nothing more could be expected, and though he is said to be more than 70 years old, yet he is so hale and with such a good constitution and so vigorous that he may fully suffice to disquiet all his juniors in this Government, and he is supposed to have introduced into the Council of Affairs, in addition to the eight persons mentioned in my last, three others of the blood, viz., the Cardinal de Bourbon, brother of the King of Navarre, the Duke of Montpensier [Louis de Bourbon], and the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon [Charles de Bourbon], who, the more they are akin to the King of Navarre, by so much the more are averse to the House of Guise. It is also suggested to introduce into the Council Admiral Coligny, the Constable's nephew, but this proposal has many difficulties. It is true that the Admiral is greatly favoured *by the Ambassador from Spain* [Thomas Perrenot, Count de Chantonay], who in talking with me shows himself entirely on the Constable's side and opposed to that of Guise; *but the Nuncio,* although apparently impartial, favours the House of Guise as much as he can, *which renders him very dear to the Queen, who,* although she shows herself neutral, cannot in reality *bear the Constable from old enmities.* I do not interfere in these matters, both because I have no interest in either one side or the other, as also from being unable to discern which of the two parties would be most favourable to your Serenity, seeing that both of them have turned their backs on the affairs of Italy either wilfully or from necessity, and that it is in contemplation to ignore them completely, for I hear that they intend to disband part of the companies garrisoned in Piedmont. Although the King and many members of the Council have been warned that this would put all the fortresses there in danger not only of being taken by storm but of being plundered (*robate*), as the present garrisons are reduced to the least possible number, these warnings are not listened to, it seeming on the contrary that they are negotiating some fresh treaty with the Duke [of Savoy] to give up the fortresses to him before the appointed time; yet it is known that by ceding what little remains to them, Lyons, which used to be in the middle of the kingdom, would remain the frontier, and from Lyons to Marseilles the whole country is open, without any fortress, and at the mercy of any power.

Orleans, 18th December 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Dec. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

222. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is still doubtful whether the Estates will be held at present, or postponed till another time, as the difficulties between these Commissioners (*Commissarii*) are endless, partly from the diversity of their commissions and of the requests they have to make, partly from individual caprice, as it is difficult for upwards of two hundred and fifty persons, such being the number of those who represent the provinces, counties, and bailiwicks, to agree, they consisting of three orders, viz., prelates, noblemen, and commons, and they are therefore called the Three Estates. To effect some arrangement and regulation among them, provision was made that the orders should meet separately in certain churches appointed for this purpose, that they might agree to unite together, which has apparently succeeded with the majority, so that the order of the commons and that of the prelates are almost agreed. But it is not so with the noblemen, because the representatives of Guienne and of some parts of Britany, Normandy, and Champagne will not consent to treat with this Government without a fresh commission from their constituents, saying that their commission was to the late King Francis, so that they cannot treat with the Council; *an invention of those who are not satisfied with the present Government and dislike the Queen's supremacy*; and by so much the more as they say that according to certain ancient privileges these provinces also lay claim to send a person on their behalf who is to be admitted into the Government. Perceiving this fresh obstacle, and the agreement seeming difficult to her, the Queen sent for the President of La Rochelle, who is one of the chief of them, and told him to have an autograph list made out of all those who dissent from the others, with their names and surnames, and to bring it to her. So all these noblemen having assembled in a church, disputed violently, nor did any one dare to be the first to sign this list, and it is hoped that finally the matter will be well settled, which would be of great consequence, because *if the Estates treat with this Government they would* in a certain way *approve its legitimacy by general consent, although they did not observe the usual system in electing it.* It is evident that *neither in the Council nor in the Government is there the union required for the safety of this Kingdom, there being persons so intent upon their private interests that to gratify their appetite they would not care to see the public in trouble. Who these persons are* may be easily imagined by every one. The disturbances in Gascony, Bordeaux, and Navarre have all been quieted since the King's death was known, although the reports on this subject vary, it being said that the Spaniards had raised forces on the frontiers to attack Navarre, but the King of Navarre's agents apologize for him by saying that he raised troops to oppose them, whilst on the other hand the Navarese by rising are accused of giving occasion to the Spaniards to move; but notwithstanding this the King of Navarre gains repute and popularity daily, so that, *as the Constable's faction and that of Guise both seek to gain him, he is courted by one and the other.* His brother the Prince of Condé, who was a prisoner, has

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been released on the said King's security, and the prevalent opinion is that he would be quite free *if they could induce him to be reconciled to these Guise lords, against whom alone he is resentful, considering their authority the cause of all his troubles.* The Vidâme de Chartres also was likewise released from the Bastille, but has subsequently suffered a serious illness, and his life was in danger.

The King of Navarre is sending to Rome to urge the Pope to admit into public consistory the agent he sent him lately to tender obedience as Ambassador of a King, which his Holiness has not chosen to do hitherto lest it prejudice the King Catholic, who has the title of King of Navarre, which was given him by Pope Julius the Second when he excommunicated and deprived the Duke D'Albret of the Kingdom of Navarre for having assented and given favour to the Council convoked against his Holiness in those times.

Orleans, 20th December 1560.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

223. Andrea Badoer and Augustino Barbarigo, Venetian Ambassadors Extraordinary, and Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador in Ordinary, with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

His Catholic Majesty delayed our audience until today, having been for some days in retirement owing to the death of the most Christian King; so it was only this morning that he graciously received us, in the same place and with the same ceremony as when we first presented ourselves to his Majesty, of whom having taken good and grateful leave, in such terms as seemed fitting to us, he, by the great kindness evinced to us, and in every other way, showed that he was greatly satisfied with the performance of this ceremony by your Serenity through us, saying that in like manner as he returned you many thanks for it, so he will always demonstrate the excellent will he bears the Signory.

Toledo, 22nd December 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

224. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 17th instant the news of the death of the most Christian King arrived here, for which the King Catholic showed the sorrow he felt, and would not allow himself to be seen for some days, going into mourning, together with the Queen, and almost the whole Court. His Majesty will send a gentleman to France, to condole with the new King and with the Queen, and other personages at the Court of France.

Some Genoese merchants have made a compromise with King Philip about their credit with his Majesty for one million of ducats, the interest upon which has now been reduced to five per cent. per annum; and the compromise is, that his Majesty consents to give them seven per cent. per annum with any security they please, the

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merchants binding themselves to supply the King in eighteen months with another million of ducats, on condition that he gives them security for repayment of this million upon the revenues of the province of Toledo for the year 1563, and that in the meanwhile they are to receive interest at the rate of ten per cent. per annum.

The Spanish troops in Flanders twice embarked, and were twice driven back by contrary winds, many of them having suffered much at sea from various inconveniences, especially from cold, of which some of them died; nevertheless, the United Provinces, still distrusting their departure, continue determined not to grant the smallest subsidy so long as they are visible. They had however despatched some captains to raise infantry to replace the usual Spanish garrisons in the fortresses and on the frontiers, so that they (the United Provinces) would have in their pay about five thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry.

There was much suspicion in England that the war would continue with France, which has never confirmed the treaty, though possibly owing to the death of the most Christian King things may take another turn.

They are sending Don Pedro Velez de Guevara, brother of the Castellan of Piacenza, to Sicily, that from thence he may provide La Galetta with the necessary supplies, from the fear prevalent here lest in the spring the Turkish fleet attack it.

Toledo, 27th December 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

225. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Since my last of the 20th the only important intelligence is that the three Estates are coming to an agreement (*si vanno accommodando*), and these Lords of the Council are doing all they can to expedite affairs as soon as possible. As one of the chief things for consideration is the question of finance, which comprises the administration of the royal revenues, they are now discussing their regulation, a very difficult business owing to the infinite disorder in which the revenues are from the mode of raising them and of their expenditure. Many important sources of profit are neglected and left at the mercy of one person and the other, so that what should yield the Crown one hundred produced but ten; and as the Treasurers, who are innumerable (*infiniti*), have no method, and each of them can dispose at his convenience of the sums levied by him, the fixed assignments for current expenditure are either not paid, or no account is kept of them. Amongst many other consequent evils is the following one of no slight importance, viz., that such persons as receive stipends from the King, being soldiers and others, if they wish to be paid, negotiate with one Treasurer or another and are compelled to compromise, giving up twenty or thirty per cent. merely to obtain what belongs to them. The Government are now endeavouring to remedy these abuses, which they find very difficult, as the evil is already of ancient date; but to make a commencement they have disbanded all the soldiery raised in this city and

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throughout the kingdom by the late King, the author of this resolution having been *the Constable*, both for the benefit of the kingdom, as also perhaps to *gain to his side the King of Navarre, in opposition to whom all these precautions were taken, and as a reproach to the House of Guise, who devised them. Nothing has yet been done about the new agreement with the Duke of Savoy, nor will the Queen consent to anything of such importance during the King's minority, her opinion being shared by the majority of the Council; but as they are expecting a personage from the King of Spain to condole on the late King's death, it is possible that on his arrival they may arrive at some other conclusion.*

Orleans, 27th December 1560.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

226. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassadors Extraordinary departed the day after they took leave of the King, having executed all their commissions much to your Serenity's honour, and to their great praise, especially with these Spaniards, who delight in pomp and display, so that their liberality and splendour will always remain on record, and vie with their prudence and ability.

On the evening of their departure the King sent each of them a handsome gold chain as mark of the satisfaction he derived from the mission performed by them. When their Lordships took leave, I told the King that they would acquaint your Serenity with his Majesty's pious and holy intention about the Council, as also with the favour he would afford it, which would greatly gratify your Serenity, who had not only desired the Council, but solicited it through your Ambassador [Marcantonio Damula] with the Pope, by reason of the need which you knew Christendom had for it. His Majesty replied that he in like manner had desired and urged it, nor would he fail doing his utmost to that effect.

The King has appointed Don Juan Manrique de Lara to perform the office of condolence in France, and he will depart to-morrow.

Toledo, 28th December 1560.

[*Italian.*]

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1561. Jan. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

227. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King will not return to Toledo until the preparations for the obsequies of the most Christian King are complete; and the Queen Catholic is also absent at a shrine (*ad una devotion*), six leagues hence.

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The Duke of Savoy has sent hither Stefano Doria not so much to condole with his Majesty on the death of King Francis, as to obtain, upon the necessary ratification of the articles [of peace], the restitution of the Piedmontese fortresses still in the hands of France and Spain.

The Duke of Florence is accused of having had the Council published before the arrival of Monsignor Gerio, who was taking to Rome the King's decision in this matter. Besides this they greatly resent his having caused the removal hence of the Nuncio Terracina because Monsignor Terracina had not acted with due diligence in endeavouring to effect the marriage of the Princess, his Majesty's sister, to the Prince of Florence, his son, and because the Duke wished to have a Nuncio at this Court dependent upon him in everything. I hear that this talk has reached the Princess, who greatly resents it, considering herself held in small account, from its being supposed that any mediation could persuade her to act contrary to her inclination.*

A solemn "auto" of the Inquisition was performed lately at Seville, when seventeen persons were burnt for heresy, and amongst them a mother with five daughters, and five were burnt alive for their obduracy.

Toledo, 2nd January 1561.

[*Italian: the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

228. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day before yesterday I had audience of the young King and of the Queen Mother, to whom I said that as the Republic always had at heart the holy religion, both from respect for the Lord God, as He is the chief cause of the safety of kingdoms, and for the quiet and of the authority of sovereigns, so I hoped her Majesty would be confirmed in this opinion, having heard that since her Majesty has supreme command in France these disturbances had taken a good turn. Her Majesty replied that "she had received so many favours from the Almighty that she could not but do her utmost for the preservation and increase of the holy Christian religion, which she had always promoted, and would moreover do so for the future, knowing what I had said to be very true, as the alteration of religion alters states, disorders governments, and destroys obedience." Although from these words it seemed that great good might be hoped for France, yet certain things which I have heard from the Nuncio, and from the Cardinals of Tournon and Lorraine, make me rather fear the contrary. First, it has been determined in the Privy Council that should the Council General not be held before next June the National Council will assemble in France; which, the Cardinal of Lorraine told me, they could not

* Joanna of Austria, Princess of Portugal, and mother of Don Sebastian. In Foreign Calendar, date 1560, December 22 (p. 453), I read, "The Duke desired the crown, in "order to facilitate the marriage of his eldest son with the sister of the King of Spain, "she having refused because the Prince was not a King's son."—R.B.

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deny to the Estates, who demanded it; and this concession apparently caused all the three Estates to agree not to renounce the old religion, except only a part of the nobility, who still choose to be at liberty to live in their own fashion. To this must be added another reason, viz., that although the greater part of the clergy, and most especially of the bishops, approve the old religion, yet many of the nobility approve the new one, and have many adherents in France, especially in Guienne, where the population is the most warlike. The third reason is that in the bull of the Council the words "*sublata suspensione*" are interpreted to mean that the Pope intends to continue the Council already commenced, and that the decrees already made are to be valid; which greatly offends these Lords, who protested at the time against that Council and would not send their prelates, and many wish its decrees to be examined *de novo*. The Cardinal of Lorraine has therefore complained to the Nuncio that to continue the first Council would displease France. But when I was talking with the Cardinal of Lorraine about this, he said that if the Emperor and the King of Spain accepted the Council in that form France would not reject it, though he believes it will bear no good fruit.

Orleans, 7th January 1561.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

229. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Estates continue sitting, and in ten days they are expected to conclude everything, after which decision the Court is expected to depart for Fontainebleau, where they will finish adjusting the affairs of the King's household with regard to cost and pensions; and the latter are being diminished to the utmost. Almost half of the galleys have been paid off, and those taken into the seas of Britany will return to Marseilles. Orders have been given for the release of all galley slaves, your Serenity's subjects.

Orleans, 9th January 1561.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

230. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen, when at a shrine six leagues hence, was seized with the small-pox, and was moved to Mazerambros, three leagues from this city: the eruption became so violent that it covered her whole body, and also her mouth, tongue, and throat, so that she could not swallow any nourishment, however liquid, without great difficulty.

Last year on arriving at Toledo, she had an attack of the same malady*, but the Spanish physicians suppressed the eruption by copious blood-letting, so that only very few pustules appeared; but now when the same physicians had recourse to the same remedy, bleeding her twice, the eruption nevertheless became profuse, and

* See despatch of 13th March 1560, Toledo.

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her life was in no little danger. This is the thirteenth day, and from what I hear her Majesty is better, the fever subsiding, and the pustules exsiccating. The King, immediately on hearing of his consort's illness, went postwise to her, remaining constantly in her chamber, and taking especial care about her treatment and diet. All the chief personages of the Court flocked thither likewise, and are still there, much to their inconvenience, the place being a small one.

Three months ago the Milanese, Marc' Antonio Bossi, Ambassador from King Philip with the Switzers, came to this Court accompanied by the Cavalier Walter Rollo, a Switzer of the Canton of Uri, they having been sent by the five allied Catholic cantons to persuade his Majesty to assist them in a war against the Canton of Glarus, which had declared itself Lutheran. The Spanish Council of State determined not to concede the grant, because endeavours were being made to adjust the affairs of the religion pacifically, and it was undesirable to have recourse to arms. Besides this, if King Philip had aided these five cantons, he would thus have violated the hereditary league between the House of Austria and all the Swiss cantons, on account of the German and Burgundian provinces bordering on Switzerland; he also feared that it might be resented by France and by many German princes who are allied with the Switzers. For these reasons Bossi and Rollo were sent back to the five cantons to appease them, and the Ambassador Bossi took conciliatory letters to the cantons in general.

The Duke of Savoy informs King Philip that the Pope has promised him assistance for the recovery of Geneva; so he requests aid from King Philip, and will ask it of his most Christian Majesty also. *His wish is for these Princes to coalesce for the observance of whatever may be determined at the Council, and that they should elect him general of the league; but the intention of the King Catholic is to make no stir of arms, because he has experienced how many troubles war brings with it.*

Last Sunday "the crusade bull" conceded by the Pope to King Philip was carried with very great solemnity to the Cathedral, where it was received by Don Carlos, who remained there during the sermon, which was preached as usual to exhort the people to purchase the bull.

The jubilee sent by his Holiness about the Council has not yet been published, because the contractors for "the crusade bull" opposed it, lest, being conceded gratis, it might be detrimental to "the crusade bull," which costs two reals. The Romish inquisitors also impeded the jubilee bull, because all persons taking it were allowed to elect a confessor to grant absolution for having read prohibited books, of which clause the inquisitors disapproved, as they consider that no one but themselves should have this authority, so that they may ascertain what books are brought into this province. They have written to Rome that the bull may be amended, and in the meanwhile "the crusade bull" was published as above.

The Nuncio Campeggio has arrived, and is not welcome, partly on account of the Nuncio Terracina, who gave great satisfaction to

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the whole of this Court, and in part by reason of the Duke of Florence, from whom he seems to come as Nuncio, rather than from the Pope; and here they are much offended by the Duke's choosing to have more influence than ought by right belong to him.

Great dissatisfaction has been caused here by the announcement that at Rome audience had been given to the Ambassador[s] of Monsieur de Vendôme in the form usually observed with kings, although the rights of his Catholic Majesty were reserved.*

Three days ago the Pope's nephew, Hannibal Altemps, arrived in this city; he is commissioned to present his Majesty with the sword blessed by the Pope, and which is coming with the galleys now on their voyage to Spain.

The King has sent orders to Flanders that the Spanish infantry is not to depart without a fresh commission from him, for as the peace between France and England has never been confirmed, he declines to disarm; *but the truth is that his Majesty has little wish to remove them, more for the sake of curbing his own subjects than from fear of foreign forces.*

Toledo, 16th January 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

231. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

Monsignor di Bologna, the Nuncio here, is writing to Cardinal Borromeo,† as follows. That the King on reading the bull of publication of the Council was much troubled at its making no mention of the continuation of the Council, whereby it appeared that a new Council was to be called; and that his Majesty [said he] could not approve of the bull in this form, and prayed his Holiness not to allow himself to be deceived by heretics, but to correct the bull by removing the equivocal words. The Nuncio replied, that the Pope had examined this case, and by the advice of able theologians and jurists, and of all the Cardinals, he had thus determined, and that it would be too scandalous were he to reverse the decree; so King Philip, as a Catholic, and devoted to the See Apostolic, should refer himself to the judgment of his Holiness, and not to that of others. Knowing that the King and the whole Court had recourse to the decision of the Confessor, the Nuncio requested him to counsel his Majesty and the others to acquiesce in his Holiness's opinion.‡ The Confessor rejoined that if the Pope would write to his Majesty to the effect that his Holiness does not intend to

* Antoine de Bourbon, Duke de Vendôme, titular King of Navarre; at the close of 1560 he was Lieutenant-General of France.

† Carlo Borromeo, nephew of Pius IV., who made him Cardinal 31st January 1560; and he was canonized by Paul V. on the 1st of November 1610. (See Cardella, vol. v., p. 4 to p. 8.)

‡ As frequently mentioned in the Venetian Calendar, the name of this confessor was Bernardo de Fresneda. (See Foreign Calendar, Queen Mary, p.364.)

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weaken the decisions of the Council, he, the Confessor, would pacify the King Catholic.

Toledo, 18th January 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

232. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Monsignor Gerio has brought from Rome the concession from the Pope for his Majesty to exact a forced loan from the clergy of Spain, for the maintenance of fifty galleys for the benefit of Christendom. But this concession contains so many conditions that it does not please the King, for it is limited to five years, and it revokes the subsidy which the Spanish priesthood pay his Majesty, amounting to about two hundred thousand ducats annually; and the Pope also annuls the privilege recently granted to the King to alienate fiefs of the churches in Spain, to the amount of twenty-five thousand ducats revenue, which were expected to yield about two millions of ducats. It is supposed that the concession will not be accepted, and that the King will urge the Pope to enlarge his favours rather than to restrict them.

This proceeding of the Pope, so utterly at variance with what was desired and expected here, is chiefly attributed to the Duke of Florence, who persuades his Holiness not to be too bountiful in his concessions, so that the King may more easily consent to his wishes, and that above all his Majesty should enrich the Papal nephews, the Borromeos. For these reasons said Duke becomes daily more and more odious at this Court.

Since the death of Prince Doria* there has been great difficulty about the election of a naval Captain-General in his stead, as Gio. Andrea Doria, his heir, claims this post. The objections to him are, his youth, which does not exceed twenty-one years, the difficulty of making certain naval commanders obey him, and above all his being an Italian, as it is considered here that so important a charge at this time should be trusted to none but a Spaniard.

Don Juan de Mendoza, General of the Galleys of Spain, aspired to this command, but the House of Toledo proposed Don Garcia, son of Don Pedro, late Viceroy of Naples, who having been for a time General of the Galleys of Naples, might seem to have more experience of the affairs of Italy than Don Juan de Mendoza; but as it would be very difficult to persuade Gian Andrea Doria, for whom likewise much regard must be had, to render obedience to either one or the other of the above, it has been said that possibly the King would appoint as General his brother Don John of Austria, giving him for lieutenant Don Juan Manrique, or some other such person (*o altro tale*). But the Admiral of Castile also lays claim to this command, and he demands it by right, asserting that the universal government of all his Majesty's fleets appertains to the person who holds the title of Admiral of his principal kingdom, as he does. This grandee is a very principal personage in Spain, *but he has no experience whatever of maritime affairs. Amongst the many*

* Andrea Doria died at Genoa in his 94th year, on the 25th November 1560.

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persons named it cannot be ascertained whom his Majesty will decide to appoint, though as the spring is near at hand the matter presses; but it is said that if this command is not conferred on Gian Andrea Doria, the King will endeavour to give him satisfaction in some other way, it being of great consequence to keep this personage, if not content, at least not quite dissatisfied.

It is heard from Flanders that the counter order not having arrived in time, the Spanish infantry embarked on the 10th instant, and on arriving in Spain they will be sent from Barcelona to Italy and Sicily.

The King has returned to Toledo, and has had the obsequies of the late King of France solemnized there.

Toledo, 27th January 1561.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

233. Alvise Bonrizzo, Venetian Secretary in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Don Juan Manrique arrived here lately, and on the morrow had audience of his most Christian Majesty.

He then went to visit the Queen of Scotland, with whom, in the presence of the Duke de Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, he held very confidential communications, and I am assured that besides his other commissions Don Juan is also empowered, to treat a marriage between her Majesty and the Prince of Spain. *This does not much please the English Ambassador, who said to me that were this marriage to take place, the friendship subsisting between the Queen his mistress* (patrona) *and the King Catholic would be converted into a no less enmity.*

Three days ago a courier arrived from the Imperial Court, and has been detained, which is kept very secret. The French Ministers are informed that the Emperor has accepted the bull of the Council General, but the term of Easter seeming to him too short he wished to have it protracted. As the Pope is averse to this, lest he be compelled to concede the Council National in this kingdom, the French Ministry have requested the Emperor not to insist on further delay.

Orleans, 30th January 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

234. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

I communicated to the Nuncio your Serenity's orders to let him know whatever I heard about the Council and affairs of religion, and to exert myself in all such ways as could be beneficial to Christendom, and satisfactory to his Holiness. When speaking to the King about the death of his most Christian Majesty and the state of religion in France, I said that French affairs would doubt-

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less take a good turn under favour of his Majesty, who had given too evident proofs of his piety, in procuring the publication of the Council, which would not only benefit France, but Germany, England, and all Christendom, in the matter of religion. I also said that as his Majesty must be acknowledged as the prime mover of this commencement of the world's commonweal and of the salvation of mankind, so it was universally trusted that he would proceed favouring the public good, that it might produce the expected fruits, and that he would not allow any Prince whatever to take precedence. These words I uttered because at that time it was generally reported at the Court that the French had accepted the Council General, though this proved to be false. His Majesty replied that he should always be ready to afford such becoming favour as he could for the benefit of Christendom, and that he felt certain your Serenity likewise would not fail on your part.

The Nuncio told me afterwards that the Duke of Alva said to him he hoped the bull [proclaiming the Council General] would be accepted.

The most Serene Queen has returned to Toledo so pitted with small-pox that she does not allow herself to be seen by any one, so I shall be unable to present your Serenity's letter of condolence; and to-day she had a slight attack of fever.

Besides the other candidates for the generalship by sea, in succession to Prince Doria, many more have declared themselves, including the Duke of Sessa and the Marquis of Pescara; *and what causes much greater surprise here is that in an autograph letter addressed to King Philip by the Duke of Savoy, he offers to accept this charge in case his Majesty increase the fleet.*

The Spanish infantry from Flanders were driven by stress of weather to Corunna, and refused to go back to Laredo, from which port they might more easily have reached Barcelona, where they were to have embarked for Italy, which they would not hear of, being but too much exhausted with the hardships of the voyage from Flanders.

Toledo, 3rd February 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

235. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

The Papal Nuncio has showed me a writing received from the French Ambassador resident here, narrating how the most Christian King and the Queen Mother had desired that the Council should be held at Trent, but after inspecting the published bull of the Council, they remarked certain words which prevented it from being general, as required by the need of Christendom; implying that unless a new Council were held, many would absent themselves; so their Majesties had urged the Pope to amend the bull, lest from the absence of a few words the benefit anticipated by all Christians

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might be frustrated. Their Majesties were also determined to do in this matter whatever was done by the Emperor and the King Catholic. After perusal of this writing the Nuncio said he considered it certain that the French would avoid (fugissero) *the Council General, as they desired a National Council, and that to find an apparent excuse in the face of the world, they feigned a reference to the Emperor and King Philip, being well aware that the Emperor and his Catholic Majesty could with difficulty agree; and owing to their discord the French think they can gain their point and obtain the National Council.*

The Nuncio therefore determined to persuade King Philip to cease making difficulties, and to accept the Council; and he proposed to ask his Catholic Majesty what he had said to me about the French, and their project to exculpate themselves, should the Council General not take place, by referring themselves to the Emperor and to the King Catholic, who ought to keep well on the watch, and not to let himself be charged with the sins of others, that he might never be accused of having failed in any particular; and to free himself there was no better expedient than to accept the Council, thus demonstrating to the whole world his good and holy mind; then by his example, and by some strong action, he should endeavour to persuade the French to do the like, they having already referred themselves to him. He (the Nuncio) would request that the Emperor should inform the Queen Mother, and the other [French] Ministers, that although at the commencement his Imperial Majesty had some objection to the bull of the Council, yet having considered that this matter entirely concerns the Pope, he determined to refer himself to his Holiness, and exhorted the kingdom of France to do the like, giving that realm very clearly to understand that he could not but evince resentment against those who chose to raise a difficulty about summoning the Council; he being certain of having with him the Pope and all the Italian potentates.

The Nuncio asked me what I thought of his project. I replied that to dissuade the Catholic King from his repugnance to accept the bull of the Council would, I thought, prove beneficial, because his example might be followed by others; but I remarked that his Majesty could with difficulty be persuaded to make so violent a remonstrance to France, as desired by his Lordship. To this he replied, that the King ought to do so, as every good Christian is bound to shed his blood and spend his life for the Catholic religion; and then he inquired whether I would assist him, and on my answering that provided I saw a good and convenient opportunity I would not fail to do so, he added, "I would that you also should go to the King and endeavour to persuade him in accordance with the attempt that I shall make, assuring his Majesty that the Signory will always be united with him in whatever may occur for the service of the Council, so that King Philip, knowing Venice to be his ally in all cases of need, may so much the more easily dispose himself to perform the office mentioned by me in France." To this I replied that I could not act thus without an express order from your Serenity. We at

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length settled that his Lordship should speak with the King, and we would then see what could be done.

Toledo, 16th February 1561.

[*Italian; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

236. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The audience given by the Pope to the Ambassadors of Monsieur de Vendôme as King of Navarre, although the rights of King Philip were reserved, has caused very great resentment here, so that some of his Majesty's councillors complained grievously (gravemente) *to the Nuncio, telling him that this Pope did what had never been done by Clement VII., heretofore the Emperor's enemy, nor by Paul III., who had very serious complaints and causes of dissatisfaction against him, nor by Julius III., nor yet finally by Paul IV., who waged war against this King; adding that there were other things done to the disparagement of this King's greatness, and of his observance for the Church, referring to what took place about precedence. The Nuncio replied, that of the Pope's mind towards his Majesty he knew not what more certain testimony to give than the favours conceded by his Holiness to his Majesty, viz., the "Cruzada," the subsidy from the clergy, and the fitting out of the fifty galleys. To which they rejoined that the Pope when granting those favours made very little or no difference between King Philip and other minor potentates, and that the favours were not so important as the Nuncio seemed to consider them. On hearing this language the Nuncio said he could not tolerate its being alleged here that his Holiness bore less goodwill to the King than any of the Pope's predecessors had borne him, as never did a Pontiff bear more affection to this Crown nor wish his Majesty more advantage than the present one did. So the councillors, seeing the Nuncio angry, added, to appease him, that he was not to interpret their words as signifying that they had not the best possible opinion of his Holiness, it being on the contrary peculiar to friends and confidants to express freely any dissatisfaction they had, that it might be remedied, whereas those who were less well inclined wsually remain silent, and retain offences in their own breasts, so that all they had said should be taken in this sense, that his Holiness might remedy the prejudice done to his Majesty in the matter of Navarre. But notwithstanding all this the Nuncio complained to King Philip, adding that the Pope thought he was doing a good action of great importance to Christendom by bringing back to the straight path Monsieur de Vendôme, who had been hitherto considered a schismatic, and who has now such great authority in the government of France; and that the Pope therefore trusted that he was not only at liberty to prejudice his Majesty to some extent, but also to deprive him of something, and that King Philip would remain satisfied with his proceeding in this way; but that in the present case his Majesty had neither been deprived of anything nor in any way prejudiced, for at the audience given to the Ambassadors of the King of Navarre the right of the King of Spain was reserved; so the Nuncio*

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could not but complain greatly of the words uttered by his Majesty's councillors. King Philip made answer that he had commissioned his councillors to consult about this matter, which greatly concerned him, and that as yet he had not heard their decision, though he assured the Nuncio that his goodwill and reverence for the Pope had not at all diminished, and that he was to assure the Pope that the King wished to be always his good son.

The Pope's nephew, Count Hannibal Altemps, has been honourably received by this King, who permits him to remain covered in his presence and precede all the Spanish grandees. The chief business of this Count is to effect his marriage with the sister of the Duke of Montalto, which is impeded by the mother of the Marquis of Pescara, the bride's aunt.

The Count requests King Philip to favour the marriage, but gives it openly to be understood that Don Iñigo, brother of the Marquis of Pescara, will never be Cardinal, till his (Hannibal Altemps') marriage takes place. This King requested his Holiness very earnestly to make Don Iñigo cardinal, and considers the thing a point of honour.

The Queen is still rather indisposed, but not dangerously.

The Duke of Alva, accompanied by Don Antonio de Toledo, went lately to conclude the marriage of his son to the daughter of the Count of Benavente, one of the chief grandees in Spain*; so the number of his Majesty's Councillors of State is very much reduced, Don Juan Manrique being still in France, and Don Gutierre Lopez de Padilla still in bed and dangerously ill.

Toledo, 17th February 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

237. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I had hoped to send the account of what was determined last month by the three Estates, but as their proceedings have not yet been published, I can only give the summary. The three chief questions are, the religion, pecuniary supply for the King, and the regulation of the courts of judicature. Each of these heads is divided into an infinite number of articles, as to part of which all the three Estates, consisting of prelates, nobles, and commons, as to another part two alone, and as to a third part not one of them, are agreed. The law offices are held by purchase, and as the sums paid by the purchasers cannot be repaid at present, that point remains undecided.

The noblemen and commons were too wary to inspect the King's accounts, and when the prelates examined them they found that the debt exceeded 9,000,000 of crowns, other debts to the merchants doubling that amount.

* The family name of the Count of Benavente was Pimentel.

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The prelates could not refuse to recover what belonged to the King (*il Dominio del Re*), which is one-half of the amount, as the commons said they would see to recovering the rest, it having been declared that the noblemen who have the wealth are exempt, under pretence that they render the King personal service in war; but as the prelates are not commissioned by their principals to bind them to this, it is settled that on the first of next May each province (they being in number altogether fourteen or fifteen) is to send one representative with absolute authority to treat and conclude what shall be approved by the majority of votes.

As to the religion, articles without number have been proposed by all three of the Estates. The clergy were in conformity with the Canons and with the Catholic ritual. The noblemen inclined in part to the new doctrine; and the commons, though they did not desire novelty, seemed nevertheless to wish for a general pardon for all the insurgents, and that everybody should be restored to favour; that the election of prelates should be regulated, so as to insure the nomination of fitting persons to reform the life and customs of the clergy, and that the revenues of the churches should be limited by persons appointed for that purpose. But I will now mention the most important matters, *the first of which will be, what has been determined about these new opinions, which are apparently favoured by many noblemen, by some bishops, and especially by Cardinal de Chastillon, by the Admiral* [*Gaspar Coligny*], *by the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, and by the Chancellor,* and besides these by some great ladies who are always with the Queen Mother and have supreme authority with her. At present, through the authority of these persons, and also of some other individuals,* it has been determined to grant a general pardon to all throughout the kingdom, without obliging any one to retract, or to make any other canonical recantation, *which proposal is quite at variance with the constitutions of the Holy Church, and exceeds the bounds of the authority of the King and of his Council, cognisance of matters of this nature appertaining to ecclesiastics and not to laymen. The same persons would perhaps have proceeded further in favour of these new sects had they not been opposed by Cardinal Tournon, the Constable, and the Duke de Guise, who by their authority not only repressed the ardour of those others, but also mitigated in part the determination already made.*

To this declaration it has been added that the pardon is not understood to be granted to those who preached this doctrine, nor to the King's judges who have authority in the cities and provinces of France, and who followed it, but I hear for certain that no one will be prosecuted on this account. On the contrary, when I was lately at Orleans, after the departure of the Court, my attendants told me that that city has returned to its former style, and holds the mass there in little account, psalms being sung in many houses in the Lutheran fashion; and here in Paris the preachers have been desired to cease preaching against the Lutherans and Huguenots (as thus do they

* Hôpital Michel de (see Foreign Calendar, 1552-1560. General Index, p. 625).

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call those who deny the most Holy Sacrament), and that they are not to speak either against the sects or their opinions; which is generally interpreted as a tacit consent from the Privy Council for all to follow such opinions about the faith as most please their ideas.

This very great kingdom has therefore much need of the holy hand of God for its preservation.

At this assembly of the Estates it was also proposed by the clergy that the election of the bishops and prelates should be taken out of the King's jurisdiction, and remitted to the clergy; and to satisfy the people, they added that together with the clergy the election was to be made by twelve noblemen and twelve commoners, together with the governors and judges of the city of which a bishop is to be elected, giving laymen the same authority in the election as ecclesiastics. This will not please the Pope, neither did it please the clergy (*sic*), who would have been content that according to the rite of the primitive church the people should have authority to demand whom they pleased, but that the clergy alone should elect. *Another matter also has been determined which will please his Holiness least of all, viz., that moneys are no longer to be sent to Rome for the Annates or for other compositions on account of benefices, as it appears that these charges draw a large sum of money from the kingdom, and are the cause of its present great penury; but as it would seem strange were the Pope not first informed of it, they have elected one of these Presidents of the Parliament, that he may go to Rome to give account to the Pope of this matter; nor is it yet known whether he will ask this as a favour from the Pope, or merely state the causes which moved this Government thus to decide. These are things which seem to me of importance, as they all tend to diminish the Papal authority; and it would be quite at an end were they to lay hands on the Church property, as desired by many persons. Many of these things have not been printed, nor do they publish anything but some general resolutions, though I have chosen to give account of the whole, naming also some of those who favour these new opinions.*

Paris, 17th February 1561.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Passini.*]

Feb. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

238. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio sent to me this morning to communicate what he had informed the King about the Council, and in the protest which he exhorts the King Catholic to make to the most Christian King should he not assent to the Council, he omits all mention of any ally but the Pope.

Toledo, 18th February 1561.

[*Italian; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

239. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Court left Orleans on the 3rd, and the Earl of Bedford* is now here, having been sent by the Queen of England to condole with his most Christian Majesty on the death of the late King, and to congratulate the present King on his accession.

Paris, 19th February 1561.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

240. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Nothing has been settled about the Generalship of the Sea, and according to report it will not be decided till the return of the Duke of Alva.

Toledo, 20th February 1561.

[*Italian.*]

March 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

241. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the departure of the Cardinal of Lorraine the Duke de Guise, his brother, increased daily in repute, both on account of his goodness and valour, as also by the favour of the Queen-mother, and moreover because as Grand Master he has likewise precedence over the entire household of the King, and also custody of the castle and palace, where the King and Queen and the Council reside, all the gentlemen of the Court being his followers and obeying him. So the King of Navarre was persuaded that this was not only discreditable to him, but also endangered his life, and hence has resulted a rupture of the friendship formed between the King of Navarre and the Duke de Guise at Orleans, where one day, amongst their other warm expressions, when the Duke de Guise said he had a mind to retire to his home, the King of Navarre, who did not wish him by any means to depart, swore to him that if he went away, he, the King of Navarre, would also follow him. But this commencement of distrust having arisen between them, every accident, as usual, was interpreted according to the passions of the persons concerned; and a report circulating that the government of Champagne was vacant, the King of Navarre intended it for his brother the Prince of Condé, but heard that the Queen had already promised it to the Duke de Nemours, which the King of Navarre considered an injury to him, both because the Queen had decided without his advice, and also because the Duke de Nemours is not his friend, owing to the lawsuit between him and the sister of M. de Rohan, the nephew of the King of Navarre. To this must be added that the Privy Council having determined lately that all the bishops, including the cardinals, were to go to their sees, all obeyed spontaneously, and among the first the Cardinal de Bourbon, whose example will be followed by the Cardinal de Châtillon, the Queen willing it so; but she has not chosen

* See also Collins, Vol. I. p. 271.

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Cardinal Tournon to leave the Court, owing to the constant need she has of his counsel, which the King of Navarre also supposes has been done to favour the Duke de Guise, by making the Cardinals Bourbon and Châtillon depart as the Cardinal of Lorraine departed.

A fourth incident has also occurred. The case of the Prince of Condé having to be treated by the Parliament here in Paris, the Queen thought fit to have the matter adjourned, desiring to settle it otherwise than juridically, for if condemned, the Prince and all the family would be disgraced ; and if acquitted, he would never rest till those who had slandered him were condemned to the same penalty ; so the Queen, to avoid all scandal, caused a letter to be signed in the King's name, charging the Parliament not to proceed further without a fresh order. This letter having come to the knowledge of the King of Navarre, was more resented by him than all the rest, he considering it a great offence to sign letters with the King's name, without first communicating them to him, as he, being next in blood, was entitled to the first place in the Privy Council.

From these and other causes the King of Navarre was at open dissension with the Duke de Guise, and the matter being public at the Court, both one and the other went about with followers, and cautio sly. The King of Navarre remonstrated about everything with the Queen Mother, complaining that he had been held in small consideration, although he was greatly deserving of her Majesty, having been more than any one else the author and cause of maintaining her in her present state and greatness ; and in conclusion he said he would not tolerate that the Duke de Guise should have the keys and custody of the Castle, and authority to command the household, nor keep the seal with which all letters in the King's name were signed, and in short that the Duke should be everything, while he who was King of Navarre, Prince of the blood, and next to the Crown, should be nothing ; and that he was determined either that the Duke de Guise should absent himself from the Court, or that he and all his friends would leave it. The Queen endeavoured with all possible address to appease him, answering each of his complaints one by one. And with regard to the first, she said that the Duke de Guise could not be deprived of the government of the household, as he was the Grand Master, and that if the King of Navarre were not content that the keys of the Castle should remain in the Duke's hands, her Majesty would have them carried every evening into the chamber of the King, her son. Concerning the affair of the Duke de Nemours, she said that King Henry and King Francis had promised him heretofore the first vacant government in France, and that for his deserts she did not think fit to fail him. As to the Cardinals, the decision was not hers, but was made with the general consent of the whole Council, and she thought it disadvantageous for France to let Cardinal Tournon depart, though he himself wished to pass the rest of his life in retirement, and that she thought not to err by availing herself of the advice of so great a man ; and that if the King of Navarre wished his brother, the Cardinal de Bourbon, likewise to remain, no one would compel him to depart, he being a member of the Council of Affairs. As to

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the letter, she said she had caused it to be written in order to adjust the affairs of the Prince of Condé to his honour and to the satisfaction of everybody, and that the seal was in her hands and not in those of the Duke de Guise. In conclusion, she prayed the King of Navarre to tranquillise himself with the firm opinion that he was esteemed by her and by everybody as the Prince that he was, both because of his nearness in blood, and because his affection for the King and for herself entitled him to universal love and honour.

The Duke de Guise, having heard that the King of Navarre had it at heart to make him quit the Court, said in the presence of gentlemen who repeated it, that he was not to blame in the least for the stir made by the King of Navarre, and that he could say conscientiously that he never gave cause for it, but that all these things came from Cardinal Châtillon and the Admiral; and that for himself he had often wished to leave the Court and go and reside at home, as known to the King of Navarre, who more than once when at Orleans made him remain, and that lately he sent his wife to his Castle of Nanteuil, with the firm intention of going there himself in three or four days; but on hearing that it was sought to expel him by these bravadoes he had changed his mind and would no longer depart by any means, unless the Queen commanded him so to do, for the service of the King his lord; as he would obey her, although even her Majesty could have no authority to do so, he exercising his charges as honourably as anyone else, nor could he be deprived of them. This determination of the Duke de Guise, coupled with the reply of the Queen, proving to the King of Navarre that he could not execute his project, made him determine to depart at any rate; and it is heard that two days ago his effects were sent away, that he also was to depart with all his attendants, that he would be followed by the Constable and all that party, and that he would come to Paris.

Paris, 1st March 1561.

[*Italian; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

242. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The dissensions and reports alluded to in my letter of the first, have taken a better turn than was expected, for everything is arranged, and will remain thus, till some fresh occasion for a rupture presents itself. The King of Navarre never departed after all, but on the contrary sent back his baggage waggons, which had proceeded as far as Melun, and he is again united with the Duke de Guise as if there had never been any discord between them. This reconciliation may cause some trouble to Cardinal Châtillon and his brother the Admiral, the general opinion being that they, either of their own accord, or counselled by others, owing to their great hatred of the Guise family, had caused this confusion; but the facility of this nation to pardon and to be reconciled makes them very secure. The first cause of quieting this discord was the authority of the most Christian King, who, having been informed of it by his mother, said to the King of Navarre that he marvelled

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greatly that he who was his uncle thought of deserting him at so tender an age; and then, calling the Constable "Mon comper," as King Henry did, he said, that although young he nevertheless knew what services the Constable had rendered to his father, and how much King Henry loved him; adding, "I also know and remember the oath you took to me, whereby I command you not to leave me." These words affected both of them; so that the Constable interceded as peacemaker, and the King [*of Navarre*] *allowed himself easily to be persuaded, everything being thus arranged on the last day of last month, and a convention was made between the members of the Council, as it were a league, whereby they all promise to oppose the first person who shall ever again give cause for disturbance; and although it was believed at the Court that the Queen had resigned the seal to the King, to give him the pre-eminence of signing everything, yet I am assured that it is not true, and that she chooses to keep it herself, because by ceding it, she would cede all her authority and remain a cipher* (niente).

Endeavours have indeed been made to settle the case of the Prince of Condé and to find means to terminate it, to his own honour, and to the satisfaction of the others; it being also supposed that the King of Navarre made all this stir to obtain the acquittal of his brother; but the means whereby to effect this result have not yet been decided. For this purpose the Prince of Condé is expected at the Court, but being mettlesome and restless, and very different from his brother, who is most affable and pliant, his presence may generate some difficulties not so easily to be dissipated. The Duke de Guise professes to have always defended the Prince of Condé, and as his crime was proved by the trial, he recommends that all documentary evidence be burnt, and that no further mention be made of it; his opinion being that legally he cannot be acquitted, as the trial proves him to have caused the insurrection at Lyons last year.

This course does not entirely please the Prince's party, it seeming to them unsafe, and that the ordinary way would be the best, viz., to give the Prince opportunity to justify himself, hoping that he will easily prove his innocence.

Paris, 3rd March 1561.

[*Italian; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

243. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador resident here and the other English Ambassador* who was sent to the new King, from what they themselves say, fearing lest the change of so many kings in France prevent the execution in due season of the Articles of Cateau Cambresis agreed to in 1559, said as it were of their own accord, at their conference with the Queen Mother and the Council, that to remove any sinister opinion which might arise in the world owing to past events, it would be fitting to confirm the Articles, that everyone

* The Earl of Bedford; see before, February 19.

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might be certain of the good understanding between these two kingdoms. The Queen replied in general and loving terms, that as for herself she considered peace well established, nor did she believe that it required any other ratification, and that here they will omit no opportunity to let the world know the good friendship of France with England; *which words by no means relieved the Ambassadors from their doubt.*

They also urged the Queen of Scotland to ratify the articles agreed to heretofore with the kingdom of Scotland, under favour of the Queen of England, which King Francis never ratified, but she made answer, that during her Consort's life everything was governed by his counsel, and now that he was dead, before treating anything, she must make a Council of those of her kingdom, with which she must rule; but affairs being in such a state that she does not know how her subjects are inclined towards her, she cannot for the present form any resolve in this matter. The English Ambassadors also say that the Bastard of Scotland will soon be here, he coming in the name of the kingdom to treat with her.

My Secretary has arrived here from the Court. *The only news he brings is that owing to the discord between the King of Navarre and the Duke de Guise, everybody, both at the Court and here, anticipated a civil war, as although the King of Navarre has more followers in France, the Duke de Guise nevertheless has the favour of Lorraine, which is very near, and had the King of Navarre departed, the whole Court would have retired to St. Germain, the Queen and the King considering it more secure; so the agreement that took place relieved this unfortunate kingdom, which is harassed in so many quarters, from a great peril.*

Paris, 5th March 1561.

[*Italian, the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

244. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Count Hannibal Altemps has received the presents sent from Rome by the Pope for the King and Queen, and the Princess [Joanna of Austria, Princess of Portugal, and sister of King Philip], consisting of six antique busts, part of bronze and part of marble; two tables made of many stones of divers colours, very well designed and wonderfully blended; two wooden oratories, ornamented with many figures in wood, bronze, and silver, of most delicate workmanship; a coffer of rock crystal; a small bucket of the same material, wrought with very minute figures; a cross of crystal; and many other crystal vases, wonderfully fashioned; which things having been injured on the way, his Lordship is now having them restored by an artist whom he brought with him from Rome.

I am informed on good authority that the Queen of England has become indisposed (è fatta indisposta), *and that the physicians greatly fear her malady to be dropsy; a disease peculiar to that Royal family, as it is said that King Edward and Queen Mary died of it; so it is told me that some chief personages of the kingdom, who*

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are most akin to her, are aspiring to that crown, and that some one has already commenced negotiating with this King to favour his designs.

In the Provinces of Flanders the archbishoprics and bishoprics are about to be erected, and King Philip has already nominated certain persons to many of these, and by this time, at Rome, the confirmation will have been made, which it was endeavoured to pass as secretly as possible, lest it be thwarted by the Archbishops of Cologne, Treves, and Rheims, and by the Bishop of Liège and others who are thus deprived of their respective jurisdictions.

It was intended to attach to each Bishop three Doctors of Divinity, by whose counsel the Bishops were to provide for all matters concerning religion; to which the Flemings object, lest each bishop should become a tribunal of the Inquisition; *and I am assured that in the Council of the Governess one of its chief members said boldly that they had never in the time of the Emperor tolerated the Inquisition in those Provinces, and that they would now still less endure its introduction in this way.*

Toledo, 6th March 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

245. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Three days ago the King accompanied by the Queen returned to this city, her Majesty from the inadvertency of her stirrup-man having fallen from her horse; and lest the heavy fall might do her harm the physicians blooded her, but she received no further injury and is well. The King has sent Don Juan de Ayala to Rome, to tell the Pope that the King not having read in the bull of the Council any express declaration that it was to be a continuation and not a fresh indiction (*inditione*), his conscience remained in great suspense as to what he ought to do; so he prays his Holiness not to decide until it be known what course Germany and France may take. In the meanwhile his Majesty, to show the respect in which he holds the Pope's exhortations, will have the jubilee for the Council published as it stands, and the bishops informed that they are to go to Trent whenever required to do so.

I have heard from the Papal Nuncio that this decision of his Majesty does not please him, as he would have wished King Philip to submit himself unreservedly to the Pope, which he had earnestly entreated his Majesty to do, but could obtain nothing further.

On the other hand the French Ambassador complained of their endeavouring to protract the matter, declaring positively that it might make France determine to hold the National Council, as he does not see what other reason Spain can have to seek the prorogation of the Council General, unless it be the benefit it would afford to France and Germany.

In this city last Sunday, an "auto" of the Inquisition was performed with the usual solemnities. Four individuals were

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burnt as Lutherans, viz., two Spaniards, one Fleming and one Italian, and eighteen more sentenced to other penalties, including a noble German baron, a youth, page to the King, for having spoken licentiously about the affairs of the faith; and a Spanish cavalier of the Toledo family, with an annual rental of three thousand crowns, having falsely accused his wife to the Inquisition, for the sake of getting rid of her, has been sentenced to be flogged, and to serve three years as a galley slave.

In Seville the Inquisition has arrested Friar Domenego de Valtanas, of the Order of St. Dominick, in the Province of Andalusia, a man eighty years of age, and of greater authority and reputation for sanctity than any one else in Spain, so that he had a very great concourse of almost all the nobility of the country who went to him to confess. He has been convicted of opinions contrary to those held by the Church, as follows: that he had given to a young lady of noble birth a little book, containing all that he meant her to believe, with which book the young lady shut herself up in her room every day, and remained there a long while, which her father having remarked several times, he asked her what she was doing, and not receiving a satisfactory answer he had her watched, and discovering that she read a book, he asked her what book it was, to which she replied that it was a book about things for which she would not refuse to die; so her father then knew that it must be an heretical book. As this affair did not pass so secretly as not to be heard by some of the household, he, fearing that some one might accuse him to the Inquisition, the penalty being as great for those who do not accuse of what is known to them, as for the person who offends, in order to guarantee himself against confiscation of property to the utter ruin of his family and all his children, determined to accuse his own daughter, who, being put in prison, confessed that she had received the book from the friar. It is therefore greatly feared that the friar must have distributed many of these books amongst his penitents, and that this mischief may have spread amongst many nobles and chief personages.

Toledo, 13th March 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

246. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The creation of Cardinals* has given great satisfaction to this Court, as besides the election of the brother of the Marquis of Pescara,† the dependants of the King of Spain in this election are twelve in number, deducting only the two Venetians and the Pole,‡ who are put neutral, and the French Ambassador Salviati§

* This second nomination of Cardinals by Pius IV. took place at Rome on the 26th February 1561. (See Cardella, Vol. 5. p. 9, and Foreign Calendar under that date.)

† Iñigo Avalos, born at Naples, but styled d'Aragona, though by birth an Italian.

‡ Namely Marcantonio Damulla, Bernardo Navagero, and Stanislao Osio, the fellow-student at Padua and the friend of Reginald Pole.

§ Bernardo Salviati, Bishop of Clermont, brother of cardidal Giovanni Salviati.

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and the brother of the Duke of Ferrara [Luigi d'Este], who are French. Last Sunday the Count Hannibal Altemps bore in state the holy sword which the Pope has sent to his Majesty, and the Nuncio, after singing the Mass, gave it to the King, who, coming from under his canopy, received it on his knees.

The other presents were made to his Majesty, to the Queen and Princess, being much admired, and gratefully accepted, but the custom-house officers sent to demand the duty appertaining to them, and valued the things at 100,000 ducats.

Toledo, 18th March 1561.

[*Italian.*]

March 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

247. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The jubilee Bull for the Council was published this week, and on Tuesday a general procession was made in the Cathedral Church, which was attended by his Majesty, some principal bishops being called to the Court to consult about this matter.

It is reported that his Majesty has elected his natural brother, Don John of Austria, General of the Sea (*per General da Mar*) and Viceroy of Sicily; giving him two lieutenants, Don Garcia de Toledo, son of the late Viceroy of Naples, to serve at sea, and Don Luis Quixada, his governor, who, by the Emperor's order, educated him from boyhood, to serve on land; but nothing has yet been notified to Gian Andrea Doria, which causes general suspense.

The additional particulars heard by me about the mission to Rome of Don Juan de Ayala relate to the affairs of Navarre, which greatly trouble this King, who would wish to be assured that henceforth that place at the Council and at Rome will not be given to the Ambassadors of M. de Vendôme, as to Ambassadors of Kings.

When King Philip came to Spain, in writing to the aforesaid M. de Vendôme, he styled him King, having his letters addressed "To the King"; but subsequently having heard that these letters were exhibited at Rome by the Ambassadors of Monsieur de Vendôme, King Philip no longer chose to call M. de Vendôme King, and I hear that three months ago, when his Majesty sent Don Juan Manrique to France, he gave him letters of credence addressed "M. de Vendôme," who would not receive them, and told Don Juan that he was to return the letters, as they were not addressed to him. I also hear that Juan de Ayala will have to speak to his Holiness about the precedence with France, and complain to him about what has taken place hitherto.

The King is now sending Don Luis de Vargas as Ambassador to Portugal. The ruler of that Kingdom was Queen Catherine, sister of the late Emperor, and grandmother of the infant King, but she has retired to a convent, partly from devotion, and partly from melancholy, leaving the entire government in the hands of the Cardinal. Many of the principal persons in Portugal have therefore intimated to the Princess, King Philip's sister, and mother of the [young] King, that they would wish her to come and take charge of Portugal and of her son, but she does not wish to depart from

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this Court at present; for I hear that not only her hope of marrying Don Carlos continues, but even should this fail, she does not despair of becoming the wife of the King of France; so, refusing for other reasons to go to Portugal at present, she makes the King her brother apologise for her with the principal Portuguese, giving them expectation of her going thither shortly. Besides this, King Philip would wish to marry a daughter of the King of Bohemia to the King of Portugal, both to benefit his niece, and to bind the King of Bohemia to him. Don Luis de Vargas has orders to propose this marriage to the Cardinal and the principal Portuguese; the Princess, who is mother of the King and aunt of his proposed consort, being already well disposed to it. King Philip, for the need of this present year, also requests the galleys of Portugal. The French Ambassador here tells me that Baron Polvilliers, who had been sent by the Emperor to propose the eldest daughter of the King of Bohemia as wife for his most Christian Majesty, has been successful; and the Ambassador expressed great satisfaction with this marriage, commending the daughter beyond measure for rare beauty, and he also considers her age suitable to that of the King.

Toledo, 26th March 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

248. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate.

His Majesty is sending the brother of Don Ruy Gomez, Marquis of Favara, to the Duke of Savoy, to Genoa, and to the Duke of Florence, to ask all those potentates to accommodate him for the present year with their galleys, and to send them to Messina, where he intends to assemble the fleet.

It is heard from Portugal that that kingdom, having accepted the Council, has ordered the Bishops to go to Trent, and that some of them have already departed, and the others will go after Easter.

This Government is informed that some Breton ships have assembled to lay in wait for King Philip's Indiamen and to capture them, as they are said to be freighted with a great quantity of gold and silver; so eight thousand ducats have been sent to arm two galleasses, which are kept at the Gut of Gibraltar, that they may convoy the aforesaid ships; *and it is said that the Bretons who planned this expedition have an understanding with the King of Navarre.*

Owing to the small force of troops in Spain which could be sent to defend Italy against the Turkish fleet, the King has desired Sigismondo Gonzaga to raise 1500 Italian infantry with which to garrison Sardinia.

He has also sent hither to tell Gian Andrea Doria to write by this courier to Genoa for his galleys to be put in perfect order, that they may go promptly wherever commanded; and simultaneously he has desired Don Juan de Mendoza, General of the Galleys of Spain,

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who is here, to take them from the port where they now are, to Messina, or to such harbour as required.

Toledo, 31st March 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

249. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of Scotland left the Court for Rheims, and the English Ambassador, who uses great diligence about what may interest his Queen, informs me that they are treating to marry the widow of King Francis to the Prince of Orange, and that the King Catholic favours the negotiation, which, were it to take effect, would cause some jealousy between King Philip and the Queen of England; but apparently this proposal does not please the Duke de Guise, who intends a greater marriage for that Queen. The Ambassador has nevertheless heard that the Duchess of Arschot [Anne de Lorraine], sister of the Prince of Orange, went lately to Rheims with the Queen, which causes a great belief that the matter is far advanced.

I have also heard from the same Ambassador that the Ambassador from Denmark, now at the Court, came to congratulate the King on his accession, and to confirm the friendship of his kingdom with France, for which purpose he proposed the marriage of a sister of the King of Denmark to one of the Princes of this kingdom, to be named by France, and to take for his Sovereign one of these [ladies] of the blood, or else the Queen of Scotland, which is probably his chief object, from the vicinity of Scotland to Denmark. This proposed Danish league with France could produce no other effect than to facilitate the change of religion here, of which there is great danger, the King of Navarre having determined to send forty thousand crowns to be divided amongst those Princes, who all hold these new opinions, and are accustomed to receive pensions from France, which the King of Navarre intends to continue.

Paris, 31st March 1561.

[*Italian; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

250. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The little I have to add in the matter of religion consists of two facts quite at variance, the one being that at the Court in the house of the Admiral these new opinions are preached publicly, with a great concourse of lords and gentlemen, and without any prohibition or impediment; the other, that in this city, in the name of the most Christian King, a very severe edict has been published against those who, by reason (*per occasione*) of these new doctrines, hold conventicles or meetings in houses, as has happened lately in many places, for several preachers have come from Geneva, relying on the divisions of the Council, and on the favour they have, or hope to have, from great personages. Some persons have been arrested by the civil power (*dalla giustitia*), including an individual

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who preached to a very numerous congregation in the house of Madame de Roye, mother-in-law of the Prince of Condé.

The departure of the Court for Rheims is delayed for some days from want of money, to obtain a supply of which is very difficult, as no confidence can be placed in the Estates, and the merchants are such great losers, and have such small hope of recovering their due, that they do not venture to risk anything more.

Paris, 4th April 1561.

[*Italian.*]

April 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

251. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As yet no General or Governor of the Fleet has been appointed, and what was said about Don John of Austria lacks confirmation. Several other personages are talked of, but the truth is that the King is irresolute.

The dependents here of Gio. Andrea Doria say that it has been hinted to him whether he would consent to command the fleet without other title, the King giving him letters to all the captains of the galleys to obey him; but that he will not accept the command in this way, being certain that another Captain General would be shortly appointed, to his greater reproach and detriment; so that it is more profitable for him to live at Genoa, and send his galleys to sea under a lieutenant, unless the King appoint him General.

The French galleys, which were at Nantes in Britany, having been sent thither when there was a suspicion of war with England, have been recalled, and soon must circumnavigate Spain to return to Provence.

Some troops raised in this province are being sent to Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, for the ward and security of those islands.

The Bishop of Arras, before he accepted the cardinalate, desired to have the consent of the King, and the like was done by Don Francisco Pacheco. His Majesty had been persuaded by his councillors, and principally by the Duke of Alva, not to canvass for the hat for any Spaniard, both on account of the little support derived from Spanish [*Cardinals*] *at Rome, as also by reason of the large gratuity it is requisite to give them, so that with the provision given to one single Spanish Cardinal more than five Italian Cardinals might have been pensioned, by each of whom on certain occasions greater service would be rendered. His Majesty had nominated no Spaniard, but subsequently the aforesaid Don Francisco Pacheco was elected contrary to general expectation, and as he was always much favoured by the Duke of Alva it is believed that the Duke procured his promotion, most especially because for many months he has had an agent at Rome, whom he sent thither to congratulate the Pope, owing to the friendship they had contracted in Italy, and this same agent was the person who brought the "berretta" to the Cardinal. The suspicion is also increased by the favour rendered in this matter by the Duke of Florence, who is the close kinsman of the Duke of Alva, and most intimate with him; and I have been assured that King Philip complained greatly of this, thinking that*

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the counsel given him by the Duke was for no other purpose than to prohibit competition with Pacheco, and by so much the more easily obtain his intent; but his Majesty nevertheless dissembles his dissatisfaction as much as possible, and has not only received the Cardinal graciously, but in reply to his request promised him a gratuity, and to provide him with a good revenue.

Toledo, 11th April 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

252. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

All the provinces on the frontiers, beginning with Normandy and Britany, and through Guienne to Provence, openly profess this new religion, and throughout the rest of the kingdom, although in many places the populace show that they are Catholics, as here in Paris, all the nobility, or the greater part of them, are infected. In the Court likewise the majority incline to these new ideas, as except the Queen, the Constable, the Duke de Montpensier and the Duke de Guise, with a few others, all the rest of the chief personages, both women and men, either belong to these new sects or to no religion at all. The Admiral when he was at the Court caused this new doctrine to be preached in his house with open doors, and gathered a most numerous congregation, though at length the Queen and the Constable reproved him bitterly for so doing.

The Admiral's brother, Cardinal Châtillon, has been in great danger at his bishopric of Beauvais, where the populace pursuing a preacher of these new sects, the Cardinal saved him in his house, which the enraged populace attacked, wounding and slaying those who defended it; and seizing the preacher, they tormented him a long while, and at length kindled a large fire and threw him into it. The Cardinal was fortunate to find a hiding place till this fury subsided, and his agents are now at the Court urging that by royal authority some signal demonstration should be made against those who raised the tumult.

I do not hear that a word is said about the Council, or sending thither the bishops and prelates; on the contrary, a few days ago, in the letter written by the King to delay the assembly, there is a paragraph to the effect that concerning the disputes about religion his Majesty will call to his presence a number of persons who are learned and of good life, according to whose opinion such orders as are necessary will be given, but in the meanwhile the King chooses every one to remain quiet and to make no noise or tumult in the kingdom under very heavy penalties. This determination the Nuncios consider very perilous, both because it seems to tend to a National Council, and because it seems that the King and Council intend to assume the authority which appertains to the Church, and is not theirs; but it is credible that the King's letter was written not to execute the proposal literally, but to give a sop to the public. The Government is also sending M. de L'Isle to

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his legation at Rome, although the Nuncios here say that the Pope objects to him, as his religion is suspected. *I do not know how the Pope will receive this decision, made, it may be said, against his will.*

Paris, 17th April 1561.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

253. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Court is quiet and united; for all the late troubles and dissensions between chief personages have ceased, and the King of Navarre, the Constable, and the Duke de Guise are so intimate, that there does not seem ever to have been the slightest shadow of disagreement between them; and all jointly honour and revere the Queen, especially the King of Navarre, who, although he is made Lieutenant General, and has increased in repute, nevertheless acknowledges her Majesty more than ever as his superior, and desires nothing but what may please her, so that even in matters of religion he regulates himself according to her wishes. *It is true that this quiet may last only till some fresh disturbance ensues, as the seeds of discord are not entirely extinct, for the Prince of Condé and the Duke de Guise have never been reconciled; nor have they even spoken to each other, although they often meet in Council.*

The Duke de Guise is now absent from Court; he and his brothers being with the Queen Mary of Scotland in Lorraine, to receive the Bastard of Scotland, her brother, who came in the name of the kingdom to invite her to return thither, where he promises her that she will be acknowledged and received with such reverence and obedience as are due to a Sovereign and a Queen. The English Ambassador, who is here unwell, has sent his Secretary into Lorraine to treat the ratification of the Articles which were heretofore concluded by the mediation of the Queen of England, but which were rejected (*riprobati*) by the late King Francis. Nothing more is known about the marriage of the Queen of Scotland either with the Prince of Orange or with the King of Denmark, whose Ambassador has already left the Court, having been dismissed with general but loving words; and the Baron de la Garde is now being sent to the King of Denmark, and to the King of Sweden, to convey to them the Order [of Saint Michael], that they may be friendly to France, through this mark of goodwill. M. de Noailles, the French Ambassador in Scotland, from what the English Ambassador says, is treating an offensive and defensive league between France and Scotland, which, if effected, would necessarily detach Scotland from her union with the English.

The departure of the Court for Rheims will not take place till the beginning of next month, nor will the Court remain more than two days there for the consecration.

Paris, 18th April 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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April 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

254. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King returned to this city on the Saturday after Easter.

In reply to your Serenity's letters of the 15th March, concerning the mode in which *I am to regulate myself in favour of the Council*, I assure you that I will never depart from your orders *in this matter, and will only act when some good opportunity presents itself. Immediately on its being heard here that in France M. de Vendôme had been declared lieutenant of the most Christian King, they sent a courier to Flanders with orders to pay the German colonels their promised arrears, which until now have never been paid; and here they evidently suspect that M. de Vendôme, through the authority assumed by him in that government, may one day disturb the peace, owing to his claims upon Navarre.*

On St. George's day the King observed the ceremony of the Garter of England, by appearing at Mass with the Order and Mantle, a circumstance which was very much remarked, for it seems that this year he was more desirous of giving satisfaction to the Queen of England than he was last year, when he did not care to make this display, much to the resentment of the English Ambassadors, by whom I heard most grievous complaints made.

Gian Andrea Doria considers his affairs to be already settled, and that he will not have the command of the fleet. He has obtained from the King one hundred thousand crowns, on account of the one hundred and thirty thousand due to him to complete the fitting out of the galleys; they will be paid him at the October fair. He only delays his departure till the confirmation of his command of the twenty galleys, to be paid, however, according to the number of galleys in commission; which command in the time of Prince Doria was usually confirmed every two years. He also wishes the King to assign him a fixed fund from which to receive his pay, that he may not have it delayed, as always happened to Prince Doria.

Toledo, 26th April 1561.

[*Italian; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

255. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

With regard to the affairs of religion, which is all that your Serenity can expect to hear of importance in this kingdom, each day witnesses greater confusion and disorder, and had I the wish to describe in detail all the incidents, many sheets of writing would not suffice me, but your Serenity will easily comprehend how *this kingdom, of yore most flourishing and most obedient to its King, more so than any other ever was, has quite changed, so that by the disunion of the people, and by that of the Princes of the Government, it has become so weak and infirm that friends have not much to hope nor foes to fear from it.* The population have become so disobedient from the licence already introduced in living and customs, most especially owing to the tender age of the King,

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that respect for the magistrates cannot repress the insolence of the subjects, so that every day in all quarters various disturbances occur, as was the case lately here in Paris, when these new doctrines being preached in certain houses to a great congregation of men and women, all of them belonging to the nobility and of great account, the populace of this city, which detests the new sects, perhaps because they are favoured by the nobility, whom they naturally abhor, went tumultuously to assault those houses, and to destroy them. On the first attack, they stripped and wounded a lady of high rank, who to escape this uproar endeavoured to save herself in certain neighbouring houses. Hearing the disturbance several French gentlemen, and some Italians, perhaps from the interest they took in some of the ladies who were present at the sermon, armed for their defence. A fight ensued, and as men of judgment and experience were opposed to a base tumultuous unarmed rabble, the populace, though in greater number, were routed and put to flight, many of them being killed and many others wounded and maltreated. But the seditious offenders will remain unpunished, both because amongst them were found many persons of authority, and most especially women, as also because, although the conventicles were forbidden, it was also provided that the populace, on their own authority, should not be at liberty to attack the houses where the conventicles were held; so, as the persons who were thus injured had transgressed the King's command, they have no legal claim to compensation. What favours the heretics still more is another edict which was lately published, first at the Court, and then here in Paris, and which has been sent all over the kingdom, whereby free licence is given to all persons to follow what religion they please, as all outlaws on that account are restored to their country and property, the edict commanding that no stir is to be made against any one on account of religion.

Paris, 2nd May 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

256. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Court departs to-day for Rheims, where it will arrive on the 10th; on the 11th the consecration will take place, and on the morrow the Court will move towards Villers Cotterets.

This long delay of the departure of the Court was caused by want of money, and by reports spread through the Court against the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke de Guise, to render the King of Navarre suspicious. Many writings were also scattered about, telling the King of Navarre to beware of proceeding to Rheims, as he was going into the house of his enemies, who intended to injure him. Cardinal Châtillon, the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral did everything to hinder this journey, endeavouring to persuade the King of Navarre that the sole reason for the consecration of his most Christian Majesty was to give him additional authority to command

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as King, in order that, at the persuasion of those whom his most Christian Majesty obeys, he may some day dismiss the King of Navarre and his dependents, which, if desired by the King of France, the King of Navarre and all his friends could not resist, without much danger. But notwithstanding all these perils the King of Navarre arrived in this city yesterday evening to quiet the disturbances mentioned in my letter of the 2nd, and will depart tomorrow morning for Rheims, where he will find the Court, which is going thither by another road.

Paris, 3rd May 1561.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

257. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to the King of Navarre, whom I found in the Royal Palace, in the company of a great number of Princes and Lords, and as much honoured by all of them as if he were the most Christian King in person, for he now exercises such authority as to differ from the most Christian King only in name.

His Majesty received me most graciously, and said that the Kings of France ought to be much obliged for your constant goodwill, and expressed himself ready to maintain with all his power and authority the friendship and union between this Kingdom and your Serenity. *The affectionate language of the King of Navarre, although it proceeds principally from natural goodness and affability, might also be caused by some suspicion of war with the King Catholic, about which something has been said lately at the Court. The suspicion arose perhaps from a strong remonstrance made lately about the matter of religion by the Spanish Ambassador, much stronger than on a former occasion; and in addition to this, the bad opinion the King Catholic has of the King of Navarre may have increased the suspicion.*

Paris, 4th May 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

258. MARIN DI CAVALLI, Knight, and GIOVANNI DA LEZZE, Knight and Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors Extraordinary in France, and MICHIEL SURIAN, Knight, Venetian Ambassador in Ordinary in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We, Marino and Giovanni, having heard at Lyons that it had been determined to crown his most Christian Majesty, took the Burgundy road to be near Rheims and this city, which determination Surian announced to the Queen and to the King of Navarre, asking them where it pleased their Majesties to give us audience; and their Majesties, although apart, agreed nevertheless in saying that as the most Christian King was to be consecrated (*dovendosi fare il sacro*) and to remain at Rheims only two days, all the rest of the time being employed in visiting several places of the Constable and of the Guise family, there was no site in which they could receive us con-

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veniently and with becoming dignity, so that we were to sojourn in Paris, where we arrived on the 7th instant, being met on our entry and accompanied by the Ambassadors and by the entire Italian nation. Having heard that the King was to arrive at Rheims to-day, and to be consecrated to-morrow, the Secretary Bonrizzo is gone to Court, and will receive the Queen's orders about the audience.

I, Surian, wrote in former letters of the confusion about religion, and the dread that everything would go from bad to worse; but since the return hence of the King of Navarre to the Court things have taken another turn, and by the new edicts published in Paris, conventicles and private congregations can no longer be held in private houses to preach new doctrines, under penalty of rebellion, and all persons of every condition are bound under the same penalty to observe the Catholic religion and its rites; so many preachers, who had come hither, will be compelled to depart or to change their mode of life. The King of Navarre, who until now has been considered the abettor of this novelty, now shows himself quite opposed to it, and it is said that he has exhorted his brother the Prince of Condé and the Admiral and other heads of this sect to return to the true religion, and not to encourage the divisions and disturbances of France. He has also written to his wife, who is still in his dominions, to provide that no trouble whatever should be given to the churches nor impediment to the priests, friars, monks, or religious in performing their offices, so that neither complaint nor remonstrance may be sent thence. Thus from the quarter where this evil seemed to be most encouraged, there is expected even greater fervour and warmth for what is good, which result gives great hopes to the Catholic party; and already Cardinal Châtillon, who seemed more ardent than the others, has greatly cooled down; so it is probable that the dread of severity may produce what reason and judgment ought to have done.

Paris, 14th May 1561.

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

259. MARIN DI CAVALLI, Knight, and GIOVANNI DA LEZZE, Knight and Procurator, Venetian Ambasadors Extraordinary in France, and MICHIEL SURIAN, Knight, Venetian Ambassador in Ordinary in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The change in this Kingdom in matters of religion has been greatly promoted by many and various offices performed here and at the Court during the last few days, because in Paris the populace is very numerous, and wholly Catholic, and hostile (nimico) *to the innovations; besides which, the University of the theologians, the Sorbonne, and the chief Parliament of the realm, both of them having great authority, made strenuous demonstrations in this matter; part opposing the proclamations issued by the Court, which encouraged heretical and seditious individuals; part representing to the King of Navarre the mischief that might arise from such divisions in the Kingdom, and the danger there was of rebellion on the part of the people. With regard to themselves, the Sorbonne and the Parliament gave it very freely to be understood that they would never obey*

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any order issued against the Catholic religion, and the innovators were to take good care what they were about, as whenever the Crown changes faith and religion, the people are absolved from the oath of fealty, and are not bound to obey. Besides these remonstrances others were made by Cardinal Tournon, and by a certain other member of the Council. Then there was the respect entertained for the Pope, and above all for the King Catholic. The King of Navarre seems to incline to the Catholic religion not so much from suspicion of war with the King of Spain, as to make some arrangement about his affairs with that King; for the Papal Nuncio, Monsignor di Fermo, tells me that they are treating to give him back his Kingdom of Navarre by way of recompense; and that the Spanish Ambassador told the King of Navarre that although it was impossible for him to obtain what he claims from his Catholic Majesty by mere force, it was in his power to make a fair agreement, by maintaining France in the Catholic religion and the Queen (Mother) in her authority, which two things are desired by the King Catholic more than anything else, from universal respect for Christendom, and from a personal sentiment for the most Christian King his brother-in-law, and also for the benefit of his own neighbouring territories.

This seems to have been the cause of the present visible change; and the report in circulation at the Court, that the King Catholic intended to wage war on the confines of France, originated in a muster of troops in the Low Countries, which as the Constable told the Ambassador from Ferrara was not on account of war, but because the King Catholic, like other sovereigns on the occasion of the general peace, had his troops inspected before disbanding such part of them as were not required.

Paris, 16th May 1561.

[*Italian; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 18. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

260. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Este has sent Signor Camillo Gualegno to this Court, to kiss the hands, in his name, of his Majesty, the Queen, the Prince [Don Carlos], and the Princess [of Portugal], after the performance of which offices he will depart. *Gualegno, talking about the death of the Duchess of Ferrara,* told me that when he was in France (before her death) he heard many persons say that were the Duke of Ferrara to become a widower he would marry the Queen of Scotland. Here also certain persons experienced in French affairs do not dissent from this opinion, owing to the great affection which the aforesaid Duke and Queen bear to each other.*

Toledo, 18th May 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Lucrezia de' Medici, Consort of Alfonso II., Duke of Ferrara, died on the 21st April 1561.

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May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

261. Marin di Cavalli, Knight, and Giovanni da Lezze, Knight and Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors Extraordinary in France, and Michiel Surian, Knight, Venetian Ambassador in Ordinary in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The consecration of his most Christian Majesty took place at Rheims on the 15th, and was most imposing, both from the many handsome tapestries with which the church where the ceremony took place and the whole palace were decorated, and also from the many jewels worn by the twelve Peers of France, who have the principal charge in the unction, and by the whole Court. But one of the finest things was the manner in which the ceremonies of the consecration and unction were performed by the Cardinal of Lorraine, one of the ecclesiastical peers, to whom this office (*loco*) appertains. This was reported to us by Secretary Bonrizzo, who by our order was present, having gone thither to communicate the news letters [from Constantinople], and to learn something about our going to the Court; and we have also heard from many persons that nothing could be better than the manner in which the Cardinal of Lorraine executed this charge.

After the news-letters were communicated, the Duke de Guise told the Secretary that they had news that Oran was in great danger from the infidels. The Pope has invited the Cardinal of Lorraine, as an experienced statesmen, to go to Rome, to serve him in important affairs, but it is said that his right reverend Lordship will by all means endeavour to excuse himself.

The Secretary heard at the Court that within a month the Queen of Scotland will go to her kingdom, and be accepted by her subjects as their Queen; and that the Abbate Martinengo, having been some days in Flanders, on his way from the Pope to Queen Elizabeth, to exhort her to send her prelates to the Council, was not allowed to pass over to England, because his Holiness not having communicated to her the convocation of the Council, as he did to the other Sovereigns, the coming of Martinengo would cause some commotion (*alteratione*) in England; notwithstanding which, were the Queen to understand that the Council would be free, and not held like the last one, she would not fail to send to it persons of piety and religion who were her subjects.

Paris, 18th May 1561.

[*Italian.*]

May 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

262. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Papal Nuncio here has advice from Rome that the Pope, owing to the demand made of him by Don Juan de Ayala to declare the summons to the Council to be a continuation and not a fresh indiction, would not consent to do anything further; so the Spanish Bishops, who had assembled by order of the King, are still consulting what they are to do, and from what I hear they will abide by his Majesty's will.

Toledo, 29th May 1561.

[*Italian.*]

1561.
June 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

263. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday I arrived here, where I found the King and the Court had not yet all assembled, owing to the smallness and inconvenience of the lodgings, which are almost all in ruins, for the inhabitants do not care to knock even a nail in for repairs, and let everything go to ruin, in order that the courtiers may renovate the buildings. So many years have elapsed since the Court was here that some officials will have to rebuild half their lodgings.

The Spanish Bishops who had assembled for the affairs of the Council have made their report to his Majesty, who has determined that at any rate they are to attend it, and to depart after the first rains in August; but the Bishops hold to their opinion of not choosing by any means to consent to treat matters already determined at the Council of Trent, and this they will announce to his Holiness.

Madrid, 12th June 1561.

[*Italian.*]

June 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

264. PAULO TIEPOLO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Bishop of Terracina has arrived as resident Papal Nuncio at this Court. He brings the confirmation of the grant already made to his Majesty of 300,000 ducats annually, to be derived from the Spanish clergy, for the maintenance of fifty galleys; and also a promise of power to levy money from the clergy for their construction, and to fit them out. But for this purpose his Majesty desired, besides the 300,000 ducats, to have the entire fourth from the clergy, as usually paid hitherto, amounting to about 200,000 ducats annually, and also authority to sell feudal property belonging to these bishoprics and yielding the annual revenue of 25,000 ducats, from which he would hope to get a net amount of more than one million and a half of ducats; *which two favours the Pope had already conceded to his Majesty, but subsequently on granting the* 300,000 *ducats, his Holiness cancelled them, so as not to dissatisfy the prelates of Spain at a moment when the Council is to be held; but the King now insists on the grant of what he desires.*

Don Luis Vanegas has lately returned from Portugal, and brings back word that for the present the Queen will continue in the government together with the Cardinal, as she has done hitherto; and that the galleys demanded by King Philip as coast-guard for Spain shall be sent with troops and ammunition to the places held by the King of Portugal in Africa, to the Gut of Gibraltar, as the Moors are harassing those parts, and in this way the galleys may likewise serve for coast-guard as desired. With regard to the marriage of a daughter of the King of Bohemia to that King, the Queen, the Cardinal, and all the chief personages show themselves well inclined towards it; but they will not give their word for one who is yet an infant, and who cannot be in any way bound.

Madrid, 18th June 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1561.
July 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

265. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The Nuncio, the Bishop of Terracina, has told me that the Pope had revoked the subsidy from the clergy, and the grant of sale of fiefs of the churches, with the assent of the King, provided his Holiness conceded him in perpetuity 300,000 ducats annually, to be levied from the clergy of Spain, for the maintenance of fifty galleys; but that his Holiness, after having complied with what had been required, was surprised that his Majesty should insist on having, besides the 300,000 ducats, the first two grants likewise. Notwithstanding, to satisfy the King, his Holiness was content that the King should levy from the clergy the 300,000 ducats for last year, but his Holiness must take care not greatly to dissatisfy the clergy; and although he has a mind to gratify his Majesty about the sale of fiefs, he cannot do so now, *lest it appear at the period of the opening of the Council that his Holiness was giving leave to sell the estates of the churches. The Nuncio, having told all this to his Majesty, thinks* the King will remain content; or, as the King gave it to be understood, he will endeavour to obtain, instead of the 300,000 ducats, a grant of the first subsidy of the clergy, viz., the fourth part of their revenues during three years; this fourth part, however, to be levied according to its true value, and not by composition as hitherto; from which source the King hoped to obtain more than 400,000 ducats annually.

The Count of Tendiglia is accused of having promised so largely to the Pope in order to gain favour with his Holiness, who would he hoped make his son cardinal.

With regard to the Council, the Nuncio told me that although here they have already determined to send the Bishops thither, he nevertheless had orders to inform the King that the Pope marvelled greatly at his Majesty's holding two ignorant and insignificant persons, alluding to the Archbishop of Seville* and to his Majesty's Confessor†, who, wishing to show that they knew more than others, were opposed to the bull of the Council, in greater account than his Holiness, who had issued it with the mature counsel of Cardinals and of very learned men; and the Nuncio endeavoured to demonstrate to his Majesty by manifest reasons that the bull was capable of no other interpretation, but that it was a continuation, and not a new indiction (*inditione*), of a Council; adding, in conclusion, that no one had greater interest in this matter than his Holiness, as whenever a new Council was held, it was certain that the first point to be treated would be, whether the Pope was superior to the Council, or subject to it, it being already well known that not only Germany, with almost the whole of the North, were of opinion that the Pope must be subject to the Council, but that the whole of France had long since subscribed to the same opinion, to which great part of the prelates of Italy and of Spain also adhered, as testified by the Spanish clergy, through a writing given to the Nuncio by the King's Confessor; so that whenever a doubt was

* Hernando de Valdes. † Francisco Bernardo de Fresneda.

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raised on the subject, it would be certain that from being Pope his Holiness must descend to the rank of a private ecclesiastic, with loss of his dignity and authority; whereas, if the Council was continued, the fear of this matter being treated would cease; so his Majesty might rest assured that for his own interest the Pope would never allow it to be supposed that the indiction (*inditione*) of the Council was a new indiction, and that with this assurance his Majesty might send to the Council his prelates, who until now had objected to go thither.

To this the King replied, that he had heard willingly all the Nuncio's narrative, and that it was true these prelates had evinced little wish to attend the Council, but that when the weather improved his Majesty was determined they should go, as likewise all the prelates of his other realms, and that he would confer with the Nuncio about the choice he had to make of ambassadors.

Your Serenity will have already heard that the Queen of England has not chosen to receive the Nuncio Martinengo; and her Ambassador resident here [Sir Thomas Chamberlain] has narrated to me the reply made by her to the Bishop dell' Aquila, Spanish Ambassador at her Court, who solicited a safe-conduct for the said Nuncio, purporting that a few months ago an individual, sent by the Pope to Ireland, had caused a great part of that island to rise in arms, so that had not some of her loyal subjcts speedily attacked them she incurred the risk of utterly losing the allegiance of the native Irish. Fearing therefore lest the Nuncio in England might raise some similar rebellion there, she had determined that he should not go thither. But with regard to the Council, although when it was proclaimed they did not ask her opinion, as requested of many other Sovereigns in Christendom, yet were she to know that the Council was free and universal, she would not fail to make choice of qualified persons to be sent thither in her name. The Nuncio says that he was at Rome when some persons came from Ireland, then in insurrection, who, refusing to acknowledge the Queen of England as governess (*patrona*), demanded assistance, favour, and protection from the Pope, who determined that in these times (*a questo tempo*) he could assist them with nothing but fair words, with which they were dismissed; and that in truth his Holiness was by no means the cause of the insurrection, but that the Queen had devised this as her excuse before the world for not accepting the Nuncio [Martinengo]. He then added that the King told him he had given such orders to his Ambassador in England that he hoped the Nuncio would be accepted in England, provided he had not yet left Flanders.

Many months ago his Holiness gave this King to understand the dissatisfaction he received from his Ambassador Vargas, praying his Majesty to send another in his stead, but the King always temporised with fair words; but this same office having now been repeated by the Nuncio, who demonstrated to the King that it was not for his service to keep him at Rome against the Pope's will, he has given a more manifest intention of removing him.

Madrid, 3rd July 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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July 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

266. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Eight ships from the Indies have arrived, which almost all came from New Spain, very heavily laden with divers merchandise, and with one million and eight hundred thousand golden ducats, of which about one hundred and eighty thousand belong to the King, and the rest to private individuals. They brought with them five ships, part French and part English, captured by them as corsairs; but the English Ambassador declares that his countrymen were not corsairs, but merchants who had shipped woad at the Azores. Next September they are expecting the fleet from Peru, which they say will have a much greater supply of gold.

The siege of Oran was expected, but the place having now been succoured, King Philip was free from any fear about that fortress for this year; and having received information that the Turkish fleet had put to sea, his Majesty has ordered the galleys to return, so as to prevent the Turks from attempting anything of importance.

Madrid, 16th July 1561.

[*Italian.*]

July 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

267. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

After the Bishop of Terracina had brought the bull of provision for the maintenance of the fifty galleys, his Majesty, finding many clauses in it not to his entire satisfaction, is now sending a petition to his Holiness by the Count Brocardo, to the following effect:—

The King thanks the Pope greatly for the 300,000 *ducats to be levied annually from the clergy for the maintenance of the fifty galleys, as also for the* 300,000 *of last year. Then, as it was declared in the bull that this subsidy of the* 300,000 *on the clergy was to last for five years, he requests that the term may be prolonged to* 10 *years and so much longer as the need lasts. That it may be known that this good effect proceeds from his Holiness, the King is content that on board these galleys the Papal colours shall be borne on one side, and those of his Majesty on the other. He also concedes them their own captain, who is, however, to obey the Captain-General of the whole fleet. The bull purports that this fleet, raised by the subsidy of the clergy, is to serve against infidels and those who disobey the Catholic Church, but the King, wishing it also to serve for the preservation of his States, petitions for the following addition to those words, "and for any public service and necessity."*

Finally, as the Pope ordered by the bull that this money was to be levied by the Nuncio, and that it could not be expended for any other purpose, the King, perceiving that the Pope would always have power to prevent the exaction and the disbursement, urged his Holiness to transfer this charge from the Nuncio to a prelate of Spain, but consented to the moneys not being spent on anything else.

This petition has been drawn up by Don Ruy Gomez, and amended (racconciata) *by the King and Secretary Erasso, without any other member of the Council being present, as from the very beginning the Nuncio entreated the King, that as the Pope had not*

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taken counsel of the College of Cardinals about the favours he wished to confer on his Majesty, the King, to remove the opportunity for contradiction, would decide for himself with the opinion of one or two of his most prudent councillors, and without referring these matters to his ordinary Council, whose members devised so many impediments and intrigues, that the Nuncio would never have had the heart to treat with them; so the King, contrary to his usual custom, settled the matter by accepting the Nuncio's suggestion. His Majesty also, as recommended by the Nuncio, addresses the writing and his letters not to his Ambassadors, but to Cardinal Borromeo.

The Ambassador Vargas, considering himself offended, because the Pope did not communicate to him the negotiations which the Bishop of Terracina was charged to transact, exhorted the King by letter, for the sake of his Royal dignity, so to proceed with the Nuncio, as not to communicate to him any negotiations entrusted by his Majesty to Vargas at Rome; but the King, considering this not to be for his service, shows that he has so much confidence in the Nuncio that he will rather act according to his opinion than conceal anything from him. He not only communicates to the Bishop of Terracina matters relating to negotiations at Rome, but many other important matters likewise, having spoken to him several times about this fleet (armata) *which he intends to fit out, and which will exceed in number one hundred and fifty galleys, always paid and ready to put to sea, as in addition to the sixty of the subsidy he proposes to raise forty with his own funds, the payment to be made with the money of the Cruzada, besides the sixteen of Sicily, the seventeen of the Kingdom of Naples, the six of the three orders of the Knights of Spain, and those which the Kingdom of Aragon now offers to arm; although for this first year he cannot have more than one hundred in commission; but in the second year he hopes to have one hundred and thirty, and subsequently to complete the number and his project.*

The Nuncio also told me that the King gives account of this in his letters to the Pope, and likewise that the intention is again announced of making Count Borromeo Captain of the Galleys to be fitted out at the cost of the subsidy furnished by the clergy, but on certain conditions.

Madrid, 21st July 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

268. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Last week the Queen's Maggiordomo and her Master of the Horse had a great dispute about the arrangement of her Majesty's apparel in a coach, each of them pretending that the charge belonged to him; so by the King's command the Master of the Horse was sent to prison. On the morrow, another event occurred of greater importance, for the Master of the Horse having carelessly adjusted the Queen's apparel in the coach, the train of her Majesty's robe became entangled in one of the wheels, so that she was dragged to the ground with very great danger, not only of injuring herself by

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the fall, but of being whirled round under the wheel. However the coachman heard the noise, when he stopped the mares instantly; so her Majesty had only a slight fainting fit, and, being immediately blooded, is now well.

Yesterday there was another bull-bait and cane game, at which their Majesties were present.

Madrid, 17th August 1561.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

269. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

On the night before last the house of Don John of Austria, the largest and handsomest in Madrid, was burnt to the ground. The flames spread instantaneously in every part of it, with such violence that Don John and the other inmates, who were awakened by passengers in the streets, had scarcely time to escape. Almost the whole property was consumed, including a great quantity of money and jewels, belonging to Don John's governor.

Madrid, 23rd August 1561.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

270. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The quartan ague of Don Carlos has been increased from the displeasure caused him by the banishment from the Palace of his Chamberlain the Count of Gelves, who used to bring him eatables; and to avoid interference his Highness had a lock made for his chamber, so that no other key than the one which he kept himself could open it; and thus he locked himself up with the Count, which greatly offended his governor Don Garcia de Toledo, who complained so much to his Majesty that Gelves was dismissed as aforesaid.

Owing to the destruction by fire of all the property of the governor of Don John of Austria, many persons endeavoured to make him large donations, *and amongst the rest, the Duke of Sessa, although much embarrassed and doubtless poorer than Don John's governor,* sent him all his plate and household ornaments, worth 20,000 ducats; but neither from the Duke nor from others would the governor accept anything, except the necessaries of life from his great friend Don Juan Manrique.

Madrid, 27th August 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

271. Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The physicians of Don Carlos, seeing that his quartan ague, which commenced more than two years ago, still continued, and knowing that to stay here in the winter would be hurtful to him, gave advice that he should withdraw to Tarragona or Valenza, where the climate is milder and more suitable to his health; *but hitherto*

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no resolution has been formed about this proposal, for although it is well known that the physicians counsel rightly, it is nevertheless taken into consideration that Don Carlos must be attended by a numerous and distinguished company at very great cost; for which reason he did not go away last year, although the physicians in like manner recommended his doing so. In the meanwhile he medicates himself by taking a certain powder boiled in wine, at the suggestion of a soldier, who declared that he had had great experience of it. (Fra tanto egli si medica, prendendo certa polvere in vino boglito, secondo ch'un soldato ha arricordato, affermando haverne havuta grande esperienza.)

The King has of late been several times absent from Madrid for his pleasure, and he returned on Wednesday to be present at the tournament which is to take place to-day.

Some Spanish Bishops have already departed for the Council, and will be followed by all the others, except eleven, who from old age and on other reasonable accounts have just cause for remaining; but the King has not yet named an Ambassador to the Pope, though strongly urged to do so by the Nuncio, saying however that he is about to make the appointment.

Madrid, 14th September 1561.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Bequeathed MSS. Portfolio 9.

272. Report of France by Signor Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador there, 1561.

Unless it otherwise pleases the Almighty, religious affairs will soon be in an evil case in France, because there is not one single province uncontaminated. Indeed in some provinces, such as Normandy, almost the whole of Britany, Touraine, Poitou, Gascony, and a great part of Languedoc, of Dauphiny, and of Provence, comprising three-fourths of the kingdom, congregations and meetings, which they call assemblies, are held; and in these assemblies they read and preach, according to the rites and uses of Geneva, without any respect either for the ministers of the King or the commandments of the King himself. This contagion has penetrated so deeply that it affects every class of persons, and, what appears more strange, even the ecclesiastical body itself. I do not mean only priests, friars, and nuns, for there are but few monasteries that are not corrupted, but even bishops and many of the principal prelates, who hitherto had not shown any such disposition; and it is only on account of the rigorous execution of the law that other persons besides the populace have not disclosed themselves, because they have restrained themselves for the time being from fear of the loss of their property and lives. But your Serenity must learn that while the people and the populace show fervent devotion by frequenting the churches and observing the Catholic rites, all other classes are supposed to be disaffected, and the nobility perhaps more than any other class, and, particularly, persons of forty years of age and under. If these disaffected individuals continue to attend mass and the Divine offices, and externally to practise Catholic rites, they do so

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for show and from fear; because when they either are, or believe themselves to be, unobserved, they avoid and even fly from the mass above all things, and also from the churches as far as they are able, and more so since it became known that by imprisonment, chastisement, and burnings, no remedy was found. It has now been determined not to proceed against any disaffected persons unless they venture to preach, persuade, and to take part publicly in congregations and assemblies. All other such persons are allowed to live, and some have been set at liberty, and released from the prisons of Paris and of other parts of the kingdom. A great number of these last have still remained in the kingdom, preaching and speaking publicly, and boasting that they have gained their cause against the Papists, as they delight to style their adversaries; so that, now, every one of them is assured against the fear of being questioned; and there exists thus a silent truce, because whilst formerly all suspected persons had to quit the kingdom, and to retire some to Geneva, some to Germany, and some to England, now they not only do not leave the country, but a large number of those who had already emigrated have returned. It was told me, whilst passing through Geneva on my way to Italy, that, after the death of the King, a great number of gentlemen who had fled thither after the conspiracy of Amboise, had come back to France, and, in particular, Monsieur de Mombrun (*Montbur*), who was the author of the late disturbances in Provence and in Dauphiny, and who had been burnt in effigy; besides these, more than fifty others, who are called ministers, were summoned from various parts of France to travel, and teach and preach the "Word," for thus they term the Gospels, and their own doctrine. Your Serenity will hardly believe the influence and the great power which the principal minister of Geneva, by name Calvin, a Frenchman, and a native of Picardy, possesses in this kingdom; he is a man of extraordinary authority, who by his mode of life, his doctrines, and his writings, rises superior to all the rest; and it is almost impossible to believe the enormous sums of money which are secretly sent to him from France to maintain his power. It is sufficient to add that if God does not interfere, there is great and imminent danger that one of two things will happen in this kingdom: either that the truce, which is desired and sought publicly, will end by the heretics having churches wherein they can preach, read, and perform their rites, according to their doctrine, without hindrance, and in like manner as they obtained churches by command of the late King, given at Fontainebleau, at the end of August, in compliance with a petition presented to him by the Admiral; or, else, that we shall see an obedience to the Pope and to the Catholic rites enforced, and shall have resort to violence and imbrue our hands in noble blood. For these reasons I foresee a manifest and certain division in the kingdom, and civil war as a consequence; and this will be the cause of the ruin both of the kingdom and of religion, because upon a change in religion a change in the State necessarily follows.

Orleans is called Edward, having received this name after Edward, King of England. He is 8 years old, one year less than

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the King; he is a very fine child, but of a more grave and subdued nature than the King, and enjoys better health than his Majesty.

The King of Navarre, before he became King, took his title from the House of Vendome, as successor to the states and inheritance of his mother, who belonged to that house, and who married under a contract that her heir should take that title. This house became extinct this very year, on the death of the Vidame of Chartres. The King is 44 or 45 years of age, but his beard has already begun to turn grey. He is a man of good presence, and far more prepossessing in appearance than his brothers, who are undersized and ill made, while the King's stature is above the ordinary height. He is of a jovial and friendly disposition, and has a reputation for courage and ardour, which he has shown in the war, but he is thought to be a better soldier than a captain or general. But still he is ranked amongst the principal commanders of the kingdom, and will not give precedence either to the Constable or M. de Guise. He is a prince of great affability towards everybody indifferently, without any pretence or emptiness about him, and with a free and open manner of proceeding, according to the French custom; and he is so liberal that he is always in debt, and never has money to spend. By these two qualities of liberality and affability he has obtained great popularity with all classes, and especially with the nobles, by whom he is much loved. He has a reputation for a good intellect and power of speech, but as to actions he is reputed vain, inconsiderate, and inconstant, with little ability to undertake great enterprises, or to carry them out with spirit. He has hitherto been under suspicion of being unfriendly to the religion, as one who had been persuaded to abandon the mass and to accept all the rites of Geneva. Still everybody agrees that he has done this more for the purpose of creating a division in the kingdom and for becoming the head of a party, than for any respect or zeal in religious matters; for the very Protestants themselves believe him to be a great hypocrite and deceiver, and that he will fall in with whatever may turn most to his advantage, because he has allowed himself to be persuaded to live according to the Catholic religion, and to send to Rome to render public obedience to the Pope, simply in order not to do less in this way than the Kings of France and of Spain.

The brothers of the King (of Navarre) are the Cardinal of Bourbon and the Prince of Condé, who are opposed to one another in religious opinion. The Cardinal is considered one of the best Catholics in the whole kingdom, while the Prince of Condé, on the other hand, is believed to be most disaffected, and to be agitating as much as he can with all those who are not corrupted, with the intent to form a party in order to defeat the Lords de Guise, against whom he professes open enmity on account of his being excluded from the Government at their instance. He was the author of the insurrections and conspiracies which lately took place under pretext of religion, but which were formed with the object of assassinating the Lords de Guise; and there is no doubt that if the late King had not died, the Prince would have worked much greater evil against many others, and particularly against the house of the Constable, and with

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danger even to the Constable himself, notwithstanding that the Constable had never done nor even imagined any of the acts that were to be laid to his charge; but the death of the King, as if by a miracle, put an end to all these contemplated proceedings.

The peace concluded with England by the intervention of the ministers of the King of Spain continues outwardly to be observed, but whoever considers the real dispositions of these two nations, who are natural enemies, cannot believe that any good understanding can ever exist between them; and, to say the truth, there is no such understanding, nor will there ever be any, because the English have greatly at heart the recovery of Calais, which they lost in the last war, and the French desire to revenge the injuries which they have received at the hands of the English in the kingdom of Scotland, and which resulted in little less than the complete loss of that kingdom by an agreement which was so disgraceful to the crown of France that the late King refused to ratify it. But as neither the French nor the English are in a position to go to war openly, they, from the necessity of the case, take advantage of the present time of peace, and especially the English, who, from the condition of affairs in Scotland since the death of the late King, have less reason to fear than formerly an open invasion by the French, and await with greater tranquillity the expiration of the seven years for which they have signed peace, when Calais is to be restored, with the alternative of the payment of 100,000 crowns; and according to the position in which these nations will then be, they will either break or maintain the treaty.

[*Italian.*]

Bequeathed MSS. Portfolio 9.

273. COMMENTARY and OBSERVATIONS on the Kingdom of FRANCE by MICHIEL SURIANO, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of France, 1561.

The kingdom of France has always possessed adequate means for self-defence. It has never been conquered except by the English, who, after a long and protracted war waged within the very bowels of the land, occupied a great portion of the country; but their victory endured only a short time, for they were deprived not only of those portions of the kingdom which they had held by force, but also of Normandy and Guienne, the ancient patrimony of the Kings of England; and this is the origin of the mortal hatred which exists between the two nations, and which will never end.

The country itself is delightful and pleasing, full of navigable rivers; it has no rugged mountains except at one extremity and on the frontiers, and the centre consists of fertile and cultivated plains and hills, which produce a quantity of wheat, wine, flax, hemp, and other things, which are not only sufficient for the use of the kingdom, but which are exported to Spain, Portugal, Flanders, England, Denmark, and to other countries even more distant. Although there are no mines of gold and silver, as in Germany and Spain, yet in France there is no lack of money received from the various countries which consume its produce; Portugal alone sends to France gold and silver in large quantities; Spain sends the like, notwithstanding that the prohibitions are most strict, because the

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profit that is derived amounts to 15 or 20 per cent. at the least; and I remember that during the war with the Catholic King, the trade with the Flemings did not cease, from the necessity which compelled the latter to obtain provisions and merchandise from France. It is therefore not surprising that in time of war the French soldiers not only in Italy, but within the kingdom itself, were paid in Spanish crowns and silver reals.

If any authority in France can control the absolute power of the King it is the Assembly of the Three Estates, who represent the whole kingdom, like the Parliament in England and in Scotland and the Diet in Germany. A meeting is held nearly every year, when matters of importance are considered.

With regard to matters of religion, every one knows that the first person [Luther] who revived the old heresies, and who is the origin of the new sects of our time, was a man of humble origin and fortune; nevertheless he has infected so large a part of the world in a few years that he has not only caused religion to be changed in Germany, which was his native country, but also in Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Poland, and all the northern countries. He has also ruined England and Scotland, corrupted France and Flanders, thrown Italy and Spain into confusion, and his influence extends even to the Indies, so that there is now no part of Christendom which is free from this pestilence; and although from the three branches which this evil root has produced, namely, one of Lutherans, one of Sacramentarians, and one of Anabaptists, thirty and more sects all different one from another have sprung, they nevertheless derive their origin from him alone. The main principles which the authors of the new doctrines profess are, to teach the purity of the Gospel, and to preach Christian liberty.

The Pope is interested in these matters, because these new sects greatly prejudice his authority, and the treaties which he has with this kingdom. The Emperor is also interested on account of Metz, the Queen of England for Calais, and the Duke of Savoy for the fortresses of Piedmont.

The Pope is not considered to have much power in France, because the weakness of the Church was proved during the last war, and because at one time the French thought to occupy Italy if a Frenchman were made Pope. The authority of his Holiness has also greatly declined on account of these new sects, which, although of contrary opinions and various kinds, are united in their endeavour to destroy the Papal authority.

His Holiness, moreover, is not a Prince by blood, and many Catholics consider that the name of the House of Medici is fatal to Christianity, because during the time of Pope Leo Germany was lost, in the time of Clement, England, and now in the time of this Pius, France is threatened with a danger which every one perceives.

The authority of his Holiness having thus declined so greatly, proposals have been discussed to satisfy the heretics, to suspend the payment of annats, and to annul the Pragmatic agreed to many years since.

[*Italian.*]

1561.
Bequeathed MSS.
Portfolio 11.

274. Report concerning King Philip of Spain, presented by Michiel Soriano (Surian), late Ambassador with his Majesty, to the Most Serene Signory.*

Describes the respective geographical positions of Burgundy and the Low Countries, which latter, he states, are defended by twenty-four so called fortresses, which, however, according to his opinion, do not merit that name.

The Low Countries, by reason of the extent of their frontiers, the multitude of their population, their riches, their proximity to the sea and to rivers, and the beauty and the grandeur of their land, are not inferior to any kingdom in Europe, and there is no other country in the world which is at the same time more sterile and more wealthy. Their sterility is due partly to the climate, which is cold and damp, and partly to want of care on the part of the inhabitants, who busy themselves more with commerce and the arts of manufacture than with agriculture, and the land is allowed to run to pasture and to woods after the manner in which the English deal with their lands.

Their wealth is derived from the large trade which is carried on with England, Flanders, Spain, Germany, Italy, and the whole world, because much merchandise is exported to those countries, and much merchandise imported from them, and these importations are partly consumed at home and partly forwarded elsewhere. The goods which are exported to all parts of the world are tapestries, cloth, and linen.

In these States two causes for apprehension constantly exist; the first is the disposition of the people, who are discontented on account of continual burdens, and because the whole government which was formerly in their hands is now entirely carried on by the Spaniards. The second cause is the power and proximity of the French, who neither in time of war nor in time of peace allow any opportunity to pass which may be useful to them and damaging to their adversaries. Therefore the Emperor, to protect himself against the people, decided to maintain a large force of Spanish soldiers in these provinces, besides the fortress which he made in Ghent, and others which he proposed to make in other places also. And in order to secure himself against the French, he thought it expedient to avail himself of the arms of England, which have always been fatal to the kingdom of France; so he entered into a league with King Henry the Eighth, which bound each party to furnish certain forces for the common defence of their States.

But after the death of Henry and of Edward, and upon the accession of Queen Mary, the Emperor, who always entertained large designs, thought that he might acquire the kingdom of England by contracting a marriage between the Queen and his son; but his expectations were disappointed, because the King (Philip) met with so many obstacles and difficulties that I remember having heard a great personage say that his Majesty daily repented more and more

* There are two copies of this Report, one dated 1560, and the other 1571; but it appears to have been written at the beginning of the year 1559. As it was not noticed in time to be inserted in its proper place, it will be convenient to insert it here.

1561. having applied himself to this undertaking, because in that kingdom he had neither authority, obedience, nor peace, but only a title which was empty rather than real. And now, as I am on the subject of England, it seems to me desirable to write some brief details concerning that kingdom.

England is the most wealthy and powerful of all the kingdoms of the north, and although the Crown levies small import duties (usually about 100,000 ducats), it has nevertheless sufficient supplies under ordinary circumstances for the public service both in time of peace and also in time of war, because in time of war subsidies, great and small, are levied upon owners of property according to the assessment (*arbitrio*) of individuals appointed for that purpose; and the sums fixed are paid within two months without any complaint or the slightest tumult, notwithstanding, as has happened frequently, that the amount has reached one million and a half of gold.

The power of the country consists in its number of warlike men, and in the strength of its fleet, in which respect this kingdom is superior to all its neighbours, and also in the advantage of its natural position, which is easy to defend and difficult to attack. But from the disposition of the people, and from the incapacity of the Council, the kingdom has lately suffered more detriment than advantage from the above forces, for Calais has been lost because no steps were taken in time to provide against the danger, and the country itself is weakened by many intestine discords.

The English are universally partial to novelty, hostile to foreigners, and not very friendly amongst themselves; they attempt to do everything that comes into their heads, just as if all that the imagination suggests could be easily executed; hence a greater number of insurrections have broken out in this country than in all the rest of the world, the most recent of these being that raised by Thomas Stafford, nephew of the Cardinal [Pole], who endeavoured to obtain the kingdom with only sixty men brought by him from France, and he paid the penalty of his temerity.

From the same cause has arisen the change of faith, which is the greatest alteration that could possibly arise in a nation, because besides the offence which is thus committed against our Lord God, a revolution in customs, laws, obedience, and, lastly, in the very State itself, necessarily follows, as has happened in Asia, Africa, Germany, and in a great part of Europe.

Hence also have resulted many depositions of great men and promotions of the unworthy, many imprisonments, exiles, and deaths. It is also a fact, incredible though true, namely, that during the last twenty years three Princes of the blood, four Dukes, forty Earls, and more than three thousand other persons have died by violent death. It may therefore be easily imagined that no foreigner could rule this kind of people, when even their own countrymen are not safe, yet nevertheless the King [Philip] used every endeavour and every means suggested by his father and his friends to acquire authority over them. To obtain their favour he showed himself most gracious towards all; he trusted his own life in their hands; he professed openly to require nothing from them; he spent money freely amongst all classes; he reduced the Council

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of the Queen from the old number of twenty-five to six confidential persons only ; and he did everything he possibly could without resorting to force.

But seeing the suspicion against him continually on the increase, and being aware that if he had no son he would be excluded from the throne, and foreseeing that the people would then incline to the Lady Elizabeth, who is now Queen, the King, in order not to lose with shame that which he could not retain, determined to marry her to the Duke of Savoy, who was a friend and dependent of his Majesty, and thus to preserve the friendship of that kingdom, which he could not otherwise subdue.

This scheme involved two difficulties : the first was to gain the consent of that Queen (Elizabeth), who seemed unwilling to marry without the consent of Parliament, which the King her father had ordained as necessary ; and Parliament appeared indisposed to consent to her marrying a foreigner. The other difficulty was to induce the Queen (Mary), her sister, to consent that she (Elizabeth) should marry with the hope of [succeeding to] the kingdom. This difficulty appeared greater than the other, because the Queen was very ill-disposed towards her (Elizabeth), and would not acknowledge her as a sister ; and as she (Mary) was of a terrible and obstinate nature, neither the King nor any other person dared to reason with her against her will. Therefore a mission was given to the King's Confessor, who was a man of great ability and very acceptable to the Queen, to undertake the business, and he performed this duty with such assiduity and dexterity that he induced her to alter her mind, so that she expressed her satisfaction, and promised to speak to the King on the subject the following evening; but as the Queen then said nothing about it, the Confessor returned to her on the following day, when he found her mind altogether changed, and the blame was laid on Cardinal Pole, who was supposed, because he had not been first consulted, to have persuaded the Queen in a contrary sense.

This Cardinal was a man of singular goodness, who spent his life in the practice and teaching of religion, and his sole object was to confirm that kingdom in the Catholic religion, and to maintain it in tranquillity. Knowing therefore that the Lady Elizabeth must succeed to the throne, and that in order that she might not relapse into the heresy in which she was born and educated, it was imperative to give her a husband who was a Catholic, or who might have authority over her, he, the Cardinal, would not have thought of hindering the proposal above mentioned, as he would have been opposing his own chief design.

But this imputation was put upon him because he had always been under suspicion at the court of the Emperor and of the King, for while he held the principal dignity in the kingdom, he had never been willing to use his power to make the King absolute, as the Spaniards desired. Indeed, one day the Bishop of Arras, speaking of the Cardinal, said that the Cardinal neither understood nor knew anything about affairs of State or of the Court, and added that he was good for nothing in that kingdom, either for counsel or for government. This was said because it is the habit of the

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Spaniards, when they cannot or do not know how to carry their point, always to suspect that they have been thwarted by some one from whom they ought to have had assistance; and therefore they came to the conclusion that this most holy and innocent man could have served their ends if he had wished to do so.

But before they were able to execute their plan, the Queen's state of health became seriously worse, and then, taking advantage of the opportunity, the Count de Feria was sent to England with orders, with or without the consent of the Queen, to acquaint Lady Elizabeth that the King was the author of the project for her aggrandisement; and both the Count and the Confessor intimated that in the matter of such importance no regard was to be paid to the mere displeasure of a woman. But the King lost one point and failed to gain the other, because Queen Mary, partly from rage, which was natural to her, and partly from being compelled to consent against her will, fell into such a state of passion that she departed this life.

Queen Elizabeth, who has succeeded to the throne, owing to her courage and to her great power of mind, being similar to that of the King her father, declines to rely upon anyone save herself, although she is most gracious to all. And while she has not as yet changed the religion for reasons of her own it is nevertheless believed that she favours the sect in which she was born and educated, and, having regard to the individuals whom she has appointed to govern the kingdom, that she will return to the manner in which she lived in the time of King Edward.

With regard to the Queen's marriage, the English are of opinion that she will not marry a foreigner, and if there be a report that she is treating with the Catholic King, his Majesty has no inclination to any such negotiation, partly because he is indisposed to resume his responsibilities in England, and partly for other reasons which are secret.

The only hope his Majesty has of remaining friendly with the Queen is her distrust of the French, who have pretensions to her kingdom through the Queen of Scotland, as a descendant from a sister of King Henry, and the nearest to him in legitimate succession, should the Queen (Elizabeth) be adjudged ineligible by reason of having been born while the legitimate wife of her father was still alive.

I will conclude with the brief observation that the Catholic King, for the preservation of his estates in Flanders, and to keep the sea open between Flanders and Spain, will do his utmost to remain ever at peace with that kingdom, and prevent it falling into the hands of any Prince from whom he might at any time apprehend war.

* * * * * *

The Catholic King was born in Spain in the month of May 1527. He passed his early days and the greater part of his youth in that kingdom, where either from the custom of the country or by the will of his mother, who was a Portuguese, he was educated with all the care and respect which could become the son of the greatest Emperor who ever reigned in Christendom and the heir of possessions of such vast magnitude.

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Having been brought up after this manner, his Majesty, when he first quitted Spain, passed through Italy and Germany to Flanders, and conveyed a universal impression that he was of a severe and intractable disposition, and therefore he was not much liked by the Italians, thoroughly disliked by the Flemings, and hated by the Germans. Consequently he was first warned by the Cardinal of Trent, then by Queen Mary, and even more effectually by his father, that a character for severity did not become the ruler of various nations and people of various habits and customs. He thenceforward changed so completely that since he left Spain to proceed to England, he has shown continually such great sweetness of temper, and such affability, as not to be surpassed by any Prince in these respects; and although he preserves his reputation and royal dignity, which are natural to him, in all his actions, the urbanity which his Majesty shows towards all persons is not the less acceptable to them.

His personal appearance, his manly presence, and his manner of speaking sweetly, add to his graciousness of demeanour; and although he is small in stature he is so well made, and his limbs so well proportioned and symmetrical, and he dresses with so much cleanliness and taste, that it is not possible to behold anything more perfect than himself.

His Majesty is of a very delicate constitution, and for this reason he lives invariably according to rule; his habit is to partake only of highly nutritious food, and he abstains from fish, fruit, and similar aliments, which have a tendency to produce ill humours.

He sleeps a great deal, takes little exercise, and his habits of life are of a tranquil character; and although in the field he has shown more readiness and vivacity, it is apparent that he has overcome his nature, which inclined to tranquillity rather than activity, and to repose rather than to fatigue. Hence it follows that although his time of life is apt to engender generous aspirations, and an insatiable desire to govern, his efforts are directed not to increase his possessions by war, but to preserve them by peace; for at the commencement of his reign he made a truce with the King of France, notwithstanding that the Emperor refused his consent, and that the Bishop of Arras publicly condemned it. He regulated the disorders of the ministers of his realms; he restored the courts of law; he expedited the grants of favours and the decrees of justice, which the Emperor was accustomed to delay; he showed liberality towards all persons, and never permitted anyone to leave his presence dissatisfied. But when the Emperor, who had by his great reputation for prudence and experience maintained the authority of his son, departed for Spain, his Majesty was too weak to support so great a burden, and soon found himself involved in serious difficulties, which might have overthrown him had he not been aided by fortune, and the imprudence of his enemies. Then, if he had desired to imitate the Emperor, he might have done so by the strength of his power and the prosperity of his fortune, which are most formidable to the world; but although he resembles his father in his features, in his mode of speech, in his observance of religion, and in his kindness and good faith, he is dissimilar in many other respects

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which constitute the crowning point of the greatness of Princes. The Emperor delighted in all that pertained to war, but his Majesty has neither knowledge of warlike matters, nor delight in them. The Emperor undertook great expeditions, but these the King avoids. The Emperor planned great designs, and conducted them with dexterity, and to his great benefit; but the King thinks less of increasing his own power, than of obstructing the power of others. The Emperor never yielded to threats or to fear, but the King under very small apprehensions has given away states.

The Emperor governed entirely according to his own views, but the King governs according to the views of others, and he has no esteem for any nation except the Spanish; he consorts only with Spaniards, and with these only he takes counsel and governs. Moreover, contrary to the custom of the Emperor, he takes no notice of Italians and Flemings, and least of all Germans, and although he retains the chief men of each nation in his kingdom, still it is observed that he declines to admit any one of them to his secret councils, but keeps them only for affairs of war; and he probably acts thus, not so much because he has a good opinion of them, as to prevent their services being employed by his enemies. For this reason he has never summoned either the Duke of Savoy or the Duke Ottavio to the council of state, but only to the council of war, into which all the chief officers, and even the colonels, are admitted. The Duke Ottavio has nicknamed this council "the council of the populace."

* * * * * *

According to my opinion the kingdom of England will always be in alliance with his Majesty, from fear of being harassed by France, which already possesses Calais and Boulogne this side of England, and the kingdom of Scotland on the other.*

[*Italian.*]

June 8–9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

275. Marin di Cavalli and Giovanni da Lezze, Venetian Ambassadors Extraordinary in France, to the Doge and Senate.†

Account of their reception by the King of France, the Queen Mother, and the King of Navarre. They say that nothing could have been more satisfactory, and that more honour was done to them than to Don Juan Manrique or to the Earl of Bedford, of whom the former came in the name of the King Catholic, and the latter for the Queen of England, to perform the same offices as they did.‡

Paris, 8th and 9th June 1561.

[*Italian.*]

* In another place (f. 337 b) it is stated incidentally, that owing to the debasement of the English coinage in the reign of Henry VIII., all the good money was exported from England to other countries.

† This and the following despatches of 1561 were accidentally overlooked till after the other despatches of that year had been printed.

‡ *i.e.*, to congratulate the new King on his accession. The departure of the two Venetian Ambassadors Extraordinary is recorded in a despatch of Michiel Surian, dated 16th June 1561.

1561.
July 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

276. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Queen of Scotland, who came to this city a month ago, proposes to depart for her kingdom at the end of this month, and will cross with two galleys of this King's which have been left in the seas of Britany for this purpose, the other galleys returning to Marseilles. In order that she may pass safely, she has caused a request to be made to the Queen of England for safe conduct and secure transit through her (Elizabeth's) seas; and also, if she should be compelled to do so by chance or for any other cause, power to disembark in her (Elizabeth's) kingdom. The English Ambassador here has despatched a man of his by post to that Queen for this purpose. And because she (Elizabeth) has now to make a progress through the kingdom (*d'andar hora alla visita del regno*), he (the Ambassador) believes she will so arrange her journey that at the time of the passage of this Queen, she will be on the sea-coast where the latter will have to pass, and with this opportunity they will be able to confer together.

It is true that a few days it happened that the Earl of Huntly (*Ontele*) [George Gordon],—who, with eight others of the principal lords of Scotland, had risen up in favour of the Catholic religion against the Earl of Arran (*Haran*) and others of the kingdom, who designed to take away the mass and the Catholic rites,—has been compelled to yield to the latter, because they were of greater number and had larger forces; and they have all consented to that opinion, except only three, who have left the kingdom. One of these, called the Earl of Bothwell (*Bodwel*) [James Hebburn], is expected here in a few days.

This accident may cause the Queen to make a fresh determination as to her departure, because, wishing to keep herself Catholic as she professes to be, she cannot approve this declaration which has been made by that kingdom, nor has she sufficient authority or forces to be able to hinder it. Thus on every hand signs are visible that our Lord God is angry with our errors.

The Abbot Martinengo, as I have already written, was not suffered to pass into England, and the Nuncio here has been, in the name of the Pope, to find the Ambassador of that Queen, and to give him account of the cause for which his Holiness had sent the Abbot, which is, to perform with her Majesty the same office of inviting her to the Council as he has performed with the Emperor, and with this and other Christian Kings; and he (the Nuncio) prayed him (the Ambassador) to induce her Majesty to admit him. The Ambassador promised to write with all possible warmth, but, so far as it can be understood, he is the most cruel adversary that the Catholic religion has in that kingdom (England).*

Paris, 3rd July 1561.

[*Italian.*]

* Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was the Ambassador here alluded to.

1561.
Aug. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

277. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of Scotland, being at Abbeville,* determined to send again an attendant of hers (*un suo*) into England, to try once more [to obtain] the safe conduct; and in order to give the Queen less cause for suspicion, she has sent a Scotchman, and not a Frenchman, as she did last time. To facilitate the matter still more, she has sent another person, also a Scotchman, by that road into England, with an order to cause the Estates of the kingdom to be assembled, for the purpose of subscribing to the Articles of the Peace.

The Queen also caused this English Ambassador to be summoned to her, in order that he may send a man of his together with those whom she sends; and she told him that as she had no one here, neither her uncles nor others, who are willing to counsel her, she cannot do otherwise than refer herself to the counsel of her kingdom, and therefore by this gentleman she is sending an order that the people of her kingdom may resolve what seems good to them, as she will approve whatever they shall determine.

Although it is believed that this is a trick (*tratto*) to facilitate the safe conduct, and the more so as the Queen does not think of awaiting it before embarking, nevertheless the Ambassador professes (*mostra*) to believe that his Queen will hold this excuse to be just and reasonable, and will satisfy the desire of the Queen of Scotland as being a most just and honourable desire. The Queen (of Scotland) was to embark in a few days.

Paris, 16th August 1561.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

278. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The conference [of the French clergy touching religious affairs] is being held at Poissy. Nothing has been said against the observance of the canons, which are so good and holy; and if their observance had not been interrupted by dispensations and other derogations, perhaps the world to-day would not be in such disorder and confusion as it is. The Nuncios, however—the chief of whom is the Bishop of Viterbo—object to this conference, considering it derogatory to the Papal dignity. They are also afraid that points of doctrine, as well as of discipline, may be discussed; and they have reason to fear this, because all those of the contrary sects desire it, and every day present fresh requests to the King and Council on the subject. Many of these principal lords wish the same thing. For this purpose many persons have already come hither from Geneva, under the safe conduct which was published a month since; among others, one Theodore Beza, first in authority

* This must have been some days before the date of the letter, as Queen Mary had embarked on the 14th of August. (Mignet, p. 83.)

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after Calvin, and another who is sent by the Queen of England. There is also expected Peter Martyr, who has had a safe conduct apart, because he is not of the kingdom, but an Italian, and dissents from Calvin; wherefore, if it should be necessary to make a conference, it would have to be made with three parties (*bisogneria farlo in terzo*). This would be nothing else than holding up the affairs of God to the derision of the vulgar, and the more so, as these men of the new sects have told the Council, and repeat the same everywhere, that they will not submit themselves to the judgment of the bishops and prelates, who are interested, but that they demand for judges the King, the Queen, and the King of Navarre; and in all these their follies they find many princes and lords who give them support.

Paris, 23rd August 1561.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

279. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Account of a reconciliation between the Duke de Guise and the Prince of Condé.

Paris, 24th August 1561.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

280. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

To-morrow the King and Queen are to be at Poissy, where Beza will be with some others of his sect. The Nuncio and Cardinal d'Armagnac told my secretary that if these people wish to speak of the matters which are treated of in the convention (*convento*), viz., reformation of life and regulation of abuses, they (the Nuncio and Cardinal) will not only listen, but accept any useful proposition which may be made; but if they (Beza and the others) attempt to speak about dogmas and those matters which are the essence of our faith, and as to which they dissent from the Church, they (the Nuncio and Cardinal) will either not hear them, or, if they listen, they will make no reply; or, if they reply at all, it will be in writing. But if it be true what the Queen told me, that there will be no disputation about dogmas, everything will go off quietly, although I do not believe her Majesty understands what is meant by this word dogmas. I fear, indeed, that, like others here who daily insist on disputing about religion, and who are all or mostly ignorant, she confounds dogmas with rites and abuses, as if they were all one and the same thing. The Queen further assured me, firstly, that no change would be made in religion; secondly, that the obedience to his Holiness would not be altered in any way; and, thirdly, that no attempt would be made to alienate church property.

Paris, 8th September 1561.

[*Italian.*]

1561.
Sept. 22.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

281. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Having been to the Court I found the Queen greatly contented with a discourse (*raggionamento*) which the Cardinal of Lorraine had made the day before in public at Poissy, in answer to Beza, and in which his Lordship treated diffusely under three heads upon three principal points which those people (*coloro*) had touched. The first was that the King, being a member of the Church, and not the head, cannot make himself judge in matters of religion and faith, but has to obey the Decrees. The second was what is understood by the name of Church, in which these heretics are in great error, not understanding what the Scripture says of it, although of itself (*da se*) it is very clear. The third was on the subject of the most holy sacrament. On all these three points he spoke in such a manner that he not only confirmed in the truth those who are Catholics, but unsettled many of the adversaries. I understand that the Prince of Condé said to the Cardinal d'Armagnac that he was highly satisfied with this discourse.

Paris, 22nd September 1561.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

282. Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

For some days I have been at St. Germain, having been invited by the King to the ceremony of the Knights [of the Order of St. Michael], which was very thinly attended, because many are absent, and those who are suspected in religion were unwilling to be present. Of the Ambassadors the one from England was not there, nor the one from Florence. They say that the English Ambassador was invited, but because he said he would not come the Ambassador from Portugal was invited, as, owing to the competition between them [on the question of precedence], they could not both be invited.

St. Germain, 2nd October 1561.*

[*Italian.*]

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1562.
April 16.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

283. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Gives account of negotiations between the Government and the Prince of Condé. The Queen [Mother, Catherine de' Medici] has

* This is the last letter of Michiel Surian that has been preserved. For his Report, see No. 273. The first extant letter of his successor, Marc' Antonio Barbaro, is dated 16th April 1562.

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republished the edict of St. Germain, allowing the Huguenots to preach, but not within a league of Paris. The general opinion is that there will be war, which, it is feared, would cause great disturbance, and bring into this kingdom humours from various parts, as from Germany, England, and other places. Talking however with the English Ambassador, who really appears to me to be a gentleman of acute intellect, and of judgment and goodwill, although he now lives according to the religion of that kingdom, I was informed by him, in very straightforward and affectionate language, that his Queen would not give any trouble to this kingdom on that account, but that she had the very best intentions towards our religion. He also stated that she was using her utmost endeavours with certain Princes of Germany in whom she trusted (*suoi confidenti*), in order to discover some means whereby all (*tutti*) might attend the Council, so as to give quiet to the whole of Christendom.

The Ambassador then went on to speak of the difficulties in the way of this holy work, the three principal ones being, first, the indiction of the Council, which they (*essi*) wish to be convoked by the Emperor and not by the Pope; secondly, the place of the Council; and thirdly, the authority of the Council, which (authority) they wish to be above the Pope. But while the Ambassador was talking with me he constantly reminded me of his Queen's goodwill, saying that of this the Cardinal of Ferrara had experience (*trattatione*), and adding, with great earnestness, that every Christian prince ought to use his utmost endeavour to find a method by which such a good work might be successful; as otherwise, if things were allowed to continue in their present perilous courses, a general disturbance of the whole of Christendom must shortly be seen.

To this discourse, so ample and affectionate, I replied in general terms, praising as much as possible the pious and good mind of his Queen, and also the prudent and confidential discourse made to me by his Lordship; and I expressed a belief that the Queen would derive greater glory from this course of proceeding than any Emperor ever obtained from any enterprise. The office thus performed with me by the Ambassador did not appear to be a merely general one, and I judged that he intended it to lead to something further hereafter.

Paris, 16th April 1562.

[*Italian.*]

April 22. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

284. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Hopes of peace are on the decline, because both sides have issued printed declarations, reflecting on each other's honour, and tending to excite angry feelings. Mons. de Mortier, of the Privy Council, has been sequestrated; it is said he revealed to the Prince of Condé matters treated of in the Court. A secretary of that Prince came to the Queen yesterday. It is not known what he brings, but it is said secretly that the Prince had broken with the Admiral, and high words had passed between them; and in consequence of this rupture some agreement is hoped for.

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A few days ago the Grand Commander (*Gran Commendator*) of Portugal arrived at this Court; what his business with the Queen may be is not known, but I am told he is secretly treating for the marriage of his King with Madame Marguerite, sister of his most Christian Majesty; but as the King of Navarre designs to have her for his son, the Queen proceeds very cautiously in treating this matter. The Commander is to leave in two days for Flanders; and I understand the Portuguese Ambassador resident here is also to depart for England within a week.

Paris, 22nd April 1562.

[*Italian.*]

April 29. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

285. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Preparations are being made for war. It is said that the Switzers will not come, because they will be prevented by those of their cantons who are of this new religion. The day before yesterday it was publicly said that a herald had arrived from England to announce that if they [the French ministry] took up arms against the Prince of Condé, the Queen [Elizabeth] would consider war to have been commenced. But the Ambassador of that Queen has assured my Secretary that this is not true; though indeed he added (as he told me also) that he fears these disturbances will turn Christendom upside down.

He also told the Secretary that the Portuguese Ambassador was going to England to treat with the Queen about certain matters concerning the navigation of Guinea, where the Portuguese resort (*vanno*); and that when the Portuguese Ambassador at Rome spoke to the Pope about this mission to England, his Holiness said that he [the Ambassador to England] ought to endeavour in a dexterous manner to perform some good office with that Queen on behalf of the religion, and procure that the prelates of that kingdom should be sent to the Council. Finally the Ambassador [Throckmorton] said he believed that after performing these two offices, the Portuguese Ambassador would perform yet another, which was, to speak of marriage between the King of Portugal and the Queen of England, although there is a difference of perhaps twenty years between their ages.

Paris, 29th April 1562.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

286. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

On the day before yesterday Mons. de L'Aubespine arrived here from the Prince of Condé, with the Bishop of Orleans, and announced that Condé will not lay down arms until Mons. de Guise and the Constable depart from the Court. To this the Queen urges them to consent, but they have freely given it to be understood that they will not go. Hence it appeared that war must necessarily follow, without hope of agreement; but yesterday Mons. de St. Jean arrived

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at the Court, having been sent by the Prince of Condé to the Queen. It is said he has resumed the negotiation for an agreement, proposing that the Queen should go with the King to the Wood of Vincennes, accompanied by the Cardinals [of Lorraine and Ferrara, and de Bourbon] only, leaving here the King of Navarre, the Duke of Guise, and the Constable; and that she, being free in that place, should give some order both to these Lords who remain at Paris and to those at Orleans, so that it might be known that it proceeded solely from her own will, and that in this manner arms might be laid down. Nevertheless I cannot hope for any such result, seeing the distrust that is shown on both sides.

This morning it was heard that King Philip had offered for the Catholic cause thirty thousand infantry and six thousand horse, to be paid by himself.

Notwithstanding the treaty for agreement, tumults in divers parts are heard of.*

Paris, 4th May 1562.

[*Italian.*]

July 1. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

287. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The particulars of the peace arranged by the Queen and the Prince of Condé are of course difficult to ascertain, as they were the sole negotiators, and the result was not committed to writing. The terms appear to be, that the Duke de Guise, the Constable, and the Marshal de St. André are to retire from the Court to their houses; and that the Prince of Condé shall present himself at Court to render obedience to the King, remaining a prisoner until all the places occupied in the kingdom shall be restored to his Majesty. As to religion, the Edict of January, permitting the preachings, is to be observed, but only outside Paris. The arms of both armies are to remain in the hands of the King of Navarre till all the tumults are quieted.

The publication of these conditions has greatly incensed the people of this city, who, having been armed, and being so numerous and a material of such a nature (*et una materia di tale natura*), may cause their power to be felt. Yesterday proclamation was again made that the Huguenots are to leave the city under pain of life, and already some loss of life has taken place. On the other hand, those Huguenots who have left Paris have taken up positions in the neighbourhood in great numbers, and commit many treacherous acts and assassinations. Thus there are worse troubles than ever, and I cannot believe that the proposed conditions of peace will serve to remove the causes of the war.†

Paris, 1st July 1562.

[*Italian.*]

* There are several later despatches referring to the negociations between the Queen Mother and the Prince of Condé.

† On the 3rd July, Barbaro announced that the negociations for peace had been broken off.

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July 16.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

288. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Chevalier Calcina (*sic*) has returned from Orleans, the Queen having sent him thither to effect the release of a merchant who had been captured with six thousand crowns. Calcina contrived to see the Prince of Condé, but not so advantageously as he wished, because of the unexpected arrival of the Prince's wife and others of those lords, to whom the Prince had given a promise not to treat of anything without their intervention; whereupon they showed some resentment.

My Secretary has been told by Calcina, in confidence, that the Prince used many haughty words to him, alleging that although he knew the result would be the ruin of this kingdom, nevertheless he was not the cause of it, but those who had forced him to act in this manner. He added that these lords of the Government had chosen to introduce foreign troops into the kingdom, such as the [German] pistolers and Switzers, and that they were endeavouring to obtain still further forces from foreign princes, and would cause them to come from many parts in such great numbers that they would set fire to every place in this kingdom. Upon this subject the Prince grew very angry, and, shrugging his shoulders, said that he was forced and compelled to adopt like measures (*ad operationi tali*).

Calcina also reports that d'Andelot, the Admiral's brother, had left Orleans and gone to Germany, where offers had been made to him by many of those Lutheran Princes of succours of troops to as great a number as might be required; so that it is said he will bring back a large force. He adds that the Prince of Condé had sent an envoy (*uno*) to England, to that Queen, from whom he had a promise of aid of troops, as soon as there should be delivered to her a place on the sea coast, where in any event the English troops might find a footing; and it was proposed to give her Havre de Grace, a strong maritime city, which was some time since occupied by the Huguenots. Thus affairs here appear to be in greater confusion and peril than ever they were.

Paris, 16th July 1562.

[*Italian.*]

July 17.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

289. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Huguenots of Orleans, besides having sent two persons to Germany and England for supplies of troops, as I wrote, appear to have sent another to the Switzers for the same purpose, so that they are seeking to increase their forces from all quarters.

Paris, 17th July 1562.

[*Italian.*]

July 24.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

290. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen of England seems to remain on the watch, hoping, if matters proceed to an extremity, to obtain Calais with this oppor-

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tunity, or, by occupying other places, to exchange them for it. It may also be assumed that King Philip will not neglect such an opportunity. The Catholics are expecting six thousand Spaniards and five thousand German infantry, besides those who have already arrived, so that with the Switzers they will number twenty-five thousand foot. The camp remains at Blois, and it is intended, on the arrival of the Switzers, to besiege Orleans before the Huguenots can receive reinforcements, which they profess to be expecting in great plenty from Germany, England, and other parts of France.

Paris, 24th July 1562.

[*Italian.*]

July 26. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

291. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Condé continues to talk valiantly, though with very modest words; and he says he shall have great assistance and favour from many parts. These two days there have been various rumours and accounts of succours [coming] from England, where it is said they were arming; but at present I have heard no confirmation of this intelligence.

Describes the passage through Paris of six thousand German Lansquenets under the Count Landgrave towards the camp at Blois, they having been preceded by five thousand Switzers.

Paris, 26th July 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

292. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Huguenots of Orleans are doing their utmost to fortify themselves there, and also at Bourges, and they boast much. Indeed, it is constantly affirmed that they will have very great succours from Germany and from England, with which they design not only to defend themselves but to compel the others to retire, and then to take the offensive. They hope these succours will enter into this kingdom very shortly.

Paris, 4th August 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

293. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador [Sir Nicholas Throckmorton] came yesterday to see me, and at the beginning of his conversation he said these words: "I have come to take leave of you, having already taken leave of the King and Queen." He then added: "I am not leaving for the reason which is alleged by some, that my Queen intends to declare war on this Crown, which opinion arose in the minds of many because they see that she is arming herself with troops and ships on the sea, which is done by her for no other cause than to defend herself, seeing that other Princes are also arming themselves, and especially the King Catholic, who gives

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out that he intends to make war on the kingdom of England; but my Queen" [*one line in cipher, undeciphered*]. He dilated hereupon at great length, adding that [*two lines in cipher*], giving countenance (*voce*) to one of these parties.

The Ambassador went on to make a long discourse, always much in favour of the cause of the Prince of Condé, and excusing him [by saying] that he had not acted from ill-will, nor against the King, but only from honest zeal for religion, and at the provocation of the other party [*one line in cipher*]; but they would probably repent of this, because the Prince had a good understanding with many Princes of Germany, by whom he would be succoured with troops and whatever he required.

The Ambassador then added that his Queen would not make any movement unless she was irritated and put on one side; that he was not removed hence by her for any of these causes, but only because the Queen could not keep him [here consistently] with her dignity, as for many days past he had suffered numerous insults not less dishonourable than dangerous, which had been offered by the audacity of this people, both to himself personally and to many of his attendants in the city, who were pursued with cries of "Huguenot" and similar words, in such wise that they had sometimes unavoidably come to mischief, not only with abusive words from the Parisians, but by the still more outrageous fact of his house having been attacked; besides which, he had received certain information that there was a conspiracy to assassinate him in his own chamber. He said he had written about all these things to his Queen, who had commissioned him to take leave and depart, which commission he had executed, but this Queen [Catherine de' Medici] was detaining him for four or six days, until she had likewise recalled her Ambassador [Paul de Foix] who was in England, and until a passport had been given him thence; wherefore he [Throckmorton] would depart to-morrow or the next day. He also told me that his Queen recalled him at the present time on account of these insults only, but that when these tumults should have been quieted, she would send another Ambassador. [*Then follow nine lines in cipher.*]

The King is on his way to the camp at Blois, whither he will be accompanied by the Lansquenets, who have remained near here for that purpose. The arrival of the troops from Flanders, and of the Spaniards, is also expected, when an attack will be made on Bourges or Orleans.

Paris, 6th August 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

294. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Here it is considered certain that d'Andelot, who went to Germany to obtain twenty thousand Germans for the service of the Prince of Condé, has not been able to do anything, because the Germans insisted on having two months' pay in advance, and good security

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for the rest. Some consider this to be a mere excuse. I am of opinion that the Germans, seeing how much their assistance is needed, and that the people in Orleans have offered Havre to the Queen of England, in like manner demand a seaport for themselves.

The King has deprived the Admiral [Coligny] of his rank, which is very great, and has bestowed it on Mons. Damville, the Constable's son. Other dignities and offices have likewise been taken away from those who are rebels.

Paris, 12th August 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

295. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

All this year the plague has been constantly on the increase in Paris. It is asserted, though I cannot believe it, that fifteen thousand persons have died within the last two months. I am, however, informed that from sixty to seventy die daily in a hospital where the plague-stricken are received. There is also a great scarcity throughout the kingdom.*

These Lords sent Mons. de Vielleville (*Vigliavilla*) to England when that Queen caused her Ambassador resident here to take leave, because they would not allow the latter to depart until this King's Ambassador in England [Paul de Foix] had crossed the sea. Vielleville is expected to return this evening to Paris, but from what the English Ambassador has said, it appears to me that the Freneh Ambassador will not depart thence, and that he himself will remain here until his Queen shall send him a successor.

Paris, 24th August 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

296. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Mons. de Vielleville has returned from England. He reports that the Queen intends to continue at peace with this King, and will by no means take up arms against him; though it is true that, knowing the House of Guise for its own interests to have put this kingdom in commotion against the [Protestant] religion, and that under this pretext they conceal other projects against her own kingdom, she will arm herself, not to offend the King, but those persons who have such an evil intention. And yesterday evening, by letters of the 23rd from England, it appears that some troops were already mustered for embarkation, and were only awaiting the Queen's command.

Paris, 29th August 1562.

[*Italian.*]

* In a despatch of the 31st August, Barbaro alludes to the still further increase of the plague, and states that dead bodies were lying in the streets of Paris.

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Sept. 21. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

297. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador [Throckmorton] departed from Paris under pretence of going to the Court, and went by a road not far distant from Orleans, at which place his baggage was detained by those who issued out of the city; wherefore it appears that his Lordship, in order to recover it, went into Orleans to demand it from the Prince; but although twelve days have passed since this happened, the Ambassador has not yet quitted Orleans. [*Then three lines in cipher.*]

Etampes, 21st September 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

298. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The King's army is continuing its march towards Rouen, and to-morrow will be about three leagues from that city.

Paris, 26th September 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 27. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

299. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

This morning I have had letters from Flanders of the 22nd instant, by which I am advised that the English were crossing over to Normandy; and also this morning the brother of the Marshal de Brissac has told me that, by a man of his who left that coast two days ago, he has advice that three thousand English had already embarked for their passage hither, and that other three thousand had made their muster for the same purpose.

Paris, 27th September 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives

300. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

On Wednesday, the 31st of last month, the King's army took up its position under Rouen, which city showed an intention to defend itself bravely as long as it could. A herald was sent in the name of his Majesty to demand its surrender, and was answered by those within in their usual manner, that they knew this demand was made by others than the King himself, inferring that his Majesty was kept prisoner by his governors. Preparations are being made for battering the place with sixty guns. The Queen threatens to allow it to be sacked, but this result is doubted.

The Queen of England has, I understand, finally resolved to declare herself in favour of the Prince of Condé under her accustomed pretext, which is, that she wishes to undertake the protection of the most Christian King, and to obtain, as far as possible, the observance of the Edict made last January at St. Germain by his

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Majesty touching religious matters, contrary to the opinion of certain seditious persons, meaning Mons. de Guise, towards whom that kingdom [of England] has always had an evil disposition, on account of the poor understanding which the Queen of Scotland, the Duke's niece, maintains with England. Notwithstanding this declaration, I do not hear that the English have as yet set foot on this side of the sea, although some of their preparations for this purpose are reported. [*Three lines in cipher.*]

D'Andelot is said to be coming with three thousand German cavalry and five thousand foot, the Duke of Lorraine being unable to oppose his passage. The Cardinal of Lorraine is on his way to the Council [general].

The besieged at Rouen have made a sally, and burnt the suburbs. They have also thrown up a strong fort, called Fort St. Catharine.* Their captain for the war is the Scotchman [the Count de Montgomery] who killed King Henry [II.] at the joust; a man who in these disturbances has done very evil acts against the King, and has used words worthy of punishment, which will probably be the heavier in regard of his former sin (*peccato*).

I am afraid this circumstance will render the enterprise somewhat difficult.

Paris, 4th October 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

301. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The people of Rouen have dismissed the last herald, saying they mean to give battle to the Catholics, who are determined to try the assault as soon as possible, as it appears that on the 10th instant eight companies of infantry, that is, four of French and four of English, entered into Rouen. It is also asserted that the English have also entered into Havre de Grace and Dieppe; and it is said that the English, being unwilling to trust in the Huguenots, have insisted on keeping the munitions and artillery in their own hands. It is further stated, though not on good authority, that the same Maligni who was in Havre de Grace, has sold the place to the English entirely (*liberamente*); whereby it appears that matters are continually becoming more complicated, although letters from the camp give hopes of recovering Rouen very shortly, and then of attempting Dieppe and Havre de Grace. But these projects are more difficult of execution than men think. It is also written from the camp that if the city had been attacked immediately after the capture of the fort St. Catharine, it must have fallen, but as the Queen subsequently proceeded with her accustomed clemency, the besieged have taken fresh courage.

Paris, 13th October 1562.

[*Italian.*]

* On the 8th October Barbaro announced the capture of this fort by the Catholics, when the King of Navarre was struck in one leg by a blow from a stone, but not seriously hurt.

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Oct. 14.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

302. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

A friend of mine has just arrived, having left the camp under Rouen on the 12th. The Catholics were battering the town with forty-two guns. The succours of French and English had entered, as mentioned in the foregoing letter, though the besieged seemed inclined to treat after the loss of the fort, in order to give time for the arrival of much stronger reinforcements from those portions which had remained behind. As the succours had been divided into three bodies, that portion which had entered Rouen was only the vanguard. The middle portion followed in ships up the river, subject to the tides of the sea, and was captured by Mons. de Montmorency, there being three hundred men, six pieces of artillery, and other munitions. The third body, which was the rearguard, returned to Havre de Grace. I hear that all the [French] troops which entered Rouen belong to Havre de Grace, because the English made themselves secure by sending forth the French, and remaining themselves free masters of the fortress; and they are doing the same at Dieppe.

Notwithstanding all this, an Ambassador [Sir Thomas Smith] is hourly expected to appear at the court of his most Christian Majesty; he remains on the sea coast, and says he is waiting to be presented by the first Ambassador [Throckmorton] to this King, and who still remains at Orleans. Meanwhile, they seek to make believe that the English who occupy the King's fortresses have not entered by the Queen's order, but are people who have done so of their own accord; but these are mere pretences for the purpose of gaining time. Also, in the meanwhile, the Huguenots continue to strengthen themselves, and it is heard that d'Andelot is increasing his forces.

By the same gentleman who came from the camp I am informed that the war is now beginning to be made in a cruel fashion, and that those who are taken are hanged (*appicati*), as was done to those English succours who could not enter into Rouen quickly enough, and who were all put to death. Those within do the same to those who fall into their hands, and they defend themselves valiantly, having much artillery and harquebusery, with which they kill or wound many of the King's camp. Count Sarrà Martinengo has been wounded in one arm by a harquebus shot, for which I am very sorry, as he is a valorous gentleman.

Paris, 14th October 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

303. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I wrote yesterday to your Serenity,* and I now add the contents of letters received from the camp on the 16th. The news of the occurrence on the day before is confirmed, it being stated that the

* The letter does not appear in the Barbaro Register, but doubtless alluded to the affair of the 15th, as in Père Daniel, x. 201–203.

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killed and wounded in the King's camp amounted to 300. Mons. d'Aumale, brother of the Duke de Guise, received six harquebus shots, but all in the corslet, which owing to its fine temper saved him. As to the harquebus wound of the King of Navarre, he was struck in the joint of the left shoulder, and it will be a great thing if he is not maimed for life.

Although the besiegers had been roughly handled, it is held that the besieged were treated still worse; and on that morning, the 16th, the Lieutenant de Montgomery (*Mongombri*), captain in the town, and two of the chief men of the city, had come out of Rouen, and spoken with the Queen. They also returned a second time with fresh proposals, so that it was said that an agreement was almost concluded, and that on the 17th the King would enter into Rouen. In that case, by this agreement with Rouen, the King will also obtain Havre de Grace and Dieppe, because, as it is said, the troops in those places depend on the aforesaid Captain Montgomery, and not on the Queen of England. In anticipation of still further successes, it is also reported that the Queen [Mother] has despatched some one with a large sum of money to corrupt the Germans who are coming with d'Andelot, and to induce them to return.

Paris, 19th October 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

304. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

It is considered certain that the parley made by the besieged in Rouen for an agreement was for no other object than to gain time, and to find means of repairing the damage done by the battery. They demand, first of all, liberty of preaching, and also of living according to their religion. Besides this, they insist that the King shall not put a garrison in Rouen. As security for the observance of these conditions, they require hostages from his Majesty, to be kept by them at Havre de Grace. These demands are so outrageous that I hardly dare to state them.

The King of Navarre was suffering from fever, the ball not having been extracted.

Paris, 20th October 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

305. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The besieged in Rouen, in their proposals for agreement, went on enlarging the conditions required by them, which were, in short, that the Edict of January should be observed, and that they might preach freely in the city, although by the Edict preachings are permitted only outside cities, because, as the suburbs were destroyed, they said they were forced to preach in Rouen, in which place they were all united. They also demanded liberty to live according to their religion. Moreover, they insisted on this agreement being extended to the other towns of France which might wish to live in this new fashion; and in order to give this convention a general

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effect, they desired to write to the Prince of Condé so that he might confirm it, and required that in the meanwhile the King's camp should retire some leagues away from Rouen. They added further that the King should not put any garrison in that city. For the observance of all these conditions they demanded as hostages the Prince de Joinville, eldest son of Mons. de Guise, and Mons. de Ugonort (*sic*), superintendent of the King's revenues, and brother of the Marshal de Brissac, whom they intended to send into England.

Such was the firm ultimatum of the people of Rouen, and I understand that a great part of these conditions would have been granted to them if the condition as to the agreement serving for the whole kingdom had not broken off all the negotiations. Then, returning suddenly to arms, the besiegers commenced making mines and holes (*forni*) under ground, in order the more easily to obtain possession of the city, as in these days engineers use certain new inventions for facilitating the storming of fortresses. By this means Rouen has been taken by the King, as the Marshal de Brissac and Madame de Guise have been informed this morning by three couriers who witnessed the fact, and say that the mines on being fired produced great effect, whereupon the King's troops entered the city by force, fighting their way in, and that Captain Montgomery had retired into a palace with some of his men, and was being attacked.

It is said the King of Navarre has recovered and is out of danger.

Paris, 27th October 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

306. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Besides what I wrote yesterday* I have to add what was told me by an Ambassador here in Paris, which is, that the Captain Montgomery, who fled from Rouen, has been taken, and is found to be wounded, and that the other "President" of Rouen was likewise taken, and then hanged, with many others. Endeavours had been made to stay the sack of the city, and it lasted only the first day. D'Andelot is said to be at Auxerre in Burgundy, with nine thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, on his march to join Condé.

Paris, 30th October 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

307. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The King entered into Rouen the day after its capture, making his way over dead bodies which had been spoiled by the soldiers. This victory may indeed be regarded as a disaster to the kingdom.

It was intended to attack Dieppe, but that city sent an offer of surrender, and to put itself at the King's discretion. This is good news, if true, as all the King's forces can be turned against the

* Letter not found.

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Germans who are coming with d'Andelot, in order to prevent them uniting with the Prince of Condé.

Paris, 31st October 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

308. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Owing to a death in my house from the plague, I have retired with twelve of my attendants from the city to the suburbs. The authorities of this city propose to fortify it, if there be time; but I believe the Huguenots will change their purpose [of marching to Paris?] now that Rouen has been taken, although the King's army remains at that place, and designs to go towards Dieppe. It was at first said that Dieppe had offered to surrender, but it has since been heard that the person who came thence came only to treat of an agreement in which they demanded the same conditions as were granted to those of Bourges,* and moreover liberty to preach in their fashion. Hence it is supposed that the King makes a show of sending forward troops to that town, with threats of treating them worse than those of Rouen. But I believe the camp is more likely to return hither than go to Dieppe, and I am informed that the King will come to St. Germain as soon as the King of Navarre can bear the journey. Montgomery was not taken, as was hoped, but has fled, although it seems he was wounded.

Paris, 3rd November 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

309. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Announces preparations against the Prince of Condé. The King of Navarre's condition has become dangerous, and this accident has happened at a time when it is likely to cause much confusion.†

The new Ambassador [Sir Thomas Smith] who came lately from England has had a long interview (*parlamento*) with the Queen, and also with the Legate. He has taken up his abode at the Court, and the other Ambassador [Throckmorton] is still in Orleans.

Paris, 9th November 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

310. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

According to a letter of the 9th from the Court, the King of Navarre's life is despaired of.‡ If, when he was created the King's

* These were: liberty to go their houses or to enter the King's service, and in either case "to live according to their consciences, but with prohibition of the preachings, and of the use of their sacraments." (Barbaro's despatch of 4th September 1562.)

† In a letter of the 10th November, Barbaro gives a particular account of the sufferings of the King of Navarre.

‡ His death on board a boat, on his way to Paris, is announced in a despatch of the 18th November.

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Governor and Lieutenant there were in that quiet time such great difficulties, what will there now be, during the present confusion and disorder, when his successor has to be appointed! The Prince of Condé's appointment would meet with great opposition, especially on account of his having introduced the English into the kingdom, and given into their hands a fortress of such importance as Havre de Grace. But it appears that the English Ambassador [Smith] is now most diligently negotiating at the Court with the Queen and the Legate about this matter; and if there is a real intention to come to some just conclusion, an agreement will readily follow, as the Prince of Condé is bound to do his best endeavour to that effect. The government is likewise bound to do their utmost to recover Havre de Grace, for it is one of the principal places in the whole kingdom, and situate upon the mouth of the Seine, which passes almost through the centre of France. If that place were held by the English, a very considerable commerce would be lost, and consequently incalculable profits and advantages.

Mons. de Selve and a President of the Parliament of Paris have long been kept prisoners at Orleans. The Prince of Condé has now caused the latter to be executed, in revenge for the execution by the King of the first President in Rouen. Here also four gentlemen have been beheaded.

Paris, 12th November 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 15. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

311. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambasssador in France, to the Signory.

I have received certain information that the negotiation of the English Ambassador [Smith] relates to the restitution of Havre de Grace to this Crown. The Legate has rendered most effective aid in this matter; and further, with this opportunity, he has introduced a proposal (*prattica*) to persuade the Queen of England to send her prelates to the Council. It appears that by making every effort with his usual boldness he has greatly influenced the mind of this Ambassador, who shows himself inclined to do his utmost to this effect, unless indeed such demonstration be intended to gain time, so as to establish their possession [of Havre de Grace].

Paris, 15th November 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

312. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Prince of Condé is marching upon Paris. The Court expects him to take the road to Normandy in order to unite with a great number of English, who, it is said, are coming. He will probably attempt to regain possession of Rouen and Dieppe, and of that

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province, which can easily be held by his party with the English at their back.

Paris, 25th November 1562.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

313. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday evening the negotiations for peace between the Queen and the Prince of Condé were broken off owing to the distrust which the Prince and the other Lords have in respect of their personal safety. It is commonly reported that they demanded as hostages a son of the Constable and a son of Mons. de Guise, one to be sent to England and the other to Germany, which these Lords do not intend to agree to.

Owing to the arrival of reinforcements the Duke de Guise is eager to attack the enemy, and the Prince complains of having been trifled with in order to gain time for the coming of these troops, which are said to consist of five thousand foot and one thousand horse, of whom three thousand are Spaniards and two thousand Gascons; but having seen them outside the city I estimate them at much smaller numbers.

Paris, 7th December 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

314. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Condé has retired seven leagues from Paris, burning and destroying all the villages on his way. Yesterday the Council determined that Guise and the Constable should pursue him.

Further particulars have been obtained of the recent negotiations. As to the question of safety and of hostages to be given, Condé and the others were content to rely on the King's word, to be put in writing, with the oaths of the King, the Queen, the Constable, and Guise, and with a declaration of Parliament. The Prince also wished it to be declared that d'Andelot had brought the Germans for the King's service, and that they should be paid by his Majesty; but the other party replied that they knew the Prince had made deposit of moneys in England for security of their payments, and that the Queen of England had also given them security for the same.

It is further stated that the Prince bound himself, after publication of the peace by the Parliament, to restore to the King within the term of four days all the places occupied by him, especially Lyons and Orleans, and also Havre de Grace, which would be restored by the English at the will of the Prince.

Yesterday the English Ambassador [Smith] had a short interview with the Queen, who, as I heard from one who was present,

* In several subsequent letters Barbaro gives account of the lengthy negotiations which then took place between the Queen Mother and the Prince of Condé.

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did not regard him with a favourable eye, nor speak to him in a friendly manner, but dismissed him with few words. This has caused the rumour to be believed that six thousand English have arrived in Havre de Grace; and it is feared that Condé may take that road so as to unite with them, and also for the purpose of paying his troops (*la gente sua*) with the moneys which have been deposited in England. If this be true the war will be protracted with little hope of agreement, to judge from what I hear took place yesterday in the Council.

Paris, 11th December 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

315. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Mons. de Nevers, who was sent by the Queen to the Prince of Condé, returned without effecting anything; whereupon her Majesty despatched the Marshal de Montmorency, son of the Constable, on the same peaceful errand, but he also reported that Condé rejected all overtures. Thus it would appear that the war must continue, nor is there any further talk of negotiating peace through the Prince. But as I know that the English Ambassador [Smith] every day has long and earnest consultations with the Legate, I cannot but believe that they are dealing with this matter, although they may interpolate other designs and projects of their own [*two lines in cipher*]; but whether these designs are feasible or not, I will leave your Serenity to consider, and also what difficulties stand in the way of this negotiation, considering the interests and aims of other Princes. I content myself with having related what I have been able to ascertain until now, though I infer that some hope of a good result has been given to the Cardinal by the English, provided they can at the same time advantageously arrange their own affairs.

When the Prince of Condé left the neighbourhood of this city, he took the road to Normandy; and soon after the Constable and Mons. de Guise followed with the King's camp in pursuit of the enemy's army, but keeping at a distance of four or five leagues. Mons. de Montpensier is to join the royal army with 800 horse. It is regarded as certain that Condé intends to unite with the English, who, it is generally asserted, have already arrived, and that many more of them will soon arrive in this kingdom, whereupon they will encounter the King's camp, and give battle. Moreover it is said that the Prince is proceeding in that direction, because the Queen of England having not yet disbursed the sum of money which she promised in payment for the purchase of Havre de Grace, and having bound herself to pay the German troops who have come for the Prince's service, he (the Prince) now seeks to obtain that money from the said Queen; after which he proposes, having paid his troops and increased his army with the English, to maintain himself in this kingdom by force, and compel this side to fight.

Paris, 14th December 1562.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 20. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

316. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

This evening Mons. de Vielleville has returned from the camp, and reported to the Queen that to-day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the two armies met in battle, and that the King's army has been routed, Mons. d'Aumale having been killed, and the Constable taken prisoner.*

Paris, 20th December 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 22. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

317. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Gives an account of the defeat and capture of the Prince of Condé. The English Ambassador [Throckmorton] who went to Orleans has also been taken, and one of the famous preachers of the Huguenots called Paroceli [*alias* François de la Rivière]. On Christmas Day the Prince will make his entry into this city as a prisoner, just as at Easter he made his departure hence as a great captain. Your Sublimity may well judge what glory Mons. de Guise has acquired by so great a victory.

Paris, 22nd December 1562.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

318. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Prince of Amalfi (*Melfi*), who formerly left the bishopric of Troyes, in order to join the Huguenots, has arrived here from Orleans. This so called Prince or Bishop (in reality he possesses neither title†) talks valiantly and boasts continually, saying that it is necessary for the King and the kingdom than an agreement should be negotiated, because the occupiers of Orleans expect within two months so many troops from Germany and from England that they will be able not only to defend themselves, but to attack their adversaries; wherefore it would be better to devise means for every one to live according to his conscience. The Queen replied to him that it is no longer time to treat of agreements, and that course had hitherto been adopted out of respect for the Prince of Condé, as a Prince of the blood, but now that subjects only remain to be dealt with, everything must be referred to the King's discretion.

The first bad news which came of the rout of the King's army ran throughout the kingdom. Those of Dieppe, immediately on hearing it, rebelled against the King, and cut the Catholics to pieces. The same thing would have occurred in many other places, if the news had been confirmed.

Paris, 27th December 1562.

[*Italian.*]

* According to another despatch, the Constable was conveyed to Orleans.

† He seems to have been a son of the Prince of Amalfi. See Venetian Calendar, Vol. vi., part ii., No. 837.

A.D. 1563.

1563.
Jan. 21.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

319. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen is at Chartres, endeavouring to come to some agreement, but the result is doubtful. The occupiers of Orleans are negotiating merely for the sake of gaining time to unite with the reinforcements which they say they are expecting from the English, who have entered into Dieppe. They also expect men and money from Germany.

The English Ambassador [Throckmorton] who went to Orleans and was afterwards taken in the battle, has been allowed by the Queen [Mother] to return to England. The other Ambassador [Smith], who lately came to this Court, remains here, and has given it to be understood that if these Lords will restore Calais to his Queen, she will likewise surrender Havre de Grace and Dieppe to the most Christian King, with all that is held by the English in Normandy.

Paris, 21st January 1563.

[*Italian.*]

March 2.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

320. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Gives an account of the last hours of the Duke de Guise, and of the general lamentations caused by his death. His assassin (*traditore*) has been brought into this city, and his trial is being prepared; he himself confessing that Beza has persuaded many others to endeavour by any means to kill certain named persons as enemies to the Word of God, as by so doing they would acquire glory in this world, and the happiness of the life eternal. The Prince of Condé, through the Cardinal of Bourbon, had previously warned the Duke to be on his guard, because there were persons who designed to kill him.

Paris, 2nd March 1563.

[*Italian.*]

March 6.
Senato Terra, filza No. 38.

321. The Signory of Venice to the Queen of England.

The noble Giovanni da Cà da Pesaro having been elected by our Magistrates as Consul of the Venetian nation in London (*in quella Piazza di Londra*), we, by these presents, which will be presented by him, pray your Majesty to recognise him as our Consul and Minister, and to show him favour in accordance with the excellent amity which has always been maintained between England and our Republic.

[Ayes] 154, [Noes] 6, [Neutral] 0.

Read to the College on 5th March 1563.

[*Italian.*]

1563.
March 23.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

322. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France to the SIGNORY.

I have letters from the Court that the Queen has had news from the Queen of Scotland that some months ago a Huguenot Frenchman, to avoid compromising himself, went to Scotland, and, in order to be well received, took letters of recommendation from Mons. Damville, the Constable's son.

This person, according to report, was found one night under the bed of the Queen of Scotland, with sword and dagger, and booted and spurred. He said that he acted thus from love, but others declare that he intended to murder the Queen; and it is reported that this man has been beheaded.

The Queen of Scotland is niece of the Guises, and she being marriageable, her marriage might bring friendship and favour to the Guises, while her death would be very injurious to them. Your Serenity may therefore see how the world is ruled in these times.

Paris, 23rd March 1563.

[*Italian.*]

April 13.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

323. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Prince of Condé has sent gentlemen to all the fortresses which were occupied, to restore them to the King; but Havre de Grace will not be restored, because the English intend to keep that place.

The Constable's son, Mons. Damville, has arrived here in Paris, it being said that he will go to England to negotiate the restitution of Havre de Grace; but I am not yet sure that this report is correct, for he would seem to be awaiting the return of one of his gentlemen sent by him to England for a safe conduct. The last conditions demanded by the English for the restitution of Havre de Grace were, that they required the Duke of Orleans and another Prince of the blood, as hostages, to secure the restitution of Calais on the expiration of the term stipulated by the last peace of 1559, which would be seven years from that date.

At present the French decline these conditions, hoping to recover Havre de Grace by force, and also to remain masters of Calais by virtue of the treaty of 1559, which expresses that if, during the term of the treaty, which was the space of ten years, the English acquired other possessions in this kingdom, they would immediately lose their right to Calais; so the French contend that the English, having occupied Havre de Grace, are deprived of all right to Calais, but should the French continue to put this pretention forward, they will render the English more reluctant to restore Havre.

I know, by the Legate's despatch to Rome, that the Queen has used her influence with the Pope, to obtain a dispensation for Cardinal de Bourbon to marry; and I hear from the Court, that the chief object of this laying down the Cardinal's habit is to deprive the Prince of Condé of his claim, as first Prince of the blood, to wage war, and to be the King's vicegerent. For this information I do

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not vouch with the same certainty as I can assert, that an order has been granted for the dispensation.

Paris, 13th April 1563.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 1. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

324. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I have received confirmation of what I wrote lately, about that Frenchman who concealed himself under the bed of the Queen of Scotland, and who was suspected of intending to murder the Queen. *I now hear from the lips of Madame de Guise, that when taken he confessed to having been sent by Madame de Cursolles, a lady in great favour at this Court, and supposed to be of this new religion, so that by this means she might defame that Queen, in order to thwart any marriage that might be treated for her.*

Paris, 1st May 1563.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 15. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

325. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

War has been proclaimed in Paris against England. Artillery and ammunition have been sent in that direction* by the river, and provisions are also being forwarded. The Queen of England, according to the reply received lately from the gentleman who was sent to her about this business, still insists upon having the 200,000 francs disbursed for that place and the interest due subsequently, and also security for the restitution of Calais in due season; yet the English Ambassador [Sir Thomas Smith] remains at this Court.

Paris, 15th May 1563.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

326. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen came suddenly yesterday to Paris with the Court, to obtain from the city two hundred thousand crowns, and also to take possession of church property to the amount of one hundred thousand francs annual revenue.

The King went to Parliament this morning to obtain pecuniary supply against the Queen of England, saying that the 200,000 crowns would suffice to pay the Roisters (*li Raistri*) to quit the kingdom, which result the Queen greatly desires, in order that she may promote the war against the Queen of England, who had replied to the envoy sent to her by the Prince of Condé to notify the peace made by the Prince with the King, and to treat for the restitution of Havre de Grace, that as the envoy had neither power nor commission from the King, she would not negotiate with him; and that

* Havre de Grace ?

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nothing must be said about Havre de Grace, unless the affairs of Calais were first adjusted; but that if Monsr. Damville was sent with a mandate from the King, she would then answer his proposals. But as yet it is not even heard that the King means to send Damville or any one else to England.

Paris, 18th May 1563.

[*Italian.*]

May 25. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

327. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Four days ago her Majesty sent Monsr. Jacques Bourdin, one of the four Secretaries of State, to negotiate the treaty about Havre de Grace, and a report circulates that matters will be adjusted by money; but I also hear that the restitution of Calais will be the chief difficulty. The artillery has been sent hence in the direction of Havre de Grace, but perhaps the negotiation will delay this enterprise for two reasons: first, to ascertain whether the internal disturbances can be quelled, and the Roisters (*li Raistri*) be got out of the kingdom, as otherwise it would be perilous to make any stir of arms in that direction. The other reason is, that all that territory has been so devastated by the war, that the army and the Court, which purpose going thither, could not be maintained, except at very great cost and inconvenience; and perhaps for this cause any expedition will be delayed till harvest, as the Queen desires to accompany it.

The Count Rhinegrave, who for the last eight months has remained with his entire brigade of Germans under Havre de Grace, lest the English should sally forth to devastate the territory, attempted a few days ago to occupy a fortress erected by the enemy, and he had a sharp skirmish there, two hundred being killed on both sides, the greater loss being on the part of the Rhinegrave; but it was said yesterday that he had occupied the fortress.

Paris, 25th May 1563.

[*Italian.*]

May 31. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

328. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I believe that your Serenity will already have realised with what care and toil her Majesty has bestirred herself for a whole year, to find every means of adjusting the troubles of this kingdom, for it may with truth be said that she has rather performed the functions of a solicitous and diligent minister than preserved the royal dignity, having no regard for her own convenience, but being in vigorous action at all hours, with great mental anxiety, and endeavouring by every sort of graciousness and benignity to quiet and reconcile the chief personages. Nor can I omit to mention another great merit of this Queen, viz., her patience, address, and assiduous exertions during the time devoted by her to the councils of the government, and to her continual audiences, when she is most

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affable to all sorts of persons, and uses such courteous and agreeable expressions that nothing more could be desired. From my own observation this assiduous toil agrees with her Majesty, who not only exceeds all that could be expected from her sex, but even from an experienced man of valour, or from a powerful king and military captain, for her Majesty insisted upon being present at all the enterprises, and even in the trenches, where cannon balls and harquebus bullets were heard. The entire weight of the government of this kingdom now rests on her shoulders, there being no longer any person in this Court who can direct public affairs; so everything is ruled by and depends on her will. Continuing lately in the manner already commenced by her, she did everything possible to bring the Prince of Condé here to Paris, but being unable to persuade him, or the Huguenots in general, to return to Paris, she took the Court to the Wood of Vincennes.

Paris, 31st May 1563.

[*Italian.*]

June 4. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

329. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen has come to Paris to visit the Constable, who has been indisposed for the last six days. His malady is not serious, but he is very old. It is also said that her Majesty came to consult him about the expedition to Havre de Grace.

Paris, 4th June 1563.

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

330. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen proceeded with such address, and so lovingly, that she at length induced the Prince of Condé to consent to enter Paris, he being brought here by her, three days ago. But then the Queen, continuing her usual mode of proceeding, had him arrested, and the Prince remained under arrest until this day, when her most Christian Majesty attended the procession of the Corpus Christi, which was made solely in this city, with a great universal concourse of this populace; and although things are very pacific, the processions were nevertheless accompanied in the parishes by bodies of armed troops, and armed guards were likewise in all the streets, and for good reasons, because the Huguenots are allowed to return freely to their houses in Paris.

At the time of the procession made to-day, the Prince of Condé remained in the suburb of St. Germain, out of Paris.

There are advices from Scotland that some prelates and many people there have rebelled, entreating the Queen to live Catholically, because the whole island was living heretically. I understand that the Queen was displeased with the manner observed by these people, and that she imprisoned two of them, not because she is not a Catholic, but because their action was seditious.

Paris, 10th June 1563.

[*Italian.*]

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June 11. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

331. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France to the SIGNORY.

The son of Marshal de Brissac has arrived here from Lyons, bringing with him eleven companies of Frenchmen, who were heretofore in Piedmont. It is said that he will go to Havre de Grace, which expedition is more and more confirmed. It is said that Mons. de Bourdin is expected in two days' time, and that there is no hope of any adjustment.

Paris, 11th June 1563.

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

332. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The proposals made by the Ambassador [Thomas Dannett] who came from England about the affair of Havre de Grace, were such that this Queen has determined to reconquer that place by force of arms; for this Ambassador has demanded the payment of five hundred thousand crowns, and the delivery of six hostages, to the satisfaction of his Queen, although not necessarily Princes of the blood, for the restitution of Calais at the expiration of eight years. The Queen of England also insisted that this agreement should be signed by the King Catholic.

These proposals have increased the desire of the most Christian Queen to resort to force, and it also seems that she has undertaken this enterprise as a point of honour, she being a woman. Her Majesty shows herself so enthusiastic in the matter, that she proposes to go in person very near to that place; so she gave immediate audience to the said Ambassador, and on hearing the proposal, departed from the Wood of Vincennes, and went with the King to Gaillon, on the way to Havre de Grace, to assist this enterprise as much as possible. *This resolution proceeds entirely from the will of the Queen, the chief members of the Government having opposed it, both in respect of the strength of the fortress, which they think it difficult to take, as also of the confusion which still prevails in this kingdom; but nevertheless her Majesty has ordered the attempt to be made. Some persons think that this sudden display of energy is merely to facilitate an agreement, because the King has not more than* 3,000 *Germans and* 5,000 *Switzers, which troops are not suitable for an assault, and therefore only from four to five thousand Frenchmen would be available for the purpose. Moreover the Queen has not opened her hands to satisfy the claims of many chiefs and military men, who are creditors for pay. I regret to hear the great resentment of all those who come to see me, and who speak too freely on this subject; and some good chiefs, and old servants of the Crown, have departed in despair.*

Paris, 27th June 1563.

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

333. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Huguenots who had come to inhabit Paris are apparently departing, because this populace begin again to make a stir against

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them; and the other day, a Huguenot having been condemned to death for another cause than for religion, the populace, after he had been hanged, took down the corpse, mutilated it, and threw it into the river. As it therefore seemed just to the authorities to repress the insolence of these people, two of them were taken, and condemned to the gibbet, but on their way to execution, a new and great tumult arose on the part of the people, so that the condemned persons were rescued, and some people were killed. Thus it may be feared that affairs here will grow worse, unless other precautions be taken.

Paris, 5th July 1563.

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

334. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Last year, when the Prince of Condé treated with the Queen of England to give her Havre de Grace in consideration of a money payment, he sent Mons. de Lasso [Lassaux?], his very intimate friend, to England, to give written security in satisfaction of the money to be paid by Queen Elizabeth. The Prince then delivered a blank sheet, signed by his own hand, to Lasso. This sheet is now in possession of Queen Elizabeth with other securities for her payment. It is also said that the Prince of Condé bound himself to restore Calais to her, and, therefore, during the present treaty the Queen holds him strongly (*gagliardamente*) to this restitution. The Prince says that he never made such a promise, nor could he make it, because Calais was the King's, and not his; on this he dilates, saying the whole thing had been done when he sent Lasso to England, and asks the Queen not to give him (Condé) occasion to discover to the world the manner in which the Queen got possession of that writing, which the Prince says was by chance, because whilst Mons. Lasso was treating that business in England, the blank signed sheet was taken out of his hands by force by two emissaries of the Queen, and after this they wrote whatever they pleased, without his consent. The Prince therefore prayed her Majesty not to compel him to disclose this act of violence to the world, which, if the affair proceeds, he must do in order to justify himself, not only with his King, but with all other persons likewise. He also declares that he never promised or treated to give the towns of his most Christian Majesty to any one, and he complains greatly that he should have been accused to this effect.

Thereupon, as I understand it, the Queen of England replied that the Prince would not make her blush further on this account, as she would prove that she might have had Calais from Mons. de Guise, had she chosen to cease favouring the Huguenots, and that she possessed a writing about the matter from Guise; so the world would well know, that being able to have that place of hers from one who held it in his hands, she would not have refused that bargain, without some promise of having it through another channel; and as Mons. de Guise, who had the place in hand, offered it to her, the Prince of Condé would be so much the more excused for having promised what was heretofore hers. On this subject many words passed.

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The negotiation is still in this state, and it remains to be seen what may happen, the English having a determined intention to recover Calais with this opportunity, as otherwise they never hope to get it again, and the Queen of France having an equally ardent desire to exclude them from all claim under the agreement of peace made in 1559, whereby Calais was to be restored to them at the expiration of eight years. But should the English lose Havre de Grace in battle, the Queen of France is of opinion that, they having been the first disturbers of that agreement, their claims to what they might otherwise pretend are forfeited on this account. Whether her Majesty will be able to act accordingly, considering the condition in which her kingdom now is, your Serenity will be able to judge.

Paris, 5th July 1563.

[*Italian.*]

July 14. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

335. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I arrived at the Court on the 12th instant in obedience to letters written me by the King. On presenting myself to the Queen, she replied that an order had been given to all the Ambassadors to come to Louviers, because she wished to inform them, all together, of the causes which had justly moved the King her son to take up arms against the English, so that the whole world might know that this Crown had undertaken the present war on reasonable grounds; and that this announcement would be made when all the other Ambassadors arrived. The Queen added that in the meanwhile I was to remain at Louviers, ten miles from Gaillon, where the Court is.

During this interval, Louviers not being very far from Rouen, I remained at the latter place, most especially as last year the Huguenots made many alterations there, and it was much injured by them. One of their acts was so barbarous that those who inspect the fortification then made, can see that part of the walls is built with the heads, arms, and mutilated bodies of statues, which the Huguenots destroyed in all the churches of this town.

The members of the Parliament of Rouen will not present themselves at Court, as they refuse to accept the Duke of Bouillon as Governor of Rouen, he being considered the great favourer of these new Evangelists. Marshal de Bourdillon is therefore coming hither as Governor.

Rouen, 14th July 1563.

[*Italian.*]

July 15. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

336. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Since I left the Court, a gentleman has arrived from England about a new treaty of agreement, and it appears that Queen Elizabeth will accept the terms which this Crown is inclined to concede;

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a proof that the English know themselves to be weak in Havre de Grace, and that the French have greater hope of occupying that place, which will be taken without the difficulty anticipated.

Louviers, 15th July 1563.

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Original Letter Book Venetian Archives.

337. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The King having appointed us Ambassadors to meet him at Rouen, his Majesty in person spoke to us, which he had never done before, the Queen having always spoken in his stead; so he has now commenced exercising his majority. The King's proposal was substantially thus: That having treated with the Queen of England about the restitution of Havre de Grace, and sent his ministers several times to get back what belonged to him, and not having been able to obtain his demand in any way by means of agreement, that Queen, on the contrary, still doing many injuries to his places, ships, and subiects, he had determined to march forward, to recover Havre de Grace by force; which intention he had chosen, first of all, to communicate to the foreign Ambassadors, so that every one of them might acknowledge the just right which his Majesty had on his side. He then said, that if he could not come to an agreement (which is apparently being negotiated), he hoped to recover his fortress by arms. When the King had said these words, the Queen added some others of the same tenor; saying subsequently that the King her son had done this duty in order that all Sovereigns might know that the Queen of England had been the person who commenced disturbing the quiet of the peace, by harassing the subjects and state of this Crown; and that the King her son had done everything to avoid hostilities, but was now compelled by that Queen to commence them.

The Ambassadors from Spain, Venice, Ferrara, and Florence (the Nuncio being indisposed) gave their approval in general terms; after which the Queen spoke aside with the Spanish Ambassador in a low tone of voice, whilst we conversed with the Constable, who repeated what the King had said, and also gave us account of the enterprise of Havre de Grace, showing its facility, and saying that the trenches had approached within thirty paces of the wall; and that the defenders having made a sally, taking with them a piece of artillery, the assailants captured the gun, and killed many of the artillery men. The Constable, in short, gave fair hopes of a speedy surrender, should no agreement be made; but the French very well know that no time must be lost, because after the rains of August, that marshy site might increase the difficulties; so they are adding to their forces as fast as they can. The Constable told us that the King would have twenty thousand infantry for that undertaking; and this day he goes to the camp in advance of the King.

Rouen, 19th July 1563.

[*Italian.*]

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July 27.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

338. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The King departed hence, and went to Fécamp, eight leagues from Havre de Grace, to be nearer the siege. In the meanwhile his Majesty's forces have approached so near the walls that they are almost able to batter them point blank.

I sent one of my attendants to the camp for news, and have had several letters purporting that a tower in the direction of the harbour has already been battered, the defensive works in some parts being destroyed; and to-day the battering was to commence, and we at Rouen hear it plying briskly. The fact is that on approaching Havre de Grace victory was very speedily anticipated.

I have also heard from another quarter that the besieged went out to parley, and demanded four days' time to communicate with England. The Constable answered that they must let him enter Havre de Grace, and that he would then give time. The demand for this delay might perhaps arise from two causes, the one, because they find themselves really weak, and therefore wish to make terms after first giving news to the Queen of England for their justification; the other, because they expected some succour, as to-day a Florentine captain, who left England on Monday, dined with me, and said that on that day he left there fifty ships which were to succour Havre de Grace, or to attempt some other place on these coasts; but I hesitate to believe him because he is a Huguenot. He also told me that another Ambassador was to come from England to this Court to treat an agreement, which it was said would take place; and that in England they feared the loss of Havre de Grace, most especially as there were so many of the King's forces under it. He moreover told me that there was very great mortality from plague in Havre de Grace, and that more than one hundred per diem died of it, which would be too many considering the small amount of troops there.

About the agreement, it only remains for the English to leave Havre de Grace to the King without any of the conditions which the English might have made previously. The camp being now at a distance of thirty paces from the walls, and almost masters of the moat, the French could hardly make any other agreement than to have the town, the most Christian Queen having evinced a strong desire to take that fortress so as to deprive the English of any pretension to Calais. This cause has moved her to attempt the undertaking, nor is there any doubt of its succeeding to the repute of this Crown through her prudence, though contrary to the opinion of many of the ministers, and notwithstanding the confusion which prevails in the kingdom.

Having written thus far yesterday, when riding through this town I recognised some of the attendants of the English Ambassador [Sir Nicholas Throckmorton], who was at this Court last year, they having come postwise, and they told me that their Ambassador had also arrived in this city; so he having been a great friend of mine, and having remained here this night, I went to see him.

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He told me that he left England the day before yesterday, and that he was on his way from Queen Elizabeth to the Court of France, where he was to propose fair terms for the agreement; and that if the King would consent to what was just, he hoped that matters would be arranged.

He added, in justification of his Queen, that she had obtained Havre de Grace from those who were the greatest in this government, in such a way as was notorious, and that she was content even at present to do whatever should be judged reasonable, provided that she be assured she would receive what she required, in like manner as King Philip, the Duke of Savoy, and others had been satisfied; the Ambassador alluding to Calais, although he did not express this clearly.

He also said that if this Crown rejected what was reasonable, the Queen of England would announce the fact to all crowned heads, and would risk her whole kingdom to maintain her dignity and security, and that she was not yet so weak in forces and friends as not to be able to do much.

I hear that the King leaves Fécamp to-day to see the end of this enterprise; so I shall likewise depart hence this day to approach the camp, and I expect to witness the attack very easily from a hill near the fortress.

Rouen, 27th July 1567.

[*Italian.*]

July 29. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

339. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Yesterday, on my arrival at the camp, the troops within Havre de Grace were parleying with the Constable to surrender the town, and come to an agreement to depart thence safe with their baggage. So they have obtained four days' time to cross the sea, and in the meanwhile they have surrendered the fort with a large tower of the city.

On my arrival here there was a truce for the convention, so I was able conveniently to inspect the outer walls, the trenches, and what had been done thereabouts. The garrison within were in fact reduced to a sorry plight, for the besiegers were about to storm the place, as they had already battered effectually and dismantled a bulwark and several towers of the port, and filled up the whole moat, so that with but a little more work they would have opened the road for themselves securely with the spade.

The besiegers had battered so furiously that I know not what fortress could have withstood them; and they had moreover a battery of forty cannon, so that whereas at first they used only to fire twenty or thirty shots each day, they now discharged more than one hundred and twenty, so that it is almost incredible to conceive the actual force which was poured forth from the batteries; and notwithstanding that the besieged have used their powerful artillery and harquebuses, and killed more than one thousand of the besiegers, the latter are so confident that they make light of their losses.

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This capture, according to military opinions, has been one of the greatest achieved for many years past, both on account of the nature of the fortress, considered to be very strong, as well as for the service, reputation, and advantage of the Crown. The locality is surrounded for the distance of one mile by a marsh, and by the waters of the sea, which are cut by inaccessible canals. There is a strand of sand on the seaside only, which may be about thirty paces distant from the wall. The besiegers passed along the shore somewhat concealed by the sand and gravel cast up by the sea, and established themselves and their artillery between this strand and the sea, and opened fire. The besiegers were placed below the high-water mark, and if the tide had overflowed the artillery, they must have retired with the loss of it. Your Serenity may now imagine the joy felt by the Queen at the result of this undertaking, which is so beneficial to the kingdom and which has come to pass solely by her will and contrary to the opinion of all the chief ministers. *This event has deprived those of the new religion of all heart,* and it is hoped that the affairs of the Catholics will henceforth, God willing, proceed in better form, and indeed the Catholics themselves seem in high spirits. The King and Queen are to come this morning to the camp, and I intend to go immediately to their Majesties, to congratulate them on so great a victory, and I shall then think of departing hence, because all these parts are infected with plague; nor can one dwell otherwise than in tents in the open country with such inconveniences as usually follow armies.

Lord Warwick is in Havre de Grace wounded by a harquebus shot in the leg; he is the brother of the Lord Robert [Dudley].

Under Havre de Grace, 29th July 1563.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 29. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

340. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I wrote to your Serenity this morning concerning the capture by the most Christian King of the fortress of Havre de Grace. Subsequently his most Christian Majesty having come here, with the Queen, I thought it well to congratulate them. My compliments were received most graciously.

There were present the Constable, the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Duke of Montpensier, and the Marshal de Brissac, each of whom were in like manner complimented by me, most especially Brissac, who has been in truth the first foundation of the acquisition of this fortress.

Under Havre de Grace, 29th July 1563.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

341. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

On the 28th ultimo the English in Havre de Grace agreed to surrender the place to the King, and to embark in four days; then

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on the 30th July the Admiral of England [Edward Lord Clinton] appeared in sight of that place, with thirty ships, and five galliots to succour it, not knowing that the capitulation had been already made.

The King's artillery was then directed towards the sea, to prevent the Admiral from doing what he intended, and the Admiral became aware he had arrived too late, because the agreement was in part effected, and many of the English garrison had embarked; the King being master of the fort and harbour. So the Admiral was given to understand by his most Christian Majesty, that if he had anything to say, he might land freely, when he would be welcomed and well received; but he replied that he had no other commission but to succour Havre de Grace; and that those within having shown themselves more solicitous to surrender than became them, he would not say more, and thus he set sail the same evening with the fleet, nor is it known in what direction he has gone. The English still left then departed, and the King's army entered on Sunday the 1st of August, some French infantry being left there as a garrison; and the Constable will remain for four or six days to give orders to repair the fortress and for other necessary purposes. The King has retired some leagues from the camp on account of the plague.

In this province, where the climate is cold, it is not possible to cultivate vines, but in place of wine, apples and pears grow in the field, and from these fruits they make a drink called cider (*sidro*), which serves them as a substitute for wine.

I have come hither from Rouen, where all the other Ambassadors are residing, to ascertain in what direction the Court intends to proceed; there are various opinions with regard to this matter, but it would seem that as this province of Normandy is much infected with the new religion, the King, being now in arms and victorious, will see to the prevention of fresh tumults, which were encouraged by the English near these harbours; so tomorrow the King goes to Dieppe, whither I went the other day to see its port. It is a maritime city and entirely Huguenot, and when I dismounted the landlady invited my attendants to hear a preaching of these ministers which was then about to take place, and which the inhabitants were about to attend; nor is the mass any longer said there, and the whole population is most obstinate in these new opinions. The King is expected to commence repressing these disorders.

The city of Caen (*Can*) near this place is also quite Huguenot, as are also many persons here at Rouen, and in other places; so these disorders must be suppressed before the departure of the Court, as hinted to me by the Queen at my last audience, when I congratulated her on the acquisition of Havre de Grace.

Whilst these measures are being taken, the intentions of the Queen of England will likewise become more manifest, as also what her Admiral will do with his fleet; and, perhaps, the Queen of England knowing that this Crown was in the right in recovering its fortress, matters may be adjusted either by peace or truce.

Rouen, 6th August 1563.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 7. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

342. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador [Throckmorton] arrived yesterday in this city, to treat the agreement about Havre de Grace, and sent one of his attendants with apologies from his master for not coming to see me, and to give me account of what had taken place since his arrival.

He said that when this Ambassador from England arrived here at Rouen, he sent a representative to the Court for audience of their Majesties, and that for the same purpose, the other Ambassador here, his predecessor [Smith], went thither also; and that they had been detained (*trattenuti*) some days by the Queen, who delayed their audience, apologizing in various ways; and then at length, when the agreement about Havre de Grace was, as it were, concluded, they were given to understand that they might come and say what they pleased; but finding that the negotiation was completed, this Ambassador did not go, but the other who was resident here went alone, to whom I believe that strong language with much resentment was used, and but little to his satisfaction.

It is also reported that the Queen said she would have this last Ambassador [Smith] put in the Bastille as one who had entered her kingdom without safe conduct.* Her Majesty is also greatly offended with the Ambassador [Throckmorton] who, a year ago, was here, and who went to Orleans, because she hears that all these negotiations proceeded from him; so the Queen, having arrived lately here at Rouen, has put him under guard, professing to give him company for his own safety, and thus he remains and cannot depart. *He complains that his Majesty having given a general safe conduct for any person sent by the Queen of England about this treaty, he had the right to remain, and return freely; and now this wrong is done him; and I suspect that he will not be released, nor yet the other Ambassador, until Queen Elizabeth releases the French Ambassador resident with her* [*Paul de Foix*], *and the four hostages given heretofore for the restitution of Calais in accordance with the last peace.*

I did my best to console the Ambassador, and expressed my hope that the King and Queen, being most prudent, would succeed in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, and that although his Excellency could not take part in the agreement concerning Havre, he nevertheless might act in such a way as to reconcile all their Majesties.

Rouen, 7th August 1563.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 13. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

343. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The King, having obtained a great victory by the recovery of Havre de Grace, intends to strengthen and encourage his adherents

* Sir Thomas Smith was subsequently imprisoned, as well as Throckmorton. (*See* Foreign Calendar.)

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and to discomfit his opponents; so his Majesty made his entry into the city of Rouen yesterday, all the Ambassadors being invited, and placed on a platform near the King. The inhabitants paid the King endless congratulations on his victory, which benefits Rouen greatly, Havre being the door through which all the traffic and commerce enters, not only to Rouen, but also to Normandy, and to a great part of this kingdom; and without this commerce the district would very soon suffer greatly. Infinite glory is given to his most Christian Majesty, who has driven the English not only from Havre de Grace, but from the whole kingdom, and has deprived them of any pretensions which they might have.

After these discourses were ended, the King then entered under the canopy, being accompanied by the Princes of the blood, and by us Ambassadors, and proceeded to the Cathedral Church, where he was received by the Cardinal de Bourbon, as Archbishop of Rouen, who was waiting for him with the clergy; and after performing the usual ceremonies the King was accompanied to his lodging in the Abbey of St. Ouen, which belongs to the said Cardinal de Bourbon.

Venice, Ferrara, and Florence were represented by their Ambassadors.

The English Ambassador [Smith] was also invited to this ceremony of the King's entry, but he did not make his appearance, neither did the Prince of Condé, nor any others of that faction; neither was Cardinal Châtillon present, though he arrived at the Court three days ago, when he was very well received, and much honoured.

Then this morning all those who had been absent arrived here; and the Prince of Condé said he had been detained by the illness of Madame de Roye, his mother-in-law, the like being said by Cardinal Châtillon, whose sister she is.

Rouen, 13th August 1563.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

344. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The King went to Dieppe to provide for the need of that town. His most Christian Majesty had the Mass said, at which many persons were present, and he dismissed the governor, who is a Huguenot, and appointed in his stead one believed to be a Catholic, and also left two hundred infantry to garrison the place. I understand that the marriage of the Queen of Scotland with the King of the Romans, which the Cardinal of Lorraine is treating, still proceeds. *It may indeed be suspected that there are some great persons here who for their own interests disturb matters; for knowing that the greatness of the House of Guise was much augmented by the relationship formed heretofore with this Crown by the Queen of Scotland their niece, the opponents of the Guises suspect that this treaty for fresh relationship cannot but greatly endanger the other party.*

From England, since the capture of Havre de Grace and the departure of the English fleet, nothing more has been heard, but I know that the English Ambassador [Smith], who was here before,

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went to the Court to know the mind of these Majesties, whether it was for peace or war; and said that, as for himself, he had orders to adjust matters, and to treat and conclude a satisfactory peace. He said this on going to audience, but I do not know what he effected. It seems to me that this Ambassador is not on good terms with the one who came lately [Throckmorton], unless his demeanour be a feint, but the one exaggerates and the other softens difficulties, though the latter is still under arrest.

The King is having the fortress of Havre de Grace repaired, in order to restore that part which was injured by the artillery to its original state; his Majesty being of opinion that as a defence for Frenchmen it will always be strong, but if held by the English it will always be weak. These maritime cities are fitting out their ships, of which they have a very fair quantity; and should the war prevent them from making mercantile gains, they will at least have the advantage of plundering their enemies.

Rouen, 15th August 1563.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 20. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

345. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

I have heard that Maligni has had the King's pardon for his offences. Maligni was the person who came to terms with the English as to Havre de Grace. I scarcely believe the report.

Paris, 20th September 1563.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

346. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

A few days ago [Sir Thomas Smith] one of the two English Ambassadors who still remain here was released.* He was not allowed to depart hence, but he was not kept in custody. The other [Throckmorton] is still at St. Germain, strictly guarded.

It was also ordered that four of the attendants of the Ambassador who is at liberty might go and return freely to England, with a safe conduct, in order to treat some adjustment, because the navigation of these seas is still impeded by the injuries inflicted by both one side and the other; but hitherto no particulars of any agreement are known.

Paris, 3rd October 1563.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

347. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

I wrote lately to your Serenity that commissions were expected from England, to treat some arrangement between the Queen of

* See the letter from Queen Elizabeth to Smith, 8th October 1563, on his release. (Foreign State Papers.)

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England and this Crown; since then two communications from the Queen of England have reached her Ambassador resident here who is at liberty, while the other is in custody at St. Germain. I know that the first named has received a commission and procuration, with ample authority to treat and conclude a stipulation and peace with these Majesties; so the day before yesterday both of these Ambassadors were summoned to the Court about this business, and went thither yesterday. In the meanwhile a conference is to be held at Gravelines, which will be attended by some personages from England; whilst from hence they will send in like manner, for this purpose, Mons. de Lansac, and the secretary, Mons. de L'Aubespine; but the whole difficulty between these two Crowns consists in the restitution of Calais, which place, by the last agreement of 1559, was to be restored to the English at the end of eight years, of which four have already elapsed. The difficulty is, that the French pretend to be absolved from that promise, through the action taken and alteration made by the Queen of England in the matter of Havre-de-Grace, as frequently written by me. It is believed that his most Christian Majesty will not assent to the pretensions of Queen Elizabeth in support of her claim; and that the Queen will not make peace unless her pretensions are recognised. Hence it is inferred that they will make a truce for the four years which remain of the period of restitution, at the end of which either in one way or another some conclusive resolution will be come to. In the meanwhile, both sides will enjoy the benefit of peace, and commerce will be secure in these seas.

Paris, 11th November 1563.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

348. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The English Ambassadors who went to the Court departed after doing but little; for their commission being joint, the one who was kept as it were prisoner said he declined to negotiate unless he were free; and on the other hand, his most Christian Majesty said that before other business he demanded the fulfilment of what was agreed to at the restitution of Havre-de-Grace; because the English had yet to give up some artillery and ammunition, removed from the place; for these reasons, despatches have again been sent to England, and the reply is awaited. In the meanwhile, in the seas of Flanders, France, and England, thousands of acts of piracy are committed; and trade there is quite interrupted, to the dissatisfaction of the King Catholic, many of whose subjects are much damnified by these proceedings of the English and French.

Paris, 18th November 1563.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

349. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France to the Signory.

The Parliament of Provence, which is that of Aix, having always been very Catholic, never chose to accept those edicts of peace

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which prejudiced the religion and its security; so they issued some writs against these new Evangelicals, who have in consequence made strong complaints by virtue of the favour which they have here. The King therefore interdicted and suspended the Parliament, and deprived it of authority and administration, determining to send thither six personages of authority and power, to execute the King's commands. An order has been given to summon some members of that Parliament to appear here at the Court in person, and it is feared that this proceeding may cause some stir in that province.

Paris, 30th November 1563.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

350. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

During the last few days the treaty with England has been in negotiation, but with some difficulty, because the Ambassador who is under arrest has refused to act unless he is set at liberty, but at last it was agreed that the other Ambassador, who was at liberty, should direct the negotiation. The whole matter is now reduced to making a truce; both sides agree to this in principle, but there is difference of opinion upon one point, as follows.

The French wish the agreement with the English to last for six years, but the English for only four. This demand for six years is made by France to prejudice England with regard to the agreement for the restitution of Calais, the term of which expires in four years, and so as during that interval to fortify it well; but the English, by making the truce for only four years, would maintain their claims, and could then propose what best suits them.

The departure of the Cardinal of Lorraine is deferred, either by this English negotiation, or by difficulties raised by the Constable and Cardinal Châtillon, but the Queen announces her intention of leaving this city after the Christmas festivities.

The differences between the Lords de Guise and Châtillon continue to augment in every possible way.

Paris, 18th December 1563.

[*Italian.*]

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1564. Jan. 12. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

351. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Mons. de Lansac departed hence suddenly postwise for Spain, reporting, as he himself said yesterday, that he was going to Gascony to remain a fortnight at his own house for the marriage of one of his daughters; but I am assured that he will proceed to

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Spain, nor can this be for any slight cause, as he is a negotiator of great reputation at this Court.

It is alleged that he is going to treat the interview, already suggested by the Pope, of all these crowned heads.

By others it is said that a person having come from England, who was sent heretofore to treat the agreement between this Crown and that Crown, there were certain difficulties which King Philip had to adjust, and that this Queen, desiring for many causes to terminate this agreement, has sent this individual of repute to Spain for that purpose.

Paris, 12th January 1564.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 16. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

352. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen went a league hence yesterday with such privacy that no one knew anything about it; and from what I hear, it was to hold an interview with the English Ambassador [Throckmorton] who is still under arrest, and then she returned to Paris.

Paris, 16th January 1564.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

353. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Admiral departed hence to-day to inspect the ports and fortresses of Normandy and Britany, and to provide against any rupture with the English.

Paris, 20th January 1564.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 31. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

354. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

His Catholic Majesty has recalled his Ambassador at this Court, and has accredited Don Francisco de Alva. His Majesty is also sending an Ambassador to England.

The English Ambassador [Smith] who is here at liberty came to see me yesterday, and discussed with me a project for peace with France. He said that the French wished to make a peace through doctors and lawyers. He expressed himself in many ambiguous and cavilling words, adding that his Queen did not choose it thus, but that she intended to make a real and durable peace, or an open war. He also said that the French, by making an obscure agreement, thought they might break it of their own accord; so, from several hints dropped by him, I comprehended that the English chose to have the clear and secure promise of recovering Calais, in which consists the whole difficulty of the agreement; otherwise they will resort to open warfare.

Paris, 31st January 1564.

[*Italian.*]

1564.
Feb. 21.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

355. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Court was to leave Fontainebleau to-morrow, and come to a place near Paris, where the Queen has some gardens; but this departure is postponed, because the two Ambassadors from England [Throckmorton and Smith] have been called to the Court to treat the agreement of peace, for which end some members of this Parliament were also called, but I know not what they had to discuss.

Paris, 21st February 1564.

[*Italian.*]

March 2.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

356. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

As to the affairs of England, owing to this last conference held at Fontainebleau, a person has been despatched to that Queen to see if the form of agreement satisfies her; and they await the reply.

Paris, 2nd March 1564.

[*Italian.*]

March 6.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives

357. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The treaty with England seems as it were concluded, and the Ambassador who was here at liberty has gone to his Queen* for the confirmation of the agreement, whereby it is said that this Crown will give the English one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, for the restoration of many ships captured in this war; but I believe the above sum to be rather a compensation for the moneys disbursed by the Queen of England according to the agreement of Havre de Grace, and that the affairs of Calais remain as they were before this last rupture. I have been told that these 150,000 crowns disbursed by France are to exclude the English entirely from their claim to Calais, which it seems to me difficult to believe, though the intelligence comes to me from very good authority.

Paris, 6th March 1564.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1565.

1565.
Oct. 13.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

358. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

A bastard brother of the Queen of Scotland [James Stewart, Earl of Murray], together with many of the nobility of that kingdom, have taken up arms against the Queen and her new King [Henry Stewart, Earl of Darnley], with regard to religious affairs, and the

* This appears to refer to Smith, but he did not go to England at this date. Throckmorton was set at liberty about this time, but did not return to England till May.

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Queen of England not only favours them secretly, but has declared herself openly, and has sent cavalry and infantry to those frontiers.

I shall learn all details from the brother of the Queen of England's [Scotland's ?] Ambassador, who left Scotland a few days ago, and is expected here to-morrow, being sent to these Majesties by the aforesaid Ambassador, who remains sixteen or eighteen leagues hence seriously ill, to demand their assistance.

Nantes, 13th October 1565.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1566.

1566.
Feb. 19.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

359. Giacomo Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I heard lately that Lord Robert [Dudley] was in disgrace with the Queen of England, and on asking her Ambassador resident here [Sir Thomas Smith] he confirmed the fact, and narrated the cause to me as follows.

It being the custom in England on the day of the Epiphany to name a King; a gentleman was chosen who had lately found favour with Queen Elizabeth, and a game of questions and answers being proposed, as usual amongst merry-makers, he commanded Lord Robert to ask the Queen, who was present, which was the most difficult to erase from the mind, an evil opinion created by a wicked informer, or jealousy? and Lord Robert, being unable to refuse, obeyed. The Queen replied courteously that both things were difficult to get rid of, but that, in her opinion, it was much more difficult to remove jealousy.

The game being ended, Lord Robert, angry with that gentleman for having put this question to the Queen, and assigning perhaps a sense to this proceeding other than jest, sent to threaten him, through the medium of a friend, that he would castigate him with a stick. The gentleman replied that this was not punishment for equals, and that if Lord Robert came to insult him, he would find whether his sword cut and thrust, and that if Lord Robert had no quarrel with him Lord Robert was to let him know where he was to be found, because he would then go to Lord Robert quite alone; but the only answer Lord Robert gave was that this gentleman was not his equal, and that he would postpone chastising him till he thought it time to do so.

Shortly afterwards the gentleman went to the Queen, and let her know the whole circumstance. Her Majesty was very angry with Lord Robert, and said that if by her favour he had become insolent he should soon reform, and that she would lower him just as she had at first raised him; and she banished from the Court the gentleman who had taken his message. Lord Robert was quite confused by the Queen's anger, and, placing himself in one of the

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rooms of the palace in deep melancholy, remained there four consecutive days, and showing by his despair that he could no longer live; so the Queen, moved to pity, restored him again to her favour; yet, as the Ambassador told me, his good fortune, if perhaps not impeded, will at least have been delayed a little, for it had been said that she would shortly proclaim him Duke and marry him.

Bourbon, 19th February 1566.

[*Italian.*]

March 5. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

360. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

In Scotland matters are very quiet, and already the Duke of Châtellerault, chief of the rebels, seeing all hope lost of any success, has retired to Lower Germany, the Queen of Scotland having granted him permission to enjoy his property, but not to return to Scotland. Now that things are brought to a good state, the King [Henry, Lord Darnley] has openly declared himself a Catholic, having communicated this Christmas with all his household in the churches, and in the Catholic manner; and he made known that he had attended, as he did at first, the Huguenot preaching for the welfare of his kingdom, and thus to prevent seditious persons from availing themselves of the pretext of religion to justify their proceedings.

Moulins, 5th March 1566.

[*Italian.*]

[April 2.] Copy, Venetian Archives.

361. Copy of a Letter from Mary Queen of Scotland to the King and Queen [Mother] of France; enclosed in Barbaro's Despatch of 30th April 1566.*

Parliament was summoned for the 12th March, on which day the rebels, who had fled to England, were acquainted that they would be condemned for having disturbed the public peace and tranquillity. On the 6th of the same month we held a Council of State, and requested the King our husband to be then present with us, but he, being persuaded by the rebels, and with the assent and at the suggestion of their accomplices and adherents, the Earl of Morton and the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, now at our Court, refused to accompany us; and consented, not so much, as we believe, for his own advantage, as under the subtle instigation of these Lords, henceforth to favour their religion, and to restore to them the property and possessions which they formerly held; and the King also, without our knowledge, granted these Lords pardon for their offences.

The said rebels and partisans promised the King to crown him with the matrimonial crown for himself and his descendants, and to risk their very lives for this purpose, and to defend him to the

* As this copy is in Italian, it is of course a translation, the original having doubtless been in French. It bears no date, but is evidently of the same date as a similar letter in Scotch from Queen Mary to the Bishop of Glasgow, her Ambassador in France, dated at Edinburgh, 2nd April 1566, and printed in Keith, I. 330, and in Labanoff, I. 341.

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utmost of their power against all comers, not excepting our own person. These subtle intrigues being unknown to us, and not suspecting the occurrence of any untoward or evil event, we went, accompanied by our nobility, to the assembly of the Estates on the 7th of the same month, to hold the Parliament, having given notice to the Lords concerning the proposals which they would then have to consider, and the Ecclesiastical Estate being received by us in the accustomed place and manner. We then advanced our proposal to effect some public good, by the restoration of the ancient religion, and also by proceeding against the rebels according to their crimes, which, upon grounds well known, were worthy of punishment; and the facts having been verified and proved before the Estates, and the offences committed being so great, that the offenders merited to be declared rebels and to have all their property confiscated, the opinion of Parliament was taken and judgment given to this effect. On the 9th of the same month, we being at supper in private about the seventh hour, in our cabinet, accompanied by our sister the Countess of Argyle, our brother the Commander of Sta. Croce, and others of our domestic servants, because, on account of our indisposition, and as the seventh month of our pregnancy was almost accomplished, we had been advised to eat meat, the King our husband came to visit us, and seated himself by our side. Meanwhile the Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay, with their followers, to the number of one hundred and sixty persons, occupied and took possession of all the entrances and exits of our palace, so that they believed it was impossible for any one to escape thence alive. During this interval of time, Lord Ruthven, fully armed, with others of his followers, dared to enter by force into our apartments and cabinet, and perceiving our secretary, Davit Riccio, there, with other servants of ours, said that he desired to speak with him immediately. At the same moment we inquired of the King our husband if he knew anything concerning this proceeding; and when he answered us in the negative, we ordered Lord Ruthven to quit our presence under penalty of being deemed a traitor, and said that we would deal with Davit Riccio, and cause him to be punished if he had been guilty of any offence. Nevertheless, Lord Ruthven, by force in our presence, seized Davit, who for his safety and defence had retired behind our person, and a portion of Ruthven's followers, surrounding us with harquebuses in hand and muzzles levelled, dragged Davit with great cruelty forth from our cabinet, and at the entrance of our chamber dealt him fifty-six dagger wounds; at which act we remained not only wonder stricken and astounded, but had great cause to fear for our own life.

After this deed was accomplished, Ruthven returned to our presence, saying that he and his adherents were deeply offended with our proceedings and tyranny, and that we had been deceived by this Davit, especially by taking his advice to maintain the ancient religion, and not to permit those who had fled from our kingdom to return, nor to maintain friendship with foreign princes or confederates, and also because at his immediate suggestion we had nominated to our Council the Earls of Bothwell (*Boithuel*) and

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Huntly (*Hontely*), who were both traitors; and Lord Ruthven made us understand that the Lords who had been in England would appear the following day, and unite with him and his friends against us, and that the King had decided to pardon their offences.

We then forthwith took precautions, not less for those members of our Council and nobility, who were supporters of our authority, and who were with us in our palace, than for ourselves; namely, for the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, and Athol, Lords Fleming and Livingston (*Leviston*), Mr. James Balfour, and many domestic servants against whom this conspiracy had been organised as well as against Davit, and particularly against Balfour, whom the conspirators had determined to murder; nevertheless, by the grace of God, Bothwell and Huntly escaped by the windows of their chamber, whereby the conspirators were greatly disappointed as to the result of their enterprise. The Lords of Athol, Livingston, and Fleming, with Balfour, saved themselves otherwise. The Provost of the town of Edinburgh (*Lilliburg*), hearing the tumult raised in our palace, caused the bells to be sounded with hammers, and came to our palace to our succour, accompanied by a large number of armed men, and asked to speak with us, and to know how we had fared. To this enquiry we were not permitted to give any reply, because we were violently threatened by the conspirators, who said to our very face that if we endeavoured to speak they would throw us over the wall in pieces, in order to make steaks of us. The King our husband then ordered these people to retire. All the night long we were kept prisoners in our chamber, with scarcely even the opportunity of speaking with our maidservants.

On the following day, in the name of the King our husband, and without our consent, a proclamation was published to the prelates, nobility, and other persons assembled to hold Parliament, to depart. During the whole of this same day we were held in captivity, the conspirators having kept from our presence our domestic servants, and forbidden the service of our ordinary guard. At a late hour the same evening the Earl of Murray (*Moray*), accompanied by the Earl of Rothes and others who had been in England, came to us, and perceiving the condition in which we were, and how we had been treated, on the following day he assembled all the persons who had taken part in the last conspiracy, together with those who had accompanied them, and held a council, when it was deemed more expedient to imprison us in the Castle of Stirling, and to detain us there until the Estates had accepted and approved all the evil proposals of the conspirators, established their religion, and given the matrimonial crown and the government of the kingdom to the King; and besides this, it was believed by divers conjectures that they intended either to put us to death or to keep us in perpetual imprisonment. The King, in order to induce the conspirators to quit our palace with their guards and followers, promised to hold us for that night in safe custody, and, without using violence, to make us approve all their projects for submission to the States. Thus the conspirators retired from our palace, and then our guard in ordinary were commanded to perform their service as usual.

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Our fear, however, for our personal safety still continuing, we made the King comprehend our position, and how he himself might be reduced to great straits if the conspirators prevailed against us, and how foreign potentates, and particularly our own allies, would be displeased if we made any change as to religion.

Upon these considerations the King decided to depart with us and in our company for Dunbar, whither we went the same night, being attended by the Captain of our Guard and by Arthur Erskine (*Artus Erskin*), our squire, and two other persons only. We had already resolved to liberate ourselves from this captivity, and had secretly communicated with the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly to devise some mode for so doing; and these noblemen, being without fear, and willing to sacrifice their lives to this end, arranged to let us down at night from the walls of our palace in a chair by ropes and other devices which they had prepared. Immediately after our arrival at Dunbar many of our nobility, desirous of our welfare, such as the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, Marischal, Athol, and Caithness, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with many of their relatives and friends, the Lords of Hume, Yester, Semple, and an infinity of others, hastened to our assistance, and by their advice we issued proclamations commanding our subjects to arm in our favour; and the conspirators having heard these events, the Earl of Glencairn, as being innocent of the last outrage, came to us by our permission, and received our pardon. The Earl of Rothes did the same. The Earls of Murray and Argyle sent several messengers to seek our favour similarly to these noblemen. For divers reasons, and with the advice of our nobility and Council who were with us, we have granted them our pardon, on condition that they will in no way maintain relations with the last conspirators, and will retire to Argyle for such a period of time as may seem good to us, it appearing to us too dangerous to allow so many persons in arms against us; and knowing the promises which have already passed between the King and them, and being aware of the bodily indisposition of our person, and not being in robust health, and compelled, in order to show resistance to our enemies, not to endanger greatly our affairs, we remained five days at Dunbar, and thence returned to Edinburgh, accompanied numerously by our subjects.

The last conspirators, with their adherents, have retired from Edinburgh, and some of them are now fugitives. We have caused all their possessions to be seized, and we have determined to proceed against them with the utmost vigour. To this end we are satisfied that the King our husband will act in unison with us, because he has declared in the presence of the Lords of our Privy Council his innocence of the last outrage upon us, and that he never either advised or approved it; and he has excused himself on the ground that he only, at the persuasion and entreaty of the last conspirators, and without our knowledge and opinion, had consented that the Earls of Murray, Glencairn, and other persons by whom we had been offended, should return to the kingdom. The King's meaning will be understood by his declaration which, according to his request, will be published in all parts of the kingdom.

[*Italian.*]

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April 8. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

362. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

News has been received from Scotland much in contradiction of the preceding intelligence, namely, that the King had recalled all the exiles to the kingdom; that he had released the Earl of Arran, son of the Duke of Châtellerault, who was prisoner in Scotland; that he had recalled the said Duke, who had retired to Flanders; and that he had received a promise from the above-mentioned that they would crown him King even against the will of the Queen, if he chose to adopt the new religion, as he had given them proof. The Queen's secretary, by name David [Riccio], an Italian, greatly in her confidence, has been assassinated with poniards on leaving the Queen's own chamber; *and to complete a charge against the Queen, a calumny was also circulated that she was pregnant before she cohabited with the King;* so that this unhappy Princess, seeing all her enemies called to Scotland, her dearest and most faithful servant killed, the King changed both as to his religion and his disposition towards her, and, what weighs more than anything else upon her, his suspicion of her honour, and fearing also for her very life, has withdrawn to Dunbar, a strong fortress on the sea, and there she remains trusting in God. She has received this reward for giving her kingdom and herself to the King, and preferring him to the many powerful Princes who sought her hand, as one of the most beautiful women in Europe; and thus she is unjustly persecuted. On hearing this intelligence their Majesties immediately sent Monsr. de Mauvissière to Scotland, *but from what I hear he is not a person capable of treating so important a negotiation.* The King will not remain long at Clermont, and goes to keep the holy days at La Charité, a few leagues hence.

Bourbon, 8th April 1566.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 14. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

363. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

It is heard from Scotland that the Queen is in the same distress, and demands succour from the most Christian King, her brother-in-law; but until the return of the gentleman sent thither lately, it is not believed that the King will come to any decision.

Bourbon, 14th April 1566.

[*Italian.*]

April 17. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

364. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I have been to visit the Duke of Guise, who confirmed all that I have lately written concerning the affairs of Scotland; and he told me that the Queen of Scotland wished to seek safety in France, and that she had escaped through a window, because she had been kept almost as a prisoner. She had written to her uncle, his Eminence of Lorraine, two letters, which he had forwarded to their

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most Christian Majesties, who were so full of compassion that they could scarcely restrain their tears, and she (the Queen of Scotland) seems apprehensive for her very life.

Nevers, 17th April 1566.

[*Italian.*]

April 30. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

365. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Their most Christian Majesties are now at Monceaux, a palace of the Queen, and to-morrow they depart for St. Maur (*S. Moro*), a palace of her Majesty's only two leagues hence, and between these two places, and two or three other places in this neighbourhood, they will remain during the months of May and June.

The news written by me about Scotland came to their Majesties by way of England, *and was somewhat amplified by their Ambassador, who is a Huguenot,* and who therefore made additions which subsequently were not verified. Nevertheless it is the fact that the recall of all the rebels was made by the King of Scotland without the consent of the Queen his consort, and arose from ambition, and through the promise made him by the rebels, not only to crown him King, but also to limit the succession to his descendants should he not have issue by that Queen. It was in like manner true, that violence was practised against the Secretary David with much more audacity than was related in the first advices, as you will perceive by the accompanying letter,* which is a copy of the identical letter written by the Queen to their Majesties, and which is in all respects conformable with information which I have received from Marshal Bourdillon this day. The Queen of England has shown great anger at these proceedings, and has issued banns and proclamation against the Scotch rebels, to prohibit them from returning to their native kingdom.

These Majesties are expecting the return of Mauvissière, in whose stead they will send a person of greater authority.

Paris, 30th April 1566.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 2. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

366. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

From Marshal Bourdillon I hear that in Flanders the difficulties about religion continue, and are caused by the Inquisition, which the Catholic King has introduced there; and that a brother of the Prince of Orange, and one of the Brederode family, which is very noble, and has many followers, have headed the malcontents, who have presented a petition to the Duchess of Parma, the Governess of those provinces, of the same tenor as the one presented by the French to the most Christian King; and there is very great danger that if the Inquisition be not removed, some serious disorder may ensue, for the insurgents are many in number, and are favoured by important personages, and they have already commenced giving signs of their

* See No. 361.

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temerity, by breaking the images in Holland, and in the Duchy of Namur. But even were the aforesaid Inquisition withdrawn, it cannot be hoped to quench this great fire; besides, were the King Catholic to suppress it he would lose his repute and authority, as he would thus submit to laws dictated by his subjects, and it is much more difficult to remove opinions taken by the Flemings than by the French, the former having always been more headstrong and more unyielding than the latter.

Paris, 2nd May 1566.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

367. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

I have heard from the English Ambassador resident at this Court that the Duke of Norfolk, with other Peers of the Realm, seeing that their Queen does not resolve to marry, and has told them many times she will not marry anyone of the kingdom, have prayed Lord Robert, but with a certain sort of prayer mingled with threats, that he must desist from his enterprise, and no longer perform the very assiduous service hitherto rendered by him to the Queen, in order that her Majesty may by marriage obtain what the whole kingdom desires, which is, to have a legitimate successor; and that Lord Robert, with that passion which the deprivation of the sight of so great a Princess, and so much beloved by him, excited, withdrew; but he had scarcely remained absent a fortnight, when the Queen recalled him; and the said lords, seeing him return, made again a very strong remonstrance, which induced him once more to absent himself; and having again been away a month and more, it seemed, when he returned, that on the part of the Queen and also on his own matters were much cooled down; but many believe that this was solely for appearance sake.

Paris, 11th May 1566.

[*Italian.*]

June 1. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

368. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador has sent to communicate to me by his Secretary a letter written to him by the Queen's principal secretary in the name of her Majesty, in which she tells him that she had resolved to take for her husband the Archduke Charles, seeing him to be of her religion; but I am assured from another quarter that this project is at an end, and that Lord Robert is in greater favour than ever with Queen Elizabeth; and I have been told by a person who is well advised about things in England, that the love her Majesty bears Lord Robert is such that she will either finally take him for husband, or will never take anyone else.

Paris, 1st June 1566.

[*Italian.*]

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June 15. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

369. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The two Queens of England and Scotland desired an interview, but the Queen of Scotland being so near child-birth, they have deferred it till next year.

Paris, 15th June 1566.

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

370. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Ambassador of the Queen of England [Sir Thomas Hoby] has read me a letter from Secretary Cecil, in which he advises the Ambassador that his Queen had resolved to take up arms against an Irish rebel whom she suspects to be secretly favoured by the Queen of Scotland; and that with regard to her own marriage to the Archduke Charles, she awaits the close of the negotiation of Mr. Dannett, her Ambassador, with the Emperor.

Paris, 27th June 1566.

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

371. MARC' ANTONIO BARBARO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The disturbances in Ireland caused a sensation in England, owing to some offensive words which passed between Lord Robert and the Earl of Sussex, a person of importance, who was Governor in Ireland; but through the favour of Lord Robert, the Queen recalled him, and sent thither the brother-in-law of Lord Sussex.

Queen Elizabeth being at Greenwich, the dispute arose in the Council itself, where, speaking of the rising made by the Irish baron, whose name is O'Donnell, Lord Robert laid the blame upon the Earl of Sussex, who modestly defended himself, without any abuse, merely saying that neither he nor any one of his family had ever been traitors to their sovereign, but was compelled at length by many rejoinders made by Lord Robert to tell him that as he was bound to defend his honour, he would speak freely; adding that Lord Robert was in fault, because he had frequently written letters with his own hand to O'Donnell, and given him favour constantly. From these words to Lord Robert inconvenient results would have ensued, if the Chancellor and other personages had not interposed.

This circumstance was immediately communicated to the Queen, who, after saying some sharp words to Lord Sussex, to show the esteem she had for Lord Robert, chose that as a sign of pacification they should depart both together for London; and on the morrow she made them dine with her; but they are nevertheless not yet reconciled, and each of them walks with a large company of armed men to secure himself.

As I wrote to your Serenity on the 27th June, affairs in Scotland hitherto proceed very quietly, but not without suspicion that as the Queen is in childbed, some disorder may ensue.

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I hear news from Flanders that public affairs are in a much worse condition, and that public preachings have commenced outside Antwerp to very large congregations, which seems to be a bad commencement. The Marquis of Berghes is on his way to Spain to acquaint his Catholic Majesty with the disordered condition of Flanders, and to advise his Majesty to visit the province in person.

The Bishop of Mondovi has arrived; he is proceeding to Scotland as Nuncio, but will not depart from hence until the baptism of the son of her Scottish Majesty has been solemnized, in order that he may go and remain thither in security. He appears to me to be a good, religious, and able man, and these qualities are necessary in order to conduct a negotiation so difficult and dangerous.

Matters show no improvement in Flanders, and although no new personage of importance is discovered amongst the heretical party, the latter nevertheless continue to increase both in numbers and insolence.

Paris, 5th July 1566.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

372. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Forwards copy of letter dated 22nd August 1566, addressed to him by the King, announcing the confinement of the Catholic Queen, the King's sister, and the birth of the Infanta Isabella.

Paris, 24th August 1566.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

373. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Sad news has arrived from Scotland to the effect that the Queen has been seized with acute internal pain and high fever, which have rendered her insensible for such a length of time, that there is very little hope of her life, and this calamity is aggravated by a suspicion that her death may be violent, and procured by poison.

By whom, and with what design, this great wickedness has been perpetrated, your Serenity, who remembers past affairs, may form your judgment for yourself.

Paris, 3rd November 1566.

P.S.—Detained until the 4th November.

A Princess, personally the most beautiful in all Europe, and of a most cultivated and candid disposition, is about to die; and although this misfortune is of itself greatly to be deplored, other evils greater and more general will follow, as it may now be said that the Catholic religion will become extinct in that Kingdom, both because those who govern and have authority with the King are its open enemies, and also because the King himself is disaffected towards it.

The Queen leaves a son just born, who will now imbibe this poison with his milk, and there can be no doubt but that he will

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rather resemble his father than his most virtuous and religious mother.

The Secretary for England, who since the death of the Queen of England's Ambassador has had the charge of negotiations for her Majesty, has this day communicated to me a letter from Cecil, in which he gives him account that in the Parliament two proposals had been made, the one concerning the Queen's marriage, the other concerning the succession to the Crown should her Majesty die without issue.

To the first she seems not to consent, but she would not hear one word with regard to the second, but nevertheless the principal persons persist in their opinion that these two questions must first be decided, and then they will deliberate upon the matters which her Majesty desires to propose.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

374. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Ambassador from Scotland came to me to-day with the good news that his Queen, after being in extreme danger until the 26th October, and especially on the 25th, when for two consecutive hours she was supposed by every one to be dead, having lost sight, hearing, and sense, and becoming cold as ice, now thanks to God is so much better, that it is hoped and almost believed that she is certain to live.

The illness was caused by her dissatisfaction at a decision made by the King, her husband, to go to a place twenty-five or thirty miles distant, without assigning any cause for it; which departure so afflicted this unfortunate Princess, not so much for the love she bears him, as from the consequences of his absence, which reduced her to the extremity heard by your Serenity.

Let God be ever praised for preserving this most virtuous Princess, who is worthy to live not only the ordinary term of life, but for a far more lengthened period.

Paris, 6th November 1566.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

375. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Announces his entry into Paris on the 8th instant, when he was met and received by the Most Reverend Nuncio, the Ambassadors from Savoy and Florence, and the Bishop of Mondovi, his Holiness's Nuncio designate in Scotland, all of whom, to do honour to the Ambassador Surian, accompanied him for a considerable distance on his way.

Letters from Spain report that Captain Monluc with nine vessels and fourteen armed boats has taken the Island della Medera[Madeira], which belongs to the King of Portugal, who is now preparing a strong force to send thither. This news has greatly displeased the Queen, who has given orders that no one is to proceed to assist

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Monluc, but he has nevertheless many supporters, who aver that he was first provoked, because when he sent some boats to buy provisions they were fired upon; and then when Monluc for this affront landed his people, they found no resistance, and retaliated with sword and fire just as they pleased.

Paris, 12th November 1566.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

376. Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Ambassador from Scotland has acquainted his most Christian Majesty that the Queen his Sovereign has completely recovered from her illness, and that during the time when she had no hope of life her son was likewise in peril of death, but now by God's grace they have both recovered, and her Majesty expects shortly to recover her strength.

It is also reported that the Scottish Parliament have determined that the Prince is to be baptized according to the Roman rite, and this solemnity is only delayed until the arrival of an Ambassador from the Duke of Savoy, to represent his Excellency.

It has also been decided to receive the Nuncio of the Pope, who has been residing here for some months by order of the Queen of Scotland in order to await the result of the disturbances in that Kingdom; but now the Queen has urgently summoned the Nuncio, and advised him to undertake the journey.

Paris, 26th November 1566.

[*Italian.*]

Bequeathed MSS. Portfolio 19.

377. Report of Rome, by the most illustrious Paul Tiepolo, 1565–66.

If the great and supreme authority exercised by the Pontiffs which I have described to you had been used only for the purposes for which it was conceded to them, namely, the benefit and salvation of the human race, they would have been perpetually loved, feared, reverenced, and obeyed by all Christians, and their superiority as the delegates of God upon earth acknowledged universally in all parts of the world. But they have abused this authority by interfering in temporal matters, and have, in fact sought no other end but the advantage and aggrandisement of themselves and their kindred, without considering it wrong to grant benefits and favours to the least deserving, to give to one what ought to have been sufficient for a hundred, to practise a thousand abominable abuses in the church of God, to nourish scandals and wars between Christian princes, and to carry on the same evils themselves, not from necessity, but simply from ambition and self-interest, insomuch that the barbarians have rarely entered Italy unless with the consent or connivance of the Pontiffs. It is therefore not to be wondered at that heresies and disorders should have oppressed and burdened Christendom; and it is from these causes that Martin Luther, the origin of so many evils, acquired influence by attacking practices which could not be defended, and thus opened a way to

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diffuse his poison, and to reproduce the opinions of Johann Huss and Jerome of Prague, which had more than 100 years since taken root in Bohemia; and Luther, inventing many other new doctrines, was easily able to persuade men already evilly disposed to follow him in multiplying abominable and most wicked heresies. Although great difference of opinion exists amongst the heretics themselves, yet they are all united in denying the authority of the Pontiff and the Roman Church, an authority formerly accepted all over the world, but now so greatly reduced and straitened that without mentioning Africa and Asia, where the name of the Pontiff is scarcely ever heard, and the countries which obey the Greek Patriarch, amongst whom are the Moravians, Russians, and Moldavians, and other numerous nations who do not recognise the Pontiff, but dealing only with the inhabitants of Europe, who hitherto not only obeyed the Pontiff but followed in every respect the rites and customs of the Roman Church, and celebrated their offices in the Latin tongue, it will be found that England and Scotland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and all the kingdoms and countries of the north, have absolutely renounced his rule; Germany is almost all lost, following the example of Bohemia; and Poland is in great part infected. The Low Countries of Flanders are so corrupt that for a remedy they have been given the Duke of Alva, and it is difficult even for him to restore these provinces to their pristine health. Finally, France is in a state of disturbance and confusion, such as must necessarily follow where there are so many differences and conflicts concerning religion. Thus it would appear that no countries remain sound, and faithful to the Pontiff, except Spain and Italy, with a few islands, and those provinces which are the possessions of your Serenity in Dalmatia and Greece. Hence we see how a malady spreads when not cured at its commencement, and that it not only becomes burdensome and painful to each particular member, but corrupts and destroys the greater part, if not the whole, of the body.

* * * * * *

The Pope gave aid to the Queen of Scotland while she was defending the Catholic religion in her own person, and he had appointed a Nuncio in order the better to favour her; but now that the Queen is a prisoner, and that kingdom is lost, the Pope can do nothing but grieve.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 23.
Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

378. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Count de Brienne has returned from Scotland, whither he went to hold the Prince, the son of the Queen, at his baptism; he reports that her Majesty awaited little less than two months Mons. de Moretta, who was to represent the Duke of Savoy, but as he

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failed to arrive, she substituted for him the Ambassador in ordinary of his French Majesty.

The baptism was performed on the 17th of last month, when all the rites of the Roman Church were observed, very much to the satisfaction of the Catholics, who for the last seven years have never seen any bishop in pontifical habits.

The Ambassador from England would not enter the church, but prayed the Countess of Argyle (*Aghilar*), known as the Bastard of Holland, to go thither in his stead, and presented her for her trouble with a ruby worth five hundred crowns.

The Count de Brienne presented the Queen of Scotland, in the name of the King of France, with a necklace of pearls and rubies, and two most beautiful ear-rings.

Much greater was the present from England, as it was a font of massive gold, of sufficient proportions to immerse the infant Prince, and of exquisite workmanship, with many precious stones, so designed that the whole effect combined elegance with value. Mons. de Moretta, Ambassador from the Duke of Savoy, on his passage through this place, told me that he had with him as a present a fan of large size with jewelled feathers, of the value of four thousand crowns.

The King of France believes that the marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Archduke Charles will be speedily concluded, very much to his Majesty's regret.

Paris, 23rd January 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

379. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

There is news from England that the people were urging the Queen to marry, and it is suspected here that the Queen, to oblige her people and take the burden off her shoulders, might conclude the marriage treaty with the Archduke Charles. The Queen of France, in order to interrupt the negotiation, has sent a person express to England, not of quality, but well informed about the English Court, to offer Queen Elizabeth the Duke of Anjou, his most Christian Majesty's eldest brother, as a husband.

Paris, 25th January 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

380. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

It is reported that in England mass is being said publicly, and is numerously attended; also that the priest who was inspired by God to celebrate mass in public, not being impeded, many other priests have followed his example without hindrance.

Their Majesties believe that *the marriage of the Queen of England with the Archduke Charles will speedily be concluded, a result which causes them the greatest displeasure.*

Paris, 7th February 1567.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Feb. 20. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

381. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France to the SIGNORY.

God willing, I shall proceed next week to Moret, two leagues distant from Fontainebleau, the place assigned for the residence of all the Ambassadors.

Paris, 20th February 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

382. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Last Sunday the English Ambassador [Sir Henry Norris] came to me, on account of a report which was current through the Court, that the mass had been re-introduced in London; he said, "I was greatly surprised to hear that so great a change had taken place, and did not dare to deny the report, as every one believed it to be true; but now I desire without delay to acquaint you that no alteration whatever has taken place in this respect."

He then added that the Earl of Sussex was about to take the Garter (*Giarattiera*) to the Emperor, and he did not deny that the Earl, with other personages who accompanied him, had power to treat the marriage between his Queen and the Archduke Charles. The Ambassador evinced very great wish for it to be concluded, by saying, "Provided she marry, we do not care whether she take a native or a foreigner; we hope that she will gratify us, because at the last Parliament, held by us about three months ago, seeing the great earnestness expressed to her generally, she promised decidedly that she would speedily take a husband."

Paris, 20th February 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 21. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

383. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

A gentleman lately resident in Scotland, as agent of his most Christian Majesty, arrived here last night, having left Scotland on the 22nd of last month.

He relates that near Calais he was overtaken by a messenger, despatched by post by the Ambassador of his most Christian Majesty resident in England, who entreated this gentleman to hasten his journey, and inform his Majesty that the Queen of England had received letters to the effect that the husband of the Queen of Scotland, and his father the Earl of Lennox, had been assassinated during the night of the 11th of the present month; but the Ambassador gave no particulars either with regard to the place where these personages were residing, or by whom or for what cause the assassination had been committed.

The report is believed, because it was written and brought hither as above mentioned; and until further advices are received, this assassination is considered to be the work of the heretics, who desire to do the same by the Queen, in order to bring up the Prince

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in their doctrines, and thus more firmly to establish their own religion to the total exclusion of ours.

Paris, 21st February 1567.

[*Italian.*]

March 20. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

384. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Mons. de Moretta has returned from Scotland, whither he was sent by the Duke of Savoy to hold the Prince at the christening, and he was anxiously awaited by these Majesties in order to hear from him some particulars concerning the death of the husband of the Queen of Scotland, Mons. de Moretta having been in those parts when the King was assassinated.

Mons. de Moretta relates that the Queen was actually with her husband on that day until a late hour, and then departed to be present at the marriage feast (*ad un festino*) of one of her ladies (*di una sua damisella*), the Queen having promised her husband that on the following night she would sleep with him, and in faith and as security for this promise she gave him a ring in pledge.

Towards midnight the King heard a great disturbance, at least so certain women who live in the neighbourhood declare, and from a window they perceived many armed men round about the house; so he, suspecting what might befall him, let himself down from another window looking on the garden, but he had not proceeded far before he was surrounded by certain persons, who strangled him with the sleeves of his own shirt under the very window from which he had descended. One of his chamberlains followed him, and was heard to say, "The King is dead, oh, luckless night;" nor was the wretched man deceived, for he and the father of the King both lost their lives.

Having done this, the assassins destroyed that part of the house where the King was accustomed to sleep, intending thus, it is said and conjectured, to have it believed that, to escape the destruction of the house, the King had killed himself when descending from the window.

Mons. de Moretta says he left the Queen deeply afflicted, and in great fear of a worse fate. She had published a proclamation promising four thousand francs and a large annuity for life to any one who would denounce the malefactors, but hitherto no one of them has been discovered.

It was widely rumoured that the principal persons of the kingdom were implicated in the act, because they were dissatisfied with the King; and, above all, a bastard brother of the Queen [the Earl of Murray] is suspected, because at the time when she was at variance with her husband the Bastard told her that the King had boasted to him of having had intimacy with her before she was his wife. The Queen, exasperated, asked the King if it was true that he had said this; the King denied it, and gave the lie to the said Bastard, who repeated the accusation to the King's face; so from this private quarrel the report arose that the Bastard had desired to revenge himself.

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The English Ambassador hints that the marriage between his Queen and the Archduke Charles is less probable, and that the Earl of Sussex, who was to have taken the Order of the Garter to the Emperor, will probably not depart at present.

Moret, two leagues from Fontainebleau, 20th March 1567.

[*Italian.*]

March 30. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

385. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Duke of Guise, accompanied by a brilliant and youthful train, arrived here on Holy Thursday, and was received by the King with the utmost affection.

It is heard from Scotland that the principal persons there are divided into two parties, each of them attributing the blame of the King's death to the other. In the meantime all were arming, so some insurrection of importance may ensue.

The Queen, after having resided for some days, for her greater security, in a strong castle, has returned to Edinburgh; and she has written to the Bishop of Mondovi, who was to go as Nuncio to Scotland, to remain here for some days, as she hopes that all tumult will soon be quieted, and that he may then travel securely; but he, seeing the position to be difficult, intends to return to his bishopric, and has written to the Pope accordingly.

The Cardinal of Lorraine has been warned by letters from his friends in Scotland that many of the chief personages there had suspicion, and had almost come to the conclusion, that he had advised and procured the death of the King, and that he must therefore be on his guard.

In confirmation of the above the English Ambassador gives out, and has even said to his most Christian Majesty, that almost immediately after the death of the King of Scotland the wife of one of the principal personages of the kingdom died by poison, and it was reported that a marriage between this personage and the Queen would follow; whence it was inferred that in order to obtain this end it had been settled between these two that the one should put her husband to death, and the other his wife; but hitherto this story has not gained much belief, though it is well known that the Queen of England deeply regrets the death of her relative, the youthful King of Scotland, and strongly suspects that his wife was privy to it, and moreover she is now demanding with great earnestness that the assassins should be brought to justice.

Moret, 30th March 1567.

[*Italian.*]

April 3. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

386. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

His most Christian Majesty is somewhat anxious, owing to his having discovered that the Queen of England is about to send an Ambassador to demand the restitution of Calais, because, at the commencement of the present month, the period of eight years will expire, when, according to the articles of peace, Calais ought to be restored to

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the English. His most Christian Majesty has also heard that simultaneously the English Admiral is to go with fifteen vessels to Calais, and make what is called a summons for the restitution of the place.

Moret, 3rd April 1567.

[*Italian.*]

April 18. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

387. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Their most Christian Majesties left Fontainebleau a week ago for the purpose of hunting in that neighbourhood, and notified to all the Ambassadors that they would return last Wednesday; then they changed their plans, and will not arrive until the end of next week. They are now residing at Monceaux (*Monso*), where they have requested the Constable, who has been suffering from fever and gout, to attend them, and if he is not well enough to do so, their Majesties in person will visit him. It is believed that their object in seeing him is to consult him with regard to the answer which they will have to give to the English personage who has come to demand Calais, and who arrived here at Moret two days ago; his name is Sir Thomas Smith (*Mons. Tomaso Smit*).

No one thinks that the place will be restored, but it is generally believed that his most Christian Majesty will either reply openly that the English have lost their rights, owing to what took place at Havre de Grace, or will else protract the negotiations indefinitely.

Moret, 18th April 1567.

[*Italian.*]

May 2. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

388. Giovanni Correr Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The King's frequent change of residence has been the cause why the English Ambassadors, namely, the Ambassador in Ordinary,* and the Ambassador by name [Sir] Thomas Smith, who arrived at Moret two days ago to demand the restitution of Calais, have not yet had audience. They were introduced at Moret to his Majesty, who was surrounded by his Council, he believing, as it is said, that the demand would be made aloud, but the Ambassador, approaching his Majesty, spoke in a low tone, and with great modesty, telling him that the Queen his Sovereign, not to be taxed with ignorance, desired to remind his Majesty that the eight years had elapsed, after which period under a penalty of five hundred thousand crowns Calais was to be restored; and this not having been done she now, in observance of the articles agreed and sworn to at Cateau Cambresis, demanded the penalty and the aforesaid restitution. The most Christian King answered him that he knew very well what those articles contained, and the matter being of much consequence, the Ambassadors must be content to wait till his Majesty had obtained the opinion of the Lords of his Council; and that then he would summon them. The Ambassadors then withdrew, and when they

* Sir Henry Norris.

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were recalled, his Majesty told them openly that he would not restore Calais, but would hold it as a possession of his ancestors, to which the Queen of England had no just right; and when the Ambassadors rejoined, citing the plighted faith, the oath, and his Majesty's seal, the Chancellor answered them, that the promise had been given under the express condition, that the said Queen should not in any way molest the subjects and territory of that kingdom, or of Scotland, but from what had taken place at Havre de Grace, it appeared manifestly that she had lost all the pretensions which she might have had to Calais. The King then said that the Queen ought not to regret the loss of Calais, knowing that of yore it was a possession of this Crown, and that the Lord God had willed it to return to its first master, and that these two realms ought to remain content with the frontiers created for them by nature, and with a boundary so clearly defined as the sea, within which so long as both owners remained without either of them occupying what belonged to the other, peace and good friendship between the two crowns would always ensue, which result his Majesty desired extremely for the future.

On receiving this reply, these Ambassadors took leave; and the one who came last will depart to-day or to-morrow for England, having received a present of many pieces of plate worth a thousand crowns. They both seemed very dissatisfied, for although they did not hope to obtain what they demanded, they did not however believe they would have the negative so openly and resolutely given them, but that it would be cloaked with some delay of time indicating great respect; and they even said, "These Frenchmen know that we have a woman for our head, and therefore esteem us so little." They had also complained greatly before they had audience, and had written to her Majesty that the moment it was heard that this last Ambassador had crossed, and the cause of his coming was known, all the English ships and merchants in Rouen and Havre de Grace were detained, as if war had been already proclaimed and commenced. But these ships were subsequently released, by order of his Majesty, because a report circulated there that in London they had done the like.

The English who were in this city have already quitted this kingdom from fear of war.

Paris, 2nd May 1567.

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

389. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Immediately after the King's reply to the English Ambassadors, viz., the Ambassador in Ordinary and the Ambassador Extraordinary, for the restitution of Calais, the Secretary L'Aubespine (*La Beaupina*) the younger was despatched to Spain to acquaint his Catholic Majesty with it, and also to congratulate him that the risings in Flanders, after due and becoming punishment of the rebels, had almost been suppressed. By order of the King a muster of men-at-arms is fixed for the 1st of next month, and all those who appear without horses are

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to be cashiered; hence there is a strong demand for the purchase of horses, as many of the above are on foot. Many days had passed without any news from Scotland, when on the day before yesterday a Frenchman arrived, who assured his most Christian Majesty that the Queen of Scotland had married the Earl of Bothwell her subject, who is a young man twenty-five years old, of handsome presence, a heretic Calvinist, and who was married some years ago, but by agreement made between husband and wife, she accused him of adultery before one of the ministers, and he not denying, according to the doctrines of Calvin, the marriage became null, and both one and the other are at liberty to do whatever they please.

This intelligence has caused a vast deal of comment, little to the honour of the Queen, because this man was more suspected than anyone of having plotted the death of the late King; and although he was adjudged innocent, he has not however fully established that innocence in the opinion of many, who believe also that the Queen was a consenting party to obtain her end.

The Catholic religion, which in that kingdom had no greater foundation than the good intention evinced always by that Queen to support it, now remains according to general opinion deprived of all hope of ever again raising its head, because she, if what this man reports be true, without fear of God, or respect for the world, has allowed herself to be induced by sensuality, or else by the persuasion of others, to take one who cannot be her husband, according to our religion, and has raised a suspicion also that she will come by degrees to live according to the new fashion; and it is already seen that in the Parliament held in that kingdom at the end of last month it was resolved that as to the religion they were to live as they did when the Queen departed hence for those parts, which signifies according to the institutions of Calvin.

It is also heard that the said Queen a few days ago wished to see her son, who is being reared in the fortress of Stirling, and she was not allowed by the Governor to enter it accompanied by any man, but solely by her maids of honour. After having seen him, she departed thence immediately, and commanded the Governor that he was to deliver her son to her; but he refused to obey her; so some important stir is expected, it being considered certain that he did this with the knowledge and by the advice of others.

A bastard brother of the Queen of Scotland* has arrived here lately. He departed from her in disgrace, and the cause is said to be that he could not suffer any equal nor superior, and it appeared to him strange that this Earl of Bothwell should be preferred to him. He is a man of about thirty years of age, and of a restless disposition. He was the first to introduce the Calvinistic sect into Scotland, and at one time he effected many risings, to drive away the French, and from these risings have followed the enmities and divisions of opinion which have ended in the total ruin of the kingdom. When he departed he said he was about to sojourn at Geneva if he should find peace in that city, otherwise he would

* James Stewart, Earl of Murray.

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proceed to Italy, and then return to Scotland in spite of any opposition that might be offered him.

Paris, 16th May 1567.

[*Italian.*]

May 30. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

390. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

No letters have come from Scotland for many days past, and it is believed that the passage by sea is hindered. It is, however, heard from England, though the news from that quarter is considered doubtful, that the greater part of the Scottish nobility are in Stirling Castle with the Prince, and all of them indignant with the Queen, and yet more so with the Earl of Bothwell, whom they accuse of the death of the late King, and of having desired to poison the infant Prince. They also allege that he went to the Queen with about six hundred armed men, and by force compelled her to take him for her husband. Others, on the contrary, say that the force was voluntary, concerted by her to escape in some part the blame which must ensue from this marriage.

Her Ambassador resident here* states that he has not received letters, and consequently knows not whether she be married, but if it be true that the nobility had risen against her, the cause would probably be (this is his opinion) that on Easter Day her Majesty ordered many altars to be set up in the court of the palace, when twelve or fifteen persons attended to take the most sacred Sacrament. These uncertainties give rise to a great desire to learn the facts. The English Ambassador has complained seriously because one of his attendants was detained at Dieppe, and a packet of papers which he had in his possession taken from him; this packet was sent hither to his Majesty, by whom it was returned to Dieppe, and ultimately restored to the person to whom it belonged. This proceeding is not denied, but is excused on the ground that it took place without the order of his Majesty.

From the same English Ambassador it is heard that the Earl of Lennox, father of the deceased King of Scotland, had retired to England, and that according to the Ambassador's last advices Queen Elizabeth had not yet heard the reply about Calais; and that the Earl of Sussex, who was most honourably attended, and whom, some months ago, the Queen had charged to take the order of the Garter to the Emperor, had departed from England with a commission *to renew the negotiation for her marriage with the Archduke Charles.*

His most Christian Majesty has designated as Ambassador to your Serenity Mons. de Foix, of a most noble family. He was formerly Ambassador in England, and is now from thirty-six to forty years of age. He is a churchman, learned, full of intelligence, and greatly in the confidence of the Queen of France.

Paris, 30th May 1567.

[*Italian.*]

* The Bishop of Glasgow.

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June 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

391. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By letters from Scotland and by the information of persons just arrived from thence, the news is confirmed that the Queen has married the Earl of Bothwell, with the consent of the principal persons of the kingdom, who determined that on the 14th of last month the marriage should be celebrated according to the Huguenot rite. In order to excuse the Queen, the writers of the letters alleged that she desired to follow the Catholic rite, and that she had heard Mass, together with her husband, the same morning in her private cabinet.

But upon this becoming known, the Bishop of Orkney, who is a Huguenot, forced an entrance and preached a sermon, and thus the ceremony was entirely performed according to the rites of Calvin. The Earl of Bothwell was previously declared not guilty of the death of the late King, and was then created Duke of Orkney. It is said that his first wife accused him of adultery, and procured a divorce from him, being persuaded to that effect by the Earl of Huntley (*Antellin*), her brother, who, as a reward, has been given the Earldom of Murray (*Moré*) which he claimed, and which had been kept from him by the bastard brother of the Queen, who was also about to be deprived of another earldom claimed by the Crown, and thus deprived of all his property. With regard to religion, masses are prohibited in the churches, but permitted in private houses. It is believed that the Queen and the Duke her husband would make every effort to obtain the guardianship and custody of the young Prince, which charges were openly refused them by Erskine (*Aschin*), Governor of the fortress of Stirling, and by many others to whom the guardianship was assigned by Parliament.

Before the above facts were known, their most Christian Majesties sent to Scotland a gentleman, by name De Villeroy, to ascertain exactly how the affairs of that kingdom were proceeding; and with the intention of also interposing their authority, should there be any hope of a general reconciliation, because the principal persons there being so divided in opinion, his Majesty feared that the weaker party might call in the English to their aid, and that the English might then easily make themselves masters of Scotland, from which country, at divers times, the crown of France has received signal assistance against the English. This is said by every one, and it is given forth to be the reason of the mission of Villeroy; but from persons who have heard it from the mouth of the Queen, I am informed that Villeroy was mainly sent in order that, passing through England, he might again propose as a husband for the Queen Monsieur d'Anjou, brother of his most Christian Majesty; and although their Majesties have less hope of success now than when they proposed the Duke last winter, still, by reason of the irritation which the answer concerning Calais has caused in England, they have renewed the attempt, believing that the prospect of relationship with France might satisfy the English, and also fearing that the Ambassador sent by Queen Elizabeth

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might conclude the marriage with the Archduke Charles, which would cause his most Christian Majesty very great regret.

Paris, 13th June 1567.

[*Italian; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

392. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

While the Court was on its progress, the Queen one day called to her a person with whom she frequently speaks confidentially, and said, "Tell me what was said about us in Paris, when, instead of proceeding to Saint Germain, according to the orders given, we came all of a sudden to this part of Normandy." He answered, "Madam, it was immediately guessed that you were going to Calais, and therefore people began to believe that there would be war with the English." The Queen smiled, and after a pause replied, *What would you think, if very shortly you were to see me upon most loving terms with the Queen of England.*" These words gave rise to the belief that her Majesty is not altogether without hope that the marriage of her son with the Queen of England may take place.

We hear from England that the Queen had summoned the French Ambassador, and said to him that she having heard the official answer given with regard to the demand for Calais, the same had displeased her greatly, it appearing strange to her that anyone should say openly that she had no right to her own property, and that she did not feel the less aggrieved when she heard of a letter written by the Queen (of France), because she (Queen Elizabeth) considered that the Queen of France ought not to have written in such terms to her equals. Still she (Queen Elizabeth) laid the blame upon the secretary, because possibly her Majesty (of France) had not read the letter before she signed it. She (Queen Elizabeth) likewise excused the official answer, having regard to the youthful years of his most Christian Majesty, who, she hoped, when he arrived at a more mature age, would not fail to observe the promises and fulfil the oath sworn to by his father. We hear also that the Queen of England had received with much honour an Ambassador from the Emperor [the Count of Stolberg], who it is believed had come to treat concerning the Queen's marriage with the Archduke Charles. But it is written from England that this Ambassador had made no mention of this latter subject, and had only sought aid against the Turks. The Ambassador was to receive his answer on the 13th instant, and was then to depart at once.

The Queen of Scotland has sent to these Majesties (of France) the Bishop of Dumblane, who, in a long speech, commencing with the period of the birth of the Queen of Scotland down to the present time, described how her life had been always accompanied by an inconstant and doubtful fate, whence from time to time many events of a harassing and remarkable character had befallen her; and the Bishop concluded with the remark "that even this marriage, celebrated according to the Huguenot rite, was brought

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about rather by destiny and necessity than by her free choice." This excuse was listened to by their Majesties, who are well informed of the circumstances, but was not accepted by them upon the ground that it was wrong to attribute any results to force which were openly brought about by free will and premeditated determination. As soon as the Bishop had ended speaking, the Queen said to him, "And we can tell you moreover that your Queen is now held a prisoner." It is also reported that the Queen of Scotland, after having created her husband a Duke, knighted four other gentlemen, who, together with seven others, under the leadership of the Earl of Bothwell, were charged with having put to death the late King. This matter has greatly offended the Lords who are in attendance upon the Prince, and who are more than ever confirmed in the intention to retain him under the guardianship of the nobility, and to bring to justice all those who murdered his father. The Queen having summoned the Estates, these last mentioned nobles on the other hand also summoned them in the name of the Prince. A number of persons on both sides have attended, but the party of the Prince was by far the most numerous. Moreover, the Queen having left a certain castle to visit the city of Edinburgh, accompanied by three thousand horsemen, the party of the Prince went to meet her, in much greater numbers, and thereupon the Queen, fearing to fall into their hands, hoped by her presence to appease any outbreak, and thus avoid the effusion of blood; so, having left her forces at a distance, she advanced in a peaceable fashion, but her words did not avail her, for she was immediately made prisoner, while her own partisans fled, and the Earl of Bothwell, to whom the title of the Queen's husband is denied, has sought safety in the fortress of Dunbar. The Queen has been sent to a castle which is strictly guarded, and it is said that one of her secretaries led her into this trap. Monsieur de Foix is named Ambassador to your Serenity.

Paris, 25th June 1567.

[*Italian.*]

June 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

393. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

It was decided yesterday in council that within the period of a month one thousand five hundred men at arms shall be quartered on the frontiers of Picardy.

Fresh advices from Scotland report that the Queen is kept a prisoner in the house of a private gentleman, which is surrounded by a lake. It is a strong place, and the Queen has not more than three women to attend upon her. The Ambassador of the Queen of Scotland [the Bishop of Glasgow] has applied for assistance to these Majesties, and was told in reply that the Queen of Scotland had behaved so ill, and made herself so hateful to her subjects, that their Majesties were unable to give her either help or advice. The Ambassador has, however, been summoned to the Court by the Queen this day, and he entertains some hope that he may receive a more favourable answer.

Paris, 28th June 1567.

[*Italian.*]

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July 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

394. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Their Majesties are under some apprehension because the Queen of England and the Emperor have exchanged Ambassadors, and although it is given out that the English Ambassador was only charged to convey the Order of the Garter, and the Imperial Ambassador to seek aid against the Turks, still some secret understanding is suspected to exist, to the effect that simultaneously England should proceed to the recovery of Calais, and the Emperor, secure from Hungary, should attempt the seizure of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which are now free territories, but which are occupied by his most Christian Majesty. Under these circumstances two thousand men have been added to the ordinary force of French infantry.

News have arrived from Scotland that the Queen is still a prisoner, and that the nation continued intent on seeing due justice done, at any rate, against those who put the late King to death; and for the better and clearer expression of their wish they have raised a banner, which on one side displays a woman, and on the other a withered tree, under which lies a dead man and a male infant, with its hands clasped; and the banner is encircled by a motto saying, in the Scottish tongue, "I hope to see vengeance done for my father."

These Majesties desire to give some assistance to the Queen of Scotland, and at the same time to maintain that kingdom devoted to their interests; so knowing that the Queen's bastard brother, having returned from Lyons, was at Orleans, and judging him to be a good instrument, because the insurgents of his faction had summoned him to them, and to their privy council, the King sent for the Bastard, and said that he greatly regretted the disturbances, and would willingly intervene for the safety of the Queen and for the quiet of her subjects, but that he wished to have, first of all, the Bastard's advice, and then his assistance, the King implying that the Bastard was to go to Scotland to effect some arrangement. The Bastard offered to do whatever might please his most Christian Majesty, but said that he could not answer precisely for the party opposed to the Queen, for since he left Scotland his own friends and adherents had been joined by many of his open enemies, and he thought it would be well to temporise for some days, to hear better what progress was being made. This proposal was agreed to by his Majesty. Monsieur de Chapella (*sic*) has been sent to Scotland to make inquiries.

During this interval the Lords de Guise will arrive at the Court, and the Queen of Scotland being their niece, these Majesties wish to hear their opinion.

Paris, 3rd July 1567.

[*Italian.*]

July 12.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

395. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Monsieur de Chiapella (*sic*), designated for a mission to Scotland, has excused himself, and his excuse has been accepted. The bastard

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brother of the Queen of Scotland will soon proceed to Scotland. The Queen is still a prisoner; the insurgents increase in number, and seek to get Bothwell into their hands. They took eight pieces of cannon from Edinburgh with the intention of battering Dunbar, believing Bothwell to be there; but on hearing subsequently of his escape, they took the cannon back. The Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Huntley are raising forces in favour of the Queen, and to join with those of the Earl of Bothwell, and as both parties are on the increase a battle may be expected.

The Earl of Lennox, father of the deceased King, had retired to England, but he has now joined the insurgents, having been, as it is reported, urged to do so by Queen Elizabeth, who has also sent thither one of her gentlemen, who is a person of quality, and who is believed to have money; thus she secretly promotes disturbances in Scotland in order to revenge the death of the late King her relative, or perhaps, as some think, with an ulterior object; and already many think she desires to obtain possession of the youthful Prince, who is in the power of the party which she favours and assists.

Villeroy has returned from Scotland, and says that it is difficult even to hope that any agreement can be come to. With regard to what reply or hope he had from Queen Elizabeth concerning her marriage with Monsieur the brother of his most Christian Majesty, not one word has as yet been uttered.

L'Aubespine has returned from Spain. He reports that the King will proceed to Flanders next month or in September, and that his Majesty has approved the reply given to the English to their demand for Calais. After the arrival of the above-named the Queen (of France) showed signs of the most intense satisfaction, but no one knows the cause.

An edict has at last been published in this city, extending to the whole province, whereby under the severest penalties of life and property the exercise of the new religion is prohibited, except in such places (and this clause was inserted by the Chancellor) as shall be licensed by his Majesty.

This proceeding has given great offence, because henceforth it is established that what has hitherto been done clandestinely and by overweening presumption may now be done by his Majesty's permission.

Paris, 12th July 1567.

[*Italian.*]

July 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

396. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The disturbances in Scotland have caused their most Christian Majesties some anxiety as well as dissatisfaction, because their Majesties have become aware that the insurgents are determined to keep the Queen prisoner, and to punish the Earl of Bothwell (*Boduel*); and a few days since a servant of his was put to death who was accused of having been present at the assassination of the late King.

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Their Majesties also perceive that the Queen of England does not fail to provide the insurgents, although secretly, with every species of aid both in money and with troops, for the purpose, as it is said, of obtaining possession of the young Prince, and thus to have in hand a sure and certain pledge that the kingdom must become dependent upon her; and if this plan does not succeed, she hopes by means of her adherents to detach Scotland from the Crown of France, to which, by an ancient confederacy which has endured for more than two hundred successive years, it has been continuously allied, to the no small advantage both of one country and the other. Therefore their Majesties, in order to counteract and defeat these designs, have most strongly urged the Bastard of Scotland [the Earl of Murray] to exert himself to obtain the tranquillity of the kingdom, and the safety of his sister. He made profuse promises, and departed in great haste.

If he so desired, there is no doubt, according to general opinion, that all difficulties might be settled in a very few days, because amongst the principal chiefs of the insurgents who have in their power the Prince and the Queen, one is her uncle by the mother's side, another is her uterine brother, and a third is her brother-in-law, as the husband of a sister of her's likewise uterine, so that the great authority of these personages united to their relationship might enable them to do what they pleased; but as the Bastard is known to be of a restless disposition and full of ill will, it is much doubted whether the special hostility which exists between himself and the Earl of Bothwell, and his anger against the Queen, which lately arose when he left the kingdom, may have not more influence with him than the obligations of nature and the promises which he made to their most Christian Majesties, who, in order that he might depart well satisfied, had presented him with two thousand silver crowns, and had offered him a yearly pension of two thousand francs. He however declined to accept these favours, and was known to have said, that if their Majesties desired to give him a pension, they should treat him as King Henry had treated the Earls of Argyle (*Arghil*) and Huntly (*Ontle*), who besides having been created Knights of the Order [of St. Michael], had each received a provision of five thousand francs.

The same day that this Bastard departed hence the Earl of Arran arrived here, having been summoned by his Majesty, who indeed had him sought for in many parts of the kingdom; for although he was known to have been in these parts since more than a year ago, it was not however known where he was.

This Earl is nearer related to the Crown of Scotland than anyone else; he ruled that kingdom till the Queen married her first husband; and his father, James Hamilton, Duke of Châtellerault, during these disturbances has shown himself favourable to the Queen.

His Majesty has persuaded the Earl of Arran likewise to proceed to Scotland, and he consented willingly to do so. He is now gone to Dieppe, where he will await the particular order of his most Christian Majesty, being ready to do whatever his Majesty may please.

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[Mons.] Lignerolles has also been sent to Scotland with all speed, to watch the proceedings of both sides, and he will remain there until succeeded by Mons. de Croc, Ambassador in ordinary, who departed thence when the Queen was made prisoner.

Paris, 26th July 1567.

[*Italian.*]

July 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

397. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador [Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex] has already arrived in Bavaria, where he has been feasted and entertained by that Prince with every kind of honour. It cannot be long before he will arrive at Vienna, wherefore his Majesty [the Emperor Maximilian II.] attends as much as possible to the despatch of the particular negotiations of these Hungarians, so that he may return to Vienna, whither the Court is journeying.

Posen (*Possonio*), 30th July 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

398. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The partisans of the Queen of Scotland have by letter implored these Majesties to render her aid, and not permit the kingdom to fall into the hands of those who could not govern without greatly prejudicing the power of the Crown. His Majesty wrote forthwith to those personages, requesting and requiring them to set the Queen at liberty, and if they failed to do so, his Majesty protested that he was prepared to assist her. The Queen of England has made a similar communication, adding that if the Queen [of Scotland] when at liberty thought fit to proceed against her opponents, in such case she the Queen of England would not fail to assist her. This announcement would appear on the face of it to be both loving and friendly, but they write that it is dishonest, because the Queen of England is all the while supplying the Scotch insurgents with money.

Paris, 8th August 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

399. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

A report is current that in Scotland the Prince has been crowned, and a government appointed consisting of six persons, three of whom, by name the Earls Arran (*Aram*), Huntly (*Anteli*), and Argyle (*Argil*), are of the Queen's party, and the other three, namely, the Earls of Glencairn, Athol (*Altol*), and Murray (*Moré*), who is the Bastard, are of the opposite faction. The Queen will be set at liberty, but without having any share in the government. She has agreed to these conditions, being constrained to do so from necessity and for her own immediate advantage. The Earl of Bothwell (*Boduel*) gave out that he had to make a sea voyage, and

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the Queen of England having heard this intelligence despatched an armed vessel to endeavour to seize him. We hear from England that six large vessels have been fitted out and loaded with provisions as a present for his Catholic Majesty. The Queen of England has lately liberated the eight bishops who have been so long in prison; this news is probably correct, as the Queen (of France) has congratulated the Nuncio upon it, and told him that she had received it from her Ambassador in England.

Compiegne, 22nd August 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

400. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Four days ago the English Ambassador had letters from his Queen, and in consequence thereof he remained that day with the Emperor for a long time; and it appears that the negotiation for the marriage is being pressed forward. Since this last interview good hopes are entertained of the conclusion of the marriage, owing to the manifestations of joyfulness made both by the English and by the ministers of his Majesty, who have been deputed to the service of the Ambassador and to keep him company, as they do, being with him at all hours. The Ambassador greatly desires to see the Archduke, but his Highness, being wholly intent on hunting, was about to remove still further from these parts, after meeting with the Archbishop of Salzburg; but his Majesty having despatched a courier [ordering him] to return, it is said that he will come, and already many of his attendants have arrived.

By these letters from England the Ambassador is informed that on the 23rd of the preceding month the Queen of Scotland had renounced to her son the succession, the administration, and all other right which she has in the Crown; and on the 24th this son, who has not yet reached the age of one year, was publicly crowned in the city of Edinburgh, the metropolis of that kingdom; the Queen remaining constantly guarded and as it were besieged in a house where she resides, and which is situate in the middle of a lake (*stagno*). The Earl of Bothwell was going about the kingdom, hiding now in one part, now in another.

The Emperor has had news from Germany of a memorable event which has happened in Sweden. Less than a month since some troops of the King of Denmark fought a battle with those of the King of Sweden, and about 1,500 of the Swedes were killed After the battle, when the victors went to spoil the dead bodies and to bury them, they found more than 500 of the dead to be women, and not men. These women had their hair knotted under their helmets, and were clothed and armed like men; and they had fought valorously. Such a thing was never perhaps heard of by our grandfathers or great grandfathers.

Vienna, 28th August 1567.

[*Italian.*]

1567.
Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

401. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The negotiation with the English Ambassador for the marriage of the Archduke continues to make progress, and the hope of a good conclusion increases daily. The Ambassador has been two other times with his Majesty in lengthy conference, and the day before yesterday he was solemnly banqueted by the chamberlains by order of his Majesty. He is extremely desirous, or rather anxious, to see the Archduke, as he does not entirely trust either the portraits or the report which is made to him. But although the Emperor informed him at the beginning of last week (as he himself told me when he came to visit me) that a courier had been despatched to the Archduke soliciting him to come, nevertheless all the servants of his Highness here and the Emperor's maggiordomo have consistently said that he will not do so. Couriers go to and fro every day, and yesterday the Master of the Horse of his Highness went by post with letters from his Majesty. It may therefore be believed that even should he be summoned he will not come, as is reasonable, until he is certain of the conclusion.

The Ambassador has letters from London with advices that the Queen of Scotland, being shut up and guarded in the place where she is, was grievously ill. It is thought that by this means of secret disease (*per questa via di malattía occulta*) her death will be procured and accelerated, so as to avoid the necessity of performing it (*farla*) in public, because of her connivance and participation in the death of her husband.

Vienna, 4th September 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

402. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A report has been current during the last few days by the letters of merchants that the Catholic King is not likely to arrive; this report has been strengthened and confirmed by private persons, and a wonderful change is suddenly visible in the minds of these people; the Catholics are greatly distressed, while, on the other hand, the Huguenots have already begun to raise their heads, which they had lowered, when they considered the arrival of his Majesty to be certain; and there is no doubt that the presence of his Majesty would alone be of the greatest possible advantage to this kingdom.

Compiegne, 4th September 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

403. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor has been so seriously unwell that he has had to keep his chamber and his bed, and orders were sent to Archduke Charles to come here as soon as possible; but as on the following

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day his Majesty's health showed great improvement, the Archduke was immediately written to not to move himself on this account. It is thought that in three or four days his Majesty will resume affairs as usual.

The negotiation for the English marriage, owing to his Majesty's indisposition, remains in the same state, without any change one way or the other. Many persons of authority believe it will have no result, and allege that they know this from a good quarter, and they will take 50 to pay 500 if it succeed. Others, and especially the principal courtiers, say the contrary. The Ambassador and all his attendants continue to have the most ardent desire to see the Archduke, and cannot doubt that he will come, at least for the purpose of visiting the Emperor. The Ambassador does not think that he will have a speedy determination upon the matters which have been treated, because he is almost sure (*come sicuro*) that the matrimonial articles brought and proposed by him have been sent to Spain, neither the Emperor nor his brother [the Archduke] wishing, as is probable, to proceed in such an affair to a conclusion without the participation and counsel, and perhaps without the assistance (*opera*) of the King Catholic, on account of the authority which they know him to have with the Queen [Elizabeth].

An Imperial Diet is now being held in Erfurt (*Erfordia*), a town of the Empire, touching many particulars which remained undecided in the last Diet of Ratisbon, held last April; and especially touching the contributions to be made towards the expenses of the late war of Gotha (*Gotta*). In the same Diet his Imperial Majesty and the King of Spain have caused a denial (*scusa*) to be made of certain false articles published throughout Germany of a pretended (*falsa*) confederation of their Majesties with the Pope for the extirpation of heretics and of all the sects which are not Catholic. That publication was made purposely and craftily in order to put his Majesty in distrust (*diffidentia*) with the whole of Germany.

Vienna, 11th September 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

404. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The negotiation of the English marriage remains suspended, as I wrote, until the first advices arrive from Spain.

Vienna, 11th September 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

405. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

Lignerolles (*Lignarola*) has returned from Scotland without having been able to speak with the Queen, who is said to be shut up between four walls, without any aperture except a small window through which food is supplied to her, and to have but one maid-servant to attend upon her. It is true, as I wrote, that the Prince

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was crowned on the 22nd of the last month, and six persons appointed in his government; since then the bastard brother of the Queen [the Earl of Murray] has been appointed Regent with supreme authority, and he forthwith published a proclamation that no one was to practise our Catholic religion. These Majesties have despatched thither a knight of the Order of St. Michael, by name Pachie (*sic*), and have commissioned him to request the Earl of Arran to come to France; this nobleman, who stands nearer to the crown of Scotland than any one else, is in Dieppe, where he is awaiting the orders of his most Christian Majesty.

Compiegne, 18th September 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

406. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The negotiation of the English marriage, as I have been told by a great personage who has a great hand in its management, has resolved itself into only two difficulties, the rest of the Articles being considered as settled. The first difficulty is that the Queen stands very firm in her resolve not to agree to marry any man until she has first seen him, and became personally acquainted with him; saying that she does this for no other reason than because she has so sworn; and as she does not wish to break or contravene her oath, she insists that the Archduke shall repair thither. A similar proposition was made last year by the English gentleman named Mr. Dannett (*Mistro Anet*), who was sent here by post on the same business, and who received the same answer as is now given, which is, that the Queen should disabuse herself of this idea, as the Archduke would never consent to that which not even a private gentleman would consent to (namely), to go with such indignity to make a show of himself, and to submit to the risk of suffering a repulse. The Ambassador replied with an offer to give security to the Archduke that before he departs he shall have a tacit and secret promise from all the principal Lords of the kingdom proper in this case, to compel the Queen (*una tacita et secreta promissione da tutti li Signori prencipali del Regno, atti in questo caso, a forzar la Regina*), so that he shall not go on chance, and that the marriage shall take effect. Nevertheless it is still insisted [on this side] that the Archduke will not go unless the matter be first arranged and stipulated in every respect, as is customary between Princes, and between persons contracting marriage in absence.

The other difficulty is about religion. Whereas in the first negotiation of Mr. Dannett, the Queen was unwilling that the Archduke should live otherwise than according to the rites and usages of England; now the Ambassador modifies this article, proposing that the question of religion shall be discussed after the Archduke's arrival in England, and stating the intention to be not otherwise to bind his Highness to live in their fashion, but to gratify him in all that they honestly can, provided it can be done without danger of disturbance or disorder of the kingdom. As

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to this point, the Emperor and Archduke wish the matter of religion to be treated and resolved here, as they are unwilling to submit to the power or will of others in that respect. And although the Archduke demands that a church shall be granted and assigned to him, nevertheless the Ambassador [merely] condescends to a private chapel in his (the Archduke's) own palace, but on the understanding that all that shall be agreed to as to religion shall be kept most secret, and treated as if it had not been spoken, to the end it may appear that the determination is made in England with universal participation and consent.

Upon these two difficulties the Ambassador has this very day despatched a gentleman of his, named Mr. Henry Cobham, by post to England, with the requisite instructions. On this gentleman's return, which cannot be before the end of forty days, it will be discovered for certain whether the Queen is dissembling, as many believe (putting forward these difficulties because she has no mind to marry out of the kingdom, and perhaps does not intend to marry at all), or whether she speaks and wishes to act in earnest.

Vienna, 16th October 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

407. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

News has arrived that [the Count de] Montgomery (*Mongomeri*), who killed King Henry [II.], has taken Etampes (*Tampes*).

The castle was holding out, but not being a strong place it had to surrender; his Majesty had sent in relief Count Sara Martinengo with two ensigns of infantry and one company of men-at-arms, but the force arrived too late, and was compelled to turn back.

This locality is called the granary of Paris, because from thence comes a large quantity of grain, and it is easy to see that the plan is to starve this city, which begins to feel the consequences of an enemy who is near at hand, and who is master of many rivers.

Paris, 18th October 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

408. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The castle of Etampes has been retaken, and a garrison of three hundred soldiers has been sent thither.

The Huguenots, who, by the arrival of Montgomery, and some other small aid, had increased their force to three thousand five hundred horse, and about the same number of infantry, gave battle at midday in the face of all this city, and took the bridge of Charenton (*Sciarantone*), which is one mile distant from hence. The Captain offered no defence whatever, although he might have behaved valiantly; he then thought fit to come and excuse himself, but this availed him nothing, and he was hanged by the neck.

Paris, 31st October 1567.

[*Italian.*]

1567.
Nov. 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

409. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

I inquired of the most Christian Queen whether the Huguenots were expecting any foreign aid, and she replied, "We have no fear on this account, except from England and Germany.

"Our Ambassador in England writes us that the Queen continues to evince the greatest displeasure at the disturbances here, and says that she desires to be a good sister to the King my son."

Paris, 8th November 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

410. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Constable has received several dangerous wounds, one of which was from an harquebus shot, discharged by a Scotchman of the House of Stuart. The unfortunate old man said to the Scotchman, "You do not know me, I am the Constable;" and the Scotchman replied, "Because I know you, I give you this," and with these words he fired his harquebus.

I have kept this letter open till the 12th; the Constable is worse, and the physicians give him but two hours to live.

Paris, 11th November 1567.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 15.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

411. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Constable died on the 12th instant, and his death is much regretted.

Paris, 15th November 1567.

[*Italian.*]

1567.
Dec. 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

412. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The time is approaching for the return of the English gentleman with the resolution touching the treaty of marriage, and this [English] Ambassador cannot believe that he will fail to arrive within six or eight days. The Ambassador has told me frankly that it will not depend upon the question of religion (as that article is as good as settled) whether the affair goes forward, although some persons, including some of the highest in this Court, believe the contrary. This negotiation prevents his Majesty from departing for Bohemia, but he will do so immediately after it is determined either one way or the other. The Archduke Charles is making preparations to go next month to the nuptials [of the Duke] of Bavaria, having already summoned the nobles of his States to accompany him, as he wishes to journey thither with due ceremony, since he will also represent his Imperial Majesty; but his [attendants] write that his Highness will first come here.

Vienna, 4th December 1567.

[*Italian.*]

1567.
Dec. 11.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

413. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The English Ambassador has letters of the 15th ult. from his gentleman who was despatched to the Queen, and who writes that he will arrive six or eight days after the arrival of these letters. He announces that he is the bearer of a favourable resolution, all that was negotiated here by the Ambassador having been heard with much satisfaction by the Queen and by the Council. The Emperor does not cease showing the customary favours to the Ambassador, in taking him to hunt, and in doing him honour in every way.

Vienna, 11th December 1567.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

414. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The negotiation with England will be resumed now that the English gentleman, who was expected, has returned. He arrived yesterday evening, to the great satisfaction of his Majesty, who desires, after the lapse of six months since the Ambassador commenced his negotiation, at length to see it concluded one way or the other. The Ambassador on his part desires the same result, as he considers himself to have been more than duly burdensome to his Majesty and his ministers, having been continually entertained by the Court with all his attendants, who exceed one hundred mouths, with the utmost liberality and honour, so that it is said that their charges have amounted to more than three thousand florins each month.

As yet it cannot be ascertained what decision has been brought by this gentleman, but by the outward joyfulness manifested by all the English they give it to be understood that he has brought a favourable reply, the purport of which must be known very soon. This evening the Ambassador has been in long audience with his Majesty.

Vienna, 1st January 1567[-8].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

415. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

We hear from England that the Estates are being held in Scotland, and that the Queen's imprisonment has been so far relaxed that she is occasionally permitted to go hunting under a guard.

Paris, 11th January 1568.

[*Italian.*]

1568.
Jan. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

416. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Concerning the affair of England, I had an interview yesterday with this Ambassador, who, in a long discourse and conversation which he had with me about many things, very familiarly spoke of the marriage.

He told me not to believe that the Queen, by prolonging the negotiation and postponing her determination, did not intend to proceed to its consummation, because this was a matter of the greatest importance and consideration, which should be treated with all deliberation. Seeing the universal commotion throughout Christendom on account of religion, it was proper for the Queen to act with great precaution in that respect. As she herself did not wish to forsake her own religion, and still less wished the Archduke to change his, it was important to remove all occasion for insurrection or public disturbance which might arise in that kingdom by reason of this difference (of opinion). It was therefore necessary that he (the Ambassador) should return to England to give account to the Queen in his own person and *vivâ voce* of many things which he had treated and agreed here about this matter with the Emperor and the Archduke, and which concerned the firm, sure, and perpetual peace and quiet of that kingdom, combined with its subjection to both princes (the Queen and the Archduke).

The Ambassador continued that I might cherish the same great hope of the conclusion of the marriage as he did himself; enlarging at this point on the honour and repute which the Emperor would acquire from this marriage, besides the benefit which would accrue to him both by the aid which might be expected from that kingdom against the Turk, and also by the acquisition which his Majesty would make, for one of his sons, of the states of his brother (*del fratello*), who would very willingly exchange them for a kingdom and country like England, which is able to provide, with greater liberality than Styria and Carinthia, not only for him, but for all his descendants, were they as numerous as he could wish.

The Ambassador added, that it might happen that, before he arrived in England, a reply of such a tenour might come thence, that nothing else would be required for the conclusion. But in reality, as the Ambassador departs without any decision, every one at the Court believes and considers it certain that nothing else will follow. He talks of taking leave next week, and is waiting only for a final audience which he says the Emperor intends to give him, who, from the first day to the last, has favoured and honoured him extremely.

Vienna, 15th January 1567[-8.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Copy, Venetian Archives.

417. COPY of a LETTER from ——— to GIOVANNI MICHIEL; enclosed in Michiel's Despatch of 22nd January.

From the many conversations which I have had with the Archduke since I first came here, on the subject of his marriage, I could never derive anything certain, but I found his Highness's mind more

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averse (*discosto*) than ever; and now it would seem to be fixed on nothing else but preparing himself to go to the marriage and festivities of Bavaria, to which he has been invited. The marriage will take place on the 20th of next month, and he will depart on the 6th.

The truth is, as his Highness has told me, that the Emperor during all this time has written only one letter, soon after his Highness came here, and that was very brief, and announced no conclusion, save that the Emperor, after the relation made to him by the English Ambassador on the coming of that English gentleman who had been expected, had commanded the Ambassador to put all he had said into writing, in order that it might be the better reviewed and considered, and then sent to the Archduke. This fact has been confirmed to me by the chief Secretary of his Highness, and by one of the principal servants of his Highness who is not now here. The latter writes to me that his Highness does not wish anything to be known about this matter until the termination of a Diet which he has called of all his territories, because it is feared that if the men of the country (*quelli del paese*) heard that his Highness had received the Queen's final decision, and that the Queen and Archduke had agreed together, they (the men of the country) would not grant the Archduke any one of his demands, as the whole country is much opposed to this marriage; and for this reason the negotiations are kept secret.

By the same letter I am informed that as soon as the Emperor understood from the relation of the Ambassador that some few difficulties still remained, a despatch was immediately sent to the Queen, without saying anything to the Archduke, and a reply thereto is awaited. I find in the said letter many facts stated, from which the writer concludes that the affair is settled, but kept secret for the reason I have written.

Gratz, 17th January 1567[-8].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

418. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Doge and Senate.

The Emperor has attended all this week to the affair of England, and within the last four days the Ambassador has been twice in long audience with his Imperial Majesty. I learn from many quarters that, conformably to what the Ambassador lately told me, there remains nothing else to consider except the article touching religion, as all the other articles, if not already agreed to, will be settled with little difficulty.

The article touching religion remains undecided, because the Queen will not by any means concede to the Archduke a public chapel, still less a public church, with its music, choristers, organs, and all the other solemnities usual in the chapels of princes, such as the Archduke would wish to have. The Queen's excuse is, that if the kingdom would not concede this to herself, should she wish to introduce any innovation in religion, still less can she concede it to his Highness; and that it will be quite sufficient for him, at first, to have a private

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chapel within the palace, wherein to have a private mass said to himself and his attendants, as he might hope in course of time to have not only a church, but even something more than that.

But what matters most is, as I am told by a person very likely to know, that the Archduke consents to what it is most difficult to believe he would consent; namely, that he will go to England to settle the marriage in person, without first having any other certainty than an assurance to be given in a letter which the Queen will write with her own hand to the Emperor, to this or the like effect: that if the Archduke goes there for the purpose of marriage, he will not go on chance (*a caso*), but the Queen will show the respect due both to himself by reason of the nobility and greatness of his house and his own personal qualities, and to the Emperor, a prince so loved, esteemed, and honoured by her; and that she will not fail to give to both of them all due satisfaction, so that they shall remain content. Thus, if this article be agreed upon, the whole negotiation depending on it, it may well be believed that they will agree upon the others.

In view of the voyage which the Archduke is to make into England, I know that the Bishop of Olmutz in Moravia, a prelate with more than 40,000 florins revenue, has been spoken to, and requested to bear him company; and the Bishop is now beginning to make some preparations, wishing to go there honourably if the voyage takes place. Your Serenity will also see from the copy of a letter annexed hereto,* what is written to me about this marriage by a friend of mine, who is with the Archduke, and has frequent opportunities of seeing and speaking familiarly with his Highness.

The leave-taking and departure of the English Ambassador continues to be deferred from week to week, and will perhaps be deferred still longer, his Majesty having been attacked by a certain indisposition of hæmorrhoids from which he usually suffers, and which since yesterday has kept him in bed.

Vienna, 22nd January 1567[–8].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

419. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

We have heard from Scotland that the Estates are being held, and that before considering other business, they had confirmed the Bastard in the government of the kingdom, and had also determined to enforce conformity with the new religion, by enacting a penalty with regard to noblemen who should do the contrary, of confiscation of all their property to the Crown for the first offence, and death for the second; and that all other persons so offending were to lose both life and property without any remission of sentence whatever.

The Earl of Bothwell (*Boduel*) is understood to have been banished in perpetuity, and all his property confiscated to the Crown. The

* See 17th January.

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Earl is now in Denmark, protected by the King. The Queen of Scotland is still kept a prisoner, with the same severity as at first.

Paris, 27th January 1568.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

420. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

We hear from Scotland that the Regent had arrested certain servants of the Earl of Bothwell who had left Denmark, and had landed in the Orkneys. By the Regent's order some of these persons were immediately executed, and the remainder were sent to the Court. Amongst these last there was one man in particular who had with his own hands assassinated the late King. This individual asked permission to speak with the Regent and his Council, which having been granted, and the man brought before them, he, turning to the Regent, said, "I forbear to speak of the two personages by your side because they are present; I am likewise silent concerning yourself, by reason of the rank which you hold; but who is there amongst these others that can accuse me, because I well know that if I with these hands accomplished the King's death, they also were accessories both by their wishes and their counsel." He then exonerated the Queen, saying that she had been deceived; and he would have made many other disclosures, had he not been interrupted and forthwith put to death.

It is expected this man's confessions will cause severe proceedings to be taken against the Queen, and great fears are entertained for her life.

The Regent was desirous to send an Ambassador here, but his most Christian Majesty has declined to receive any Ambassador except the Ambassador now accredited to this Court in the name of the Queen of Scotland.

Paris, 8th February 1568.

[*Italian.*]

March 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

421. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

This day I attended her most Christian Majesty, when she spoke to me as follows: "It appears to me, Lord Ambassador, that some fierce constellation this year rages against Princes; you see with your own eyes what hath befallen us; the Catholic King is afflicted by the misfortune with which you are acquainted, and which we consider to be far greater than our own, because it is better to be troubled by your subjects than by your own son. Even the Turk, as you say, has to deal with disturbances within his states; evil rumours are not wanting from Germany, and the Emperor hesitates between peace and war.

"The Queen of Scotland is prisoner, and the Queen of England does not live without suspicion of those about her. Therefore we may say that there is apprehension in every quarter, and I am bound

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to believe that these results are created by the providence of God, who by these afflictions means to make his power to be known to everyone, and also to compel the Catholic Princes to unite together against the enemies of our faith, a result which I myself have always ardently desired, as the Cardinal Santa Croce will attest, because while he was Nuncio here I exhorted him to go to Rome and entreat the Pope in our name to induce the Catholic King, together with your Signory and every other Catholic Prince, to form a union for the Catholic faith."

Paris, 11th March 1568.

[*Italian.*]

March 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

422. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Queen of England had offered to mediate for peace, being convinced that it would endure to the satisfaction of both parties. The Queen [of France] answered the English Ambassador, who spoke to her on this subject the day before yesterday, that she returned the Queen of England endless thanks for her good and loving offer, but that the negotiation was so far advanced, that no intervention was necessary, and she added her hope that within two days the final conclusion would be arrived at.

Paris, 21st March 1568.

[*Italian.*]

April 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

423. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The gentleman who went first to England, and then to Scotland, with news of the peace, was also commissioned to remind the Bastard of what he promised his Majesty when he departed hence; and to exhort him to keep his promise, and not any longer to wrong himself, and nature, by keeping the Queen his sister thus a prisoner.

Paris, 17th April 1568.

[*Italian.*]

May 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

424. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The French Ambassador in England [Mons. de la Forest] sends news, that on the 4th instant the Queen of Scotland had escaped from prison with the assistance of one Lord de Herries (*Heris*), her confidant, a very good Catholic, who had brought upon carts some boats with which he carried off the Queen, who was imprisoned in a place surrounded by a lake; and then he took her to Dumbarton, an impregnable fortress, which alone of all other fortresses was devoted to her. Thus all the Kingdom is now in arms, and very great convulsions are expected.

Paris, 14th May 1568.

[*Italian.*]

1568. May 26. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

425. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

A gentleman came from Scotland with confirmation of the Queen's flight, which took place thus.

The Queen of Scotland was advised by Lord Seton (*Sciatun*), her most confidential Catholic friend, and a very brave gentleman, by means of a lad of the house who never returned, that he on an appointed day would be with about fifty horsemen at the lake of Loch-leven, where the Queen was held a prisoner. Seton remained with forty horsemen in the mountains at a short distance, so as not to be discovered by the occupants of the castle in the lake, and the other ten, approaching nearer, entered a village, pretending to be travellers; and one of these men went to the edge of the lake itself, and prostrating himself on the ground, so as not to be seen, waited, according to the order given, until the Queen should come forth, as arranged.

Guard was continually kept at the castle gate day and night, except during supper, at which time the gate was locked with a key, every one going to supper, and the key was always placed on the table where the Governor took his meals, and before him. The Governor is the uterine brother of the Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, the Queen's illegitimate brother and her mortal enemy. The Queen, having attempted to descend from a window unsuccessfully, contrived that a page of the Governor's, whom she had persuaded to this effect, when carrying a dish, in the evening of the 2nd of May, to the table of his master with a napkin before him, should place the napkin on the key, and in removing the napkin take up the key with it, and carry it away unperceived by anyone. Having done so, the page then went directly to the Queen, and told her all was ready; and she, having in the meanwhile been attired by the elder of the two maids who waited upon her, took with her by the hand the younger maid, a girl ten years old, and with the page went quietly to the door, and he having opened it, the Queen went out with him and the younger girl (*et con la putta*), and locked the gate outside with the same key, without which it could not be opened from within. They then got into a little boat which was kept for the service of the castle, and displaying a white veil of the Queen's with a red tassel, she made the concerted signal to those who awaited her, that she was approaching. On seeing this, the person stretched on the ground on the bank of the lake arose, and by another signal summoned the horsemen from the village, amongst whom a principal person was he [John Beaton] who is now come to give account of these facts to these Majesties, and who is the brother of the Scottish Ambassador here [James Beaton, Bishop of Glasgow]. The horsemen from the mountains being also informed came immediately to the lake, and received the Queen with infinite joy, and having placed her on horseback with the page and the girl, they conveyed her to the sea coast, at a distance of five miles from thence, because to proceed by land to the place which had been designated appeared manifestly too dangerous. All having embarked, the Queen was conducted to Niddry (*Nidre*), a place belonging to Lord Seton, and from thence to Hamilton, a castle of the Duke of Châtellerault, where his brother, the

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Archbishop of St. Andrew's, with other principal personages of those parts, acknowledged her as Queen.

Hamilton is a favourable basis for military operations, and four leagues distant from Dumbarton, which is a seaport and a very strong fortress, but the Queen will not proceed thither because she feels quite safe in Hamilton, for the Archbishop of St. Andrew's has command over all the adjacent country, and she can thus more easily receive at Hamilton the friends who may come to her assistance than in the fortress of Dumbarton, whither, however, she might proceed at any time in case of necessity.

All Scotland is in motion, some declaring for the Queen, and some against her and for the Earl of Murray.

She sends this gentleman to ask the King of France, for her present need, for a thousand harquebusiers, but should she wish to recover Edinburgh and other fortresses occupied by the rebels, she would require to be assisted by a greater number. She has also written a letter to the Cardinal of Lorraine which should move every hard heart to have compassion upon her; the first lines express that she begs pardon of God, and of the world, for the past errors of her youth, which she promises to amend for the future; then she acknowledges her release solely from His Divine Majesty, and returns Him most humble thanks for having given her so much strength in these her afflictions; and she declares that she has never swerved in the least from her firm purpose to live and die a Catholic, as she now intends to do more than ever.

With regard to her flight it is judged here, by those who know the site, and how strictly she was guarded, that her escape was most miraculous, most especially having been contrived by two lads, under ten years of age, who could not be presupposed to have the requisite judgment and secrecy.

To the greater satisfaction with the result may be added, that the inmates of Lochleven castle perceived the flight; but being shut up within it, and thus made prisoners, they had to take patience, and to witness the Queen's escape, while they remained at the windows of the castle.

But now, if the current report be true, the Queen of Scotland, following the course of her fickle fortune, gives news of her troops having been routed near Glasgow; all her chief adherents being killed, or made prisoners, and the Captain (*sic*) of Domberdran (*Dumilrenan*) having fled to England by sea. We are now awaiting information, as the Scotch here support themselves with the hope that all may not be true, assigning reasons for their doubts.

The English Ambassador [Sir Henry Norris], before he knew this last fact, went to his most Christian Majesty, and told him he had heard that there was a project to succour the Queen of Scotland, which in his opinion would be superfluous, because his Queen would not fail to favour and assist her with what was needed. These words were instantly repeated to the Queen [of France], who told the Ambassador that this was precisely the time to have compassion on the Queen of Scotland and to favour her, after having taken refuge in England.

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The Ambassador seemed not to know the last news, but affirmed that his Queen would certainly do as anticipated.

Her Majesty [of France] has despatched a gentlemen to know in what condition the Queen of Scotland is, and whether she is in Scotland or in England.

Paris, 26th May 1568.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

426. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The news of the defeat of the troops of the Queen of Scotland was true. She had assembled about eight thousand men, who had flocked to her from divers parts, and for greater security she wished to shut herself up in Dumbarton, which is a very strong castle, but she could not get there without crossing the Clyde, over which there is but one bridge near Glasgow, and that was already occupied by the enemy. It was therefore determined to cross the river where it flows into the sea, a number of boats being sent to the spot for that purpose. The Regent, aware of this, went in pursuit with four thousand men; whereupon the Queen appointed as her Lieutenant-General the Earl of Argyle, who had just joined her, and who is her brother-in-law through his wife, Queen Mary's natural sister, and he with six thousand men gave Murray battle.

The contest lasted for three-quarters of an hour, when the Queen's troops were worsted, but only one hundred and fifty of her followers were killed, for the Regent exerted himself extremely to prevent his troops shedding blood. The prisoners exceeded three hundred, including many noblemen, amongst whom, moreover, is that Lord Seton who was the chief instrument and leader in effecting the Queen's escape. Finding herself defeated, the Queen set out for England, accompanied by a son of the Duke of Châtellerault, by Lord Fleming, by the Earl of Maxwell, and some twenty-five other attendants, and she travelled a distance of one hundred and twenty-five miles without any rest. She stopped at a place called Workington, which is four miles within the English border. She did not discover herself, but was recognised by a Scotchman, who informed the warden of the castle, and the latter went immediately to receive her, with great marks of respect, and posted guards on all sides to prevent pursuit by the enemy.

When the Queen of England heard this news she appeared much pleased, and immediately despatched to Carlisle, where the Queen of Scotland now is, her Lord Chamberlain (*sic*) and the Governor of the place [Lord Scroop, Warden of the Marches], with clothes of silk and jewels for her wear, and in London a palace is being prepared for her with great pomp. Queen Elizabeth promises to give her all aid for the recovery of her kingdom, and has written to this effect to their Majesties here, who have besought her warmly thus to do; but it is said that she will not allow Queen Mary to come to France, as was believed to be her intention, but will detain her in England until she sees the result, it appearing that there is already some talk of an adjustment.

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The same Scottish gentleman, John Beaton, who brought the news of Queen Mary's escape, in which he indeed took part, has come to me in her name, to say that all her valuables, and especially her jewels, are in the hands of the enemy, who got possession of them when they imprisoned her. She is now apprehensive of their being sent for sale abroad, and possibly to Venice, which is one of the chief and wealthiest marts in the world; and he therefore requested me to co-operate with him in assisting her by writing to your Serenity, in order that should any jewels reach our city and be recognised, from their extreme beauty and quality, or through any other circumstance, the Signory may be pleased to have them detained until the Queen can send the necessary proofs. This I readily promised him to do, assuring him at the same time, that out of the love ever borne by your Serenity towards his Queen, you would willingly comply with the present request or any other that could possibly be of service to her.

Paris, 6th June 1568.

[*Italian.*]

June 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

427. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen of Scotland is approaching London, and has sent Lord Fleming to Queen Elizabeth, who has given him leave to go to the French Court, where Queen Catherine de' Medici and the Guises are expecting the return of Montmorin, whom they had sent to England for news of the real situation of their daughter-in-law and niece, for it was already rumoured that instead of aiding the Queen of Scotland, Queen Elizabeth intended to detain her; and the ground of this suspicion rested on the fact of Middlemore's mission to the Regent Murray, demanding his rejoinder to the charges brought against him by his half-sister, and requesting leniency in favour of her adherents.

Paris, 24th June 1568.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

428. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Scottish royalists intercepted a packet of letters on their way from England to the Regent Murray; one of them was addressed to him by his own secretary then resident with Queen Elizabeth; and five of the other letters were from members of her Privy Council, including Secretary Cecil.

The writers unanimously urged Murray to be of good cheer, as Queen Elizabeth would most assuredly not aid Queen Mary in the least against him; adding that he was not to credit whatever he might hear to the contrary.

The packet also contained some letters from certain Scotch archers of the guard of Charles IX., who in like manner assured the Regent that he had nothing to fear from France.

This intercepted correspondence was immediately consigned to Queen Mary, who forwarded the letters of the archers to her

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mother-in-law at Paris, and the rest to Queen Elizabeth, requesting her, if she disapproved of their contents, to give some manifest proof of resentment. Some little stir was therefore made to save appearances; all the Privy Councillors stoutly denied their own handwriting; Murray's secretary alone confessing that he had written thus in order to "comfort" his master; and so it becomes daily more and more evident that Queen Mary has nothing to hope from England.

It was also said in Paris that the Earl of Leicester ranked amongst the bitterest of Queen Mary's enemies; and that when told of her demand for leave to go to France, Queen Elizabeth exclaimed, "My prudence would weigh but lightly were I to permit the departure of her who lays claim to be mistress of this realm, and who of yore assumed its arms and title."

Paris, 20th July 1568.

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

429. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

News has been received in Paris of Queen Mary's removal from Carlisle to Bolton Castle.

It was expected that an interview would take place there between the two Queens, and that as Queen Elizabeth had commenced her usual progress, she would hold it on the way.

Queen Mary was also reported to have denied ever having consented to the murder of Darnley, adding that if permitted to confer with Queen Elizabeth, she promised to give a detailed account of all the circumstances, and to prove her innocence.

Paris, 28th July 1568.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

430. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Messer Giovanni Battista Gondi, a Florentine merchant greatly esteemed by these Majesties, and very useful to them in money matters, called upon me to-day, and gave me information concerning the King's inability from want of money to continue the war, and anticipate the enemy's movements. Gondi considered that if this state of things continued, a fire might blaze forth which would appal not only this kingdom, but the whole of Christendom, and that signs of this were even now apparent; for the Queen of England had written that these recent disturbances had greatly displeased her, and desired to know the cause of them, and offering herself as judge and mediator; and in the event of her proposal being rejected, she wished it to be understood that she could not do less than become united and allied with all Gospellers, the Queen including under this expression not only the Huguenots, but all other species of heretics.

Public matters being thus in a somewhat critical condition, the Cardinal had determined to ask for a loan upon security of the

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wine duties, which had been granted for six years, and which were yielding about 300,000 crowns per annum.

Paris, 11th September 1568.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

431. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

In my last letter I alluded to the Gospellers. His most Christian Majesty, who is now in good health, and intent on recovering his strength, would not answer the English Ambassador, who had spoken to him upon the matter referred to in my last letter, but said that he would speak of it in the Council, and in the meanwhile the Ambassador was requested to put into writing what he had said, which he did forthwith. It seems that he made use of words and expressions too dictatorial, at which everyone took great offence. According to my information the substance of his observations was, that his Queen marvelled greatly that his Majesty had not observed his promises made to those of the new religion, but was about to publish an edict to prohibit entirely the exercise of that religion; a decision which had greatly displeased the Queen, who advised the King for the quiet of his kingdom not to act thus, and offered to mediate herself with regard to any difficulty which might exist. She protested that otherwise she could not do less than assist the Gospellers, and also write to all the princes of the same religion, not to abandon them. She referred in particular to the Queen of France, saying that she had fallen too much under the influence of interested persons, specifying the Cardinal of Lorraine, by whose advice all these changes had been brought about.

His Majesty, on receiving the writing from the Ambassador, sent to his house to say that he would not give the reply to him, but that it should be made to his Queen by his most Christian Majesty's Ambassador resident with her;* so the English Ambassador,† understanding from this incident his Majesty's anger, returned once more, and in very humble language endeavoured to appease his Majesty, which causes it to be credited that he, urged by some one here, had exceeded the terms of his commission, and had then repented his conduct. It also seemed strange that they should have heard so soon in England of this edict, which here was only just approved, and its publication delayed, as is still the case, till his Majesty can come hither, and publish it in the Parliament, with his own mouth. In this edict his Majesty declares his will that within his Kingdom no one shall profess any religion save his own, namely, the Roman Catholic religion. His Majesty wills that all the officials, be they of the judicature or of any other class, shall live catholically, or otherwise be deprived of their offices.

He orders the Governors of the Provinces to seize and confiscate the property of all those persons who had taken up arms against this religion.

Paris, 15th September 1568.

[*Italian.*]

* Mons. de la Forest. † Sir Henry Norris.

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Sept. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

432. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Yesterday at vespers the obsequies of the Prince of Spain were commenced, because the former ceremonies, having been interrupted, were not considered complete.

The Queen was present, but placed where she could not be seen; the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon, with all the rest of the principal nobility, were also there. They were all dressed in mourning, and the King himself would have attended had he not been prevented by illness. His Majesty sent to invite the Ambassadors, and presented them Florence serge, according to the custom observed on similar occasions, and in order that they might appear attired in mourning, but only the Ambassador from Scotland and myself attended. The Nuncio was unwell; the Spanish Ambassador alleged that he had had no letters from his King for more than three months, and therefore that he could neither affirm that the Prince was dead, nor assist at his obsequies; the Portuguese Ambassador has departed; the English Ambassador does not attend similar ceremonies; the Ambassador from Savoy stayed away for an unexpressed reason of his own, with which your Serenity is acquainted; and the Ambassadors from Ferrara and Florence were not invited on account of the question of precedence at issue between them, indeed his Majesty intimated to them that they were not to come.

Paris, 21st September 1568.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

433. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Yesterday his most Christian Majesty came into this city, and shortly before his arrival the Parliament published the edict prohibiting entirely the exercise of the new religion, and those who professed it at the peril of their lives were to quit France.

Paris, 29th September 1568.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

434. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I spoke to-day to the Queen of France about the Queen of England. She said, "We have answered her through the Bishop of Rennes, that she ought not to interfere in the affairs of this kingdom, and to consider whether she would be pleased, and think it well done, that we should give assistance to the Catholics of her kingdom, in case they rebelled against her. Our Ambassador wrote to us lately that she said to him, 'I would not, indeed, that your King took amiss what I told him through my Ambassador, as I assuredly did so, urged by the prayers of many persons, and not because it was my own intention; and let his Majesty rest assured that I will never give favour to any rebels, and these persons I consider such.'"

Paris, 4th October 1568.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

435. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

They write from England that the Cardinal de Châtillon had been well and graciously received by Queen Elizabeth, and by all the rest of the Court, but nothing particular has been heard of his negotiations.

Paris, 11th October 1568.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

436. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Bishop of Rennes has returned from England, and reports that Queen Elizabeth was somewhat angry, because he demanded audience of her in the Council, as her Ambassador did here, saying she would not to be placed in the position of this King, who during his minority had need of advisers, and that she could decide for herself without the opinion of others; but at length, after an interval of two days, he had audience, and received a most gracious reply, the summary of which was that she, suspecting that these movements might prejudice the affairs of his most Christian Majesty, had commissioned her Ambassador to say what he had said; but now that all was explained, and having no longer any fear, she intended to continue the good friendship, and have the King for her brother as hitherto.

The Ambassador of the Queen of England waited lately upon their Majesties, and said to them that his Queen hoped that it would not be taken amiss that the Cardinal of Châtillon (*Sciatiglione*) had been received at her Court, because he had been admitted as an individual who had come thither for his own personal safety, and not as a rebel; but that, whenever the Queen received any proof that the Cardinal had devised anything whatever contrary to the welfare of their Majesties, she would not permit him to keep his foot within her kingdom for one single hour. The wife of the Cardinal has gone to join her husband, and it is said that she has been received by the Queen and the whole of her Court with so much honour that more could not be rendered even to a queen.

Paris, 18th October 1568.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

437. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

There are advices from England that a conference is to be held shortly between the Duke of Norfolk (*Nortfolc*), deputed by the Queen of England, some persons from the Queen of Scotland, and the Bastard Regent of Scotland in person, to treat an agreement.

Paris, 28th October 1568.

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 3. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

438. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

It is heard from England that the Deputies for the affairs of the Queen of Scotland had met together at Carlisle, but as yet nothing was known concerning what they had treated.

Paris, 3rd November 1568.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives.

439. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

It is reported from Flanders that Casimir [Duke John Casimir, son of Frederick, Elector Palatine] has furnished three thousand soldiers, and the Duke of Deux-Ponts four thousand; and besides these forces, five thousand infantry have been levied and equipped with the money of the Queen of England. Time will discover the truth, but in the meanwhile it is believed for certain that the Queen has secretly advanced this money; and her intentions are considered the less doubtful, since it has been heard that several English gentlemen were about to leave their country to join the Prince [of Condé] at La Rochelle and follow him in this war. It is idle to say that these gentlemen are going without leave, because such a story is not believed, nor is it indeed credible.

Paris, 9th November 1568.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

440. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Commissioners of the Queen of Scotland, having arrived at the site of the conference, protested before the Duke of Norfolk and others sent by the Queen of England, that they were not come thither as judges, because their Queen was Princess Supreme, and did not acknowledge any superior, but solely to please the Queen of England, her sister. At the moment they were not answered, but the next morning the Duke of Norfolk protested that what they had said could not prejudice in any way the claims his Queen had upon the kingdom of Scotland. The Duke went on to say that he would listen to everyone, but could not do otherwise than give advice of the whole proceedings from time to time to his Queen, and await her reply; and as this going to and fro would consume much time, he counselled the mission of procurators to the Court, who might inform the Queen and receive her reply; and two for each side were deputed to act.

It is believed that this was a device to protract the conference much longer than the unfortunate Queen of Scotland would wish.

It is a lamentable sight to behold the ruins of this city, which cannot be contemplated without horror; all the churches are levelled to the ground, and, from the magnificence of their ruins, it can be well

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understood that they ranked amongst the finest in the whole kingdom.

Orleans, 18th November 1568.

[*Italian.*]

April 1.* Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

441. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

The Ambassador from England [Dr. John Mann], by order of his Queen, has complained to his Majesty that the Duke of Alva had refused to accord to the English nation the privileges which they had previously enjoyed in Flanders, proving that under these circumstances great injury was done to the commerce of both countries. Subsequently the Ambassador had a long interview with Signor Ruy Gomez concerning the many differences between the two nations, but hitherto no settlement had been arrived at.

Madrid, 1st April 1568.

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

442. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador endeavoured to obtain an audience of the King, to deliver certain letters written by the Queen of England, and, in conformity therewith, to complain of the proclamation published at Antwerp, whereby all English merchants were compelled either to live according to Catholic religion or to abandon commercial pursuits and the country also; but the King would neither receive the Ambassador nor the letters, and indeed has given the Ambassador to understand that if he wishes to remain here, he also must live like a good Christian. The Ambassador having heard the will of the King forthwith despatched his secretary to the Queen of England to give her all this information, and he had himself retired with his family to a villa two leagues distant from hence, where he will await orders as to what he is to do. I do not know whether his Majesty has lately had any cause for taking this action against the Queen, or whether the result proceeds from his excellent nature, which is obviously inclined in every possible way towards the persecution and destruction of these sects. Besides his great natural inclination to this effect, he is daily pressed by the Pope to take active steps; and the Nuncio has told me that he has frequently spoken to the King upon this subject, and that, amongst other things, the King has told him with great distinctness that he may assure the Pope that all the subjects of his Majesty's states must either believe what his Majesty believes, or be utterly destroyed and ruined, because it was far better to deal with them thus than not at all; also that his Majesty showed little disposition to adopt the counsels and advice of the

* The following despatches of Di Cavalli were not noticed till the preceding pages were printed.

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Emperor, who had endeavoured to persuade his Majesty to proceed more diplomatically with regard to the provinces in Flanders. Your Serenity may be satisfied that the cutting off of the many heads which will be cut off is not due to the severity and cruelty of the Duke of Alva, but that these executions and every other event of importance are carried out by express orders from hence; and what more confirms my belief that the unfortunate prisoners will lose their lives are the words which a few days since the King spoke to the Nuncio when referring to the affairs of France. He said that the misfortunes of France were due to the French not having believed that which his Majesty more than eight years since had impressed upon them, and above all that they should at any risk secure suspected chiefs and by some means put them to death; and this incident tends to the belief that his Majesty will not fall into the very error which he has condemned in others, unless rumours from Germany of preparations being made there do not call him to pause until he sees what happens there, and in Flanders also. I have also heard upon good authority that when the Queen recalls her Ambassador, she will dismiss the Spanish Ambassador who is now at her Court,* and that he will be sent directly, without returning to Spain, to reside as Ambassador with your Serenity.

Madrid, 7th May 1568.

[*Italian.*]

June 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

443. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Signory.

His Majesty summoned from Aragon a gentleman, whose name is Girau Spes,† and whom his Majesty has frequently employed upon missions to the Princes of Germany, because he speaks Latin excellently, which is no small merit amongst these nations; and it seems that his Majesty intends to send him to England to acquaint the Queen with the cause which moved his Majesty to dismiss her Ambassador from his Court, and to attribute the blame to the Queen, because she had, in the first instance, prohibited his Majesty's Ambassador from having mass celebrated in his private house according to custom. He is also to endeavour to satisfy the Queen, so that she should not by means of her naval forces harass Flanders, or impede the reinforcements which are being sent from Spain thither, particularly because the Prince of Orange has sought assistance at her hands, and she has not shown herself indisposed to give it. This gentleman, before proceeding to England, has received orders to communicate everything to the Duke of Alva, in order to obtain from him many particulars and other information with regard to these affairs which cannot be ascertained here.

Madrid, 7th June 1568.

[*Italian.*]

* Don Diego Guzman de Silva left England in September 1568. (See Foreign Calendar.)

† Don Guerau de Spes. (Same Calendar.)

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June 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

444. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

Letters have been received from England; it appears that his Majesty's Ambassador had already left England, and that her Majesty had recalled hers, but notwithstanding his Majesty will still send the gentleman whom I have mentioned to England, because all these events were foreseen.

News has arrived of the defeat which the Queen of Scotland suffered after she escaped from prison, and that she was compelled to take refuge in England. Certain chiefs in Ireland have given information to his Majesty that a great number of Catholics had risen in that island to drive out the English, and that the Queen was sending forces against them, and the chiefs therefore implored his Majesty, as a magnanimous and Christian prince, to give them assistance; but his Majesty will not take any steps until his relations with the Queen take some definite form.

Madrid, 7th June 1568.

[*Italian.*]

June 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

445. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

Concerning the dismissal of the English Ambassador from this Court, I now understand that his Majesty immediately communicated the cause to the Queen, alleging that the Ambassador was a scandalous person, and had shown a bad example in his Majesty's kingdom; for the Ambassador had not been content to live quietly in his own house, but had used unbecoming language to every one whom he met with regard to religion, and in disparagement of the Pontifical dignity and of the clergy; and when, after due warning, he had refused to abstain from such conduct, his Majesty had finally no alternative but to order him to depart from the Court. The King, nevertheless, requested her Majesty to recall her Ambassador and to send another, less scandalous, his Majesty being aware that it was not her Majesty's wish that such inconveniences should arise. The answer which the Queen gave respecting this matter was, that she could not credit such things of her Ambassador, she well knowing the instructions which she had given him for his guidance; and also knowing him to be a prudent man, she was sure he would not act otherwise; that moreover her Majesty was not accustomed to condemn upon a first charge, but reserved an ear for the defence; but that if what had been alleged proved to be true, she would not fail to apply a remedy according to the desire of his Catholic Majesty. Her Majesty added, with some resentment, that his Majesty might have awaited her Majesty's reply, rather than drive her Ambassador from the Court with so little regard for her honour and reputation. The King was awaiting new advices, and also the information which he would obtain on the arrival of the secretary whom his Ambassador has sent from England, before despatching from hence the Aragonese gentleman whom he had thought of employing; and he will do all he can to

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keep an Ambassador to represent him in England, so as to satisfy the Queen as much as possible, and to console the few Catholics who were still to be found in that country.

Madrid, 17th July 1568.

[*Italian.*]

July 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

446. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador has lately departed from the villa to which he had retired, in order to return to England, and he goes to Biscay to embark, but his Majesty would not permit him to kiss hands; so the Ambassador has gone away in a rage and without audience. According to the professions of the Queen, another Ambassador may be expected in his place, but I am not sure whether, after the arrival of the late Ambassador in England, and on receiving the information which he will give, her Majesty may not change her mind.

Madrid, 24th July 1568.

[*Italian.*]

Bequeathed MSS. Portfolio 9.

447. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION of the KINGDOM of FRANCE, extracted from the Report of the most illustrious Signor Marin Guistinian, in the year 1568.

This most Christian King professes to be an excellent Christian, and has shown himself to be so during the Lutheran movements which infest almost the whole of France, because he has exercised the greatest possible severity from the beginning against all those who were found guilty, for they and all their property have been burnt together. But subsequently he mitigated the penalty considerably, because, as the King has frequently told me, the Emperor in Flanders had suspended the execution of death sentences against these heretics. His Majesty keeps up very friendly relations with the Lutheran chiefs and doctors, but for no other reason except to keep them enemies against the Emperor. In the negotiations which he has had with the kingdom of England, however much he may have had to yield, he has always excepted the affairs of the [Catholic] religion.

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Concerning the friendly relations between France and England, with the reasons for same.

This most Christian King is compelled by necessity to hold friendly relations with the kingdom of England for many reasons; and chiefly, because he cannot undertake any warlike operations unless he be friendly with the English, who are greatly feared by the French; in fact, 10,000 English are worth 20,000 French. In former times they overran the whole of France, so that there remained only to the King the city of Orleans, whence he derived his title; but when he had acquired Paris, and had been crowned King of France, the English surrendered Normandy to the King, who granted

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them annually as a tribute 50,000 crowns in perpetuity. Another reason is, that England is very wealthy, which fact renders the nation a desirable ally in any war, especially against the common enemy, who is the Emperor; and when these two kingdoms are combined in action, they can defy the Emperor, because France and England are able to secure and acquire Flanders, with the friendship of the Duke of Gueldres; for the want of friends on both sides makes them friendly to each other.

Among the expenses of the kingdom of France, is the pension to England of the amount of one hundred thousand crowns yearly.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1569.

1569. Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

448. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Sixteen armed ships from England were discovered recently off Dieppe. From Britany they wrote that about forty ships had been seen; and at length there was news that some troops had landed near Rochelle; the Huguenots say three thousand; but the Court advices say much less, and that they are not troops to create alarm. The English Ambassador and other Englishmen say they are evil-minded people who landed solely to plunder; but, be this as it may, these beginnings do not please, and it is suspected that Queen Elizabeth wishes, as the saying is, to throw the stone and hide the arm; because she wrote with her own hand that she would not interfere in any way, but nevertheless there is some information that the said ships, on board of which are Frenchmen, are laden with gunpowder, shoes, and implements requisite for laying waste.

It is heard from England that Queen Elizabeth had been informed by the Queen of Scotland, that the latter, being accused by her adversaries of a matter so deeply affecting her honour, wished to be heard, and to state her reasons personally; and should this be denied her, she had given orders to her Commissioners to protest that she did not intend to subject herself to any sentence, nor to admit whatever might be determined. It is not believed that Queen Elizabeth, for her own reasons, will allow the Queen of Scotland to come to the Court, suspecting probably some ulterior motive, inasmuch as the Queen of Scotland is nearest in blood to the Crown of England, and beloved by some of the chief personages, although they dare not say so openly; and this is thought to be the cause why no interview will take place.

The French Ambassador in Scotland writes that the Queen's partisans there were all in arms, and had proclaimed as a rebel the Bastard Regent, who was then in London, but who would have to return to Scotland in consequence of the events which had happened there.

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It is reported that the Queen of England had detained a Spanish vessel, and seized three hundred thousand silver crowns, which the King of Spain was sending to the Duke of Alva, and that in consequence the Duke had also detained all English subjects in Flanders, together with their property and goods.

The French Ambassador resident in England has reason to believe that the Queen of England is awaiting the return of the fleet which went to load wine in Gascony, and that then she will immediately declare war against this country [France].

Paris, 6th January 1568–9.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

449. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador defends the detention in England of the money which was being sent to the Duke of Alva, and has produced a document which the Queen of England had caused to be printed for her own justification, and which sets forth that certain vessels having arrived from Spain in an English port, and being unwilling to depart from thence, for fear of certain French vessels which had already chased and endeavoured to plunder them at sea, the Queen of England had commanded that the sacks containing the silver on board these vessels should be unloaded and deposited in a secure place, to the intent that her Majesty might make use of the money, should the same be private property, and then at her convenience repay the amount to the owner, together with reasonable interest; but the Queen having now heard that this money belonged to his Catholic Majesty, she had acquainted his Majesty's Ambassador accredited to her, that he was at liberty to dispose of the money as he thought fit, and, if he so desired, to transport the same to any of her ports; and in order to avoid danger from the French vessels, she had offered the Ambassador a safe conduct, and also an armed force for his greater security; but the Ambassador answered that he did not desire to remove the treasure until he had received further orders concerning it from the Duke of Alva. On the very day when the Ambassador had replied thus, the Queen received intelligence that the Duke of Alva had detained all English merchants, together with their goods, and this proceeding, appearing most singular to her Majesty, seeing that she had given no cause for complaint, she was compelled, as a reprisal, to order all Flemish merchants not to depart from London, and had, moreover, given instructions to print the facts exactly as they had happened so that every one might know that she had never intended to do any wrong whatever to his Catholic Majesty, and thus to interrupt the friendship which had always existed between the House of Austria and the Crown of England. It is said that the silver or money will be mutually restored, and that the sequestrations will be taken off on both sides without any further discussion.

At Rouen also, at the same time, the goods of English merchants were sequestrated, but the merchants themselves were not detained, and when these latter asked the Governor whether he was acting

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by the order of his Majesty (of France), he replied in the negative, and that he was doing what he thought best upon his own responsibility. It is not at present known whether this proceeding has taken place at the instance of the Duke of Alva, or whether on account of the vessels which had landed forces near La Rochelle, and which were intended to re-embark the same forces, and were therefore still lingering in those waters for that purpose.

The Ambassador from Scotland came to see me, and told me that by command of his Queen he was to communicate to all the Ambassadors all that had befallen her Majesty, and the treatment which she had received since she had escaped from prison in Scotland and had arrived in the kingdom of England, and the Ambassador related to me all the particulars in detail. As, however, I have already written these I shall not repeat them, but limit myself to saying that the Queen had instructed her Commissioners to demand liberty for her to appear in person before the Commission in order to justify herself from the accusation brought against her by the Bastard (her brother), that she had been a consenting party to the death of her husband. The Queen had received for answer that her demand could not be conceded, because the laws of England forbade any person who had committed an offence against the Crown to speak in public, and that the Queen well knew that when she was in France she had usurped the arms and the title of the kingdom of England; but, nevertheless, she was at liberty to state whatever she pleased through the medium of her Commissioners. The Queen's Commissioners, having received this reply, took leave, as had been enjoined them in the event of their not obtaining their demands; but when they were about to depart the Queen of England sent for them, and inquired whether they desired to say anything concerning the accusation which had been brought against their Queen by the Bastard. The Commissioners replied that they could produce a letter received by them that very morning from their Queen; and the Council having been again summoned, a letter was publicly read, and a copy taken of it, in which the Queen of Scotland alleged that no one could give a better account of the death of her late husband than the Bastard and some of his partisans, because they had devised and contrived the whole affair up to the very moment of its execution. After this the Commissioners again desired to depart, and were again detained, and some other mode of agreement was proposed, but in general terms; and amongst other things, inquiries were made whether means could not be found for securing the Bastard and his adherents against personal violence, and also to whom the guardianship of the infant Prince was to be committed in the event of the Queen returning to her kingdom.

The Queen, however, has small hopes of such a result, because she has been informed by more than one of the chief personages of the State that the Queen of England, under the persuasion of certain members of her Council, is disposed to enter into an alliance with the Bastard, and to take him under her protection, upon condition, however, that the Bastard shall deliver the infant Prince into her hands, and admit English soldiers into the fortresses of Scotland.

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The Queen of England has also on her part promised to declare the Queen of Scotland incapable of succeeding to the Crown of England, without prejudice, however, to the rights of her son, and also by her influence to induce the Parliament of Scotland to enact that the Bastard himself should succeed to the Crown in the event of the Prince's death. In order to give effect more easily to this plan, the Queen of England has offered to keep attached to her person the Duke of Châtellerault, who is now in London, and who is nearer in blood to the Crown of Scotland than any other person; and as soon as the Queen of England has settled matters in Scotland according to her views, she intends to make war openly against the Crown of France.

I thanked the Ambassador for his confidential communication, and deplored greatly the adversity which had afflicted his Queen. The Ambassador added that the Queen of England had one day taken an opportunity of showing her indignation against the Queen of Scotland, because lately the Governor of a Castle, where the Queen of Scotland was detained, brought the Queen a book upon the "art of magic," and said to her, "I have taken this book from one of my prisoners, who is considered the most Catholic person in the whole of this kingdom, and thus you can judge what sort of religion yours is." The Queen replied, "I do not deny but that there are wicked men amongst us, but I will never say that my religion is bad, because I know it to be good, and if I had a thousand lives I would sacrifice them all for my religion's sake." These words were spoken loudly in an apartment where many persons were present, and being immediately reported to the Queen of England, she became very angry, and said, "So it seems that this woman, who is my nearest relative, has come into my kingdom to set up a religion different from that which I myself profess, and to excite by these means all the ill-disposed persons who are amongst us;" and from that time forth the Queen of England has shown herself hostile.

Paris, 20th January 1569.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

450. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The differences between the Queen of England and the Duke of Alva with regard to the detention of the money are not yet arranged, and it is reported that the Queen has laid an embargo upon all ships in her ports, amongst which the Spanish Ambassador informs me three are Venetian.

The Duke of Alva was about to go to Luxemburg, and had issued several orders to the army, which it was intended to assemble there at the end of next month.

Paris, 2nd February 1569.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

451. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

News has arrived from London that an Ambassador, sent by the Duke of Alva, having arrived at Dover, was immediately

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arrested and conducted under a guard to London. Upon his arrival he immediately sent to demand an audience of the Queen, who was residing at a distance of ten leagues from the city, and she ordered some principal members of her Council to proceed to London to hear the Ambassador, and they, having arrived, summoned the Ambassador; but he refused to attend them, and replied that he had nothing to do with the Council, but only with the Queen herself. Subsequently the Ambassador having heard that the Councillors were greatly offended at his answer, he, to appease them, sent to say that he would attend them if they so wished, and would answer any questions which they might put to him; but he refused to disclose any particulars concerning his commission. When he met the Commissioners he made a reply in the same terms as at first, adding that they were not to be surprised, because he should decline to treat with the Queen herself, unless he first could speak with the Ambassador of his Catholic Majesty resident in England, for such were the orders which he had received. After this declaration the Councillors, without taking further steps, returned to the Court, and the Ambassador returned to his lodging, where he is under guard, as indeed is also the case with the Spanish Ambassador in ordinary, though letters from Flanders state that all differences will be arranged. The Queen of Scotland at the request of the Bastard has been brought nearer London, in order that she may find it more difficult to escape, in case she should attempt to do so. The Bastard has returned to Scotland with all his friends, and the partisans of the Queen are detained under the pretext of an inquiry as to whether the Queen and they themselves are consenting parties to a proclamation which has been published in Scotland by the Earl of Argyle and other adherents of the Queen, and which, if its contents be not absolutely known, are manifestly prejudicial to the Bastard.

Paris, 8th February 1569.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

452. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Duke of Deux-Ponts has crossed the Rhine with fifteen hundred horse only. Casimir will not be ready for some time, and the army of Orange is almost entirely disorganised, and, to complete the satisfaction of the Court, who are now in high spirits, it is believed for certain that Genlis has died a natural death. Montgomery has been defeated by the Count de Brissac. He was wounded, and his brother taken prisoner. The Queen has dismissed several of her Huguenot maids of honour, because they had written to the wife of Cardinal Châtillon in England, asking what was going on in that Court, and in their letters they referred to the Queen as "La grossa Caterina," and to the Cardinal of Lorraine as "Il gran cappello."

Tours, 20th February 1569.

[*Italian.*]

1569.
March 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

453. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I hear from England that the Queen has never yet given audience to the Ambassador who came from the Duke of Alva, and that she has caused him to be informed that if he does not bear a commission from the Catholic King himself she will decline to hear him; she has moreover ordained that he shall not speak with the Spanish Ambassador resident, and both he and the Ambassador resident are kept under guard separately. Her Majesty lays the whole blame of this misunderstanding upon the Ambassador resident, and accuses him of having written many falsehoods, and in particular by a letter addressed to the Duke of Alva, wherein he wrote that God would some day provide for the affairs of the kingdom, and rescue from affliction many persons both of high and low rank, who were all now very dissatisfied with the present government. The English also show a copy of another letter which was written by him to one of his friends after his arrest, and which he gave open to one of the gentlemen who is always with him, in order, by the permission of the Queen, that it might be forwarded to Flanders; and in this letter he wrote that he was not surprised at being imprisoned, because England was the island of enchantments of Amadis, that Archelaus was still living, and that he himself was the prisoner of the Queen Oriana. This letter has greatly displeased the Queen, because its romantic allusion and reference to love affairs appear to her to show a want of respect to her and an offence to her dignity. She has written with her own hand to the Catholic King, and has sent her letters to her Ambassador resident here, in order that he may despatch them to Spain, and from what the Ambassador has told me I infer that his Catholic Majesty will have reason to be satisfied.

The Ambassador has also shown me a printed document wherein the Queen of England justifies herself against a rumour which is current in Scotland, namely, that she had come to an agreement with the Bastard to surrender to her the infant Prince to be brought up in England, and to deliver into her hands all the fortresses of the kingdom, on condition that he should thereupon be declared by the Queen eligible for the Crown in the event of the decease of the Prince without issue; and that if he did succeed, he was then to acknowledge the kingdom to be a feud of the English Crown, and to render obedience accordingly.

The Queen declares that no such matter as this has ever been negotiated or even thought of, although she admits that the Earl of Lennox, the father of the late King, and his wife had made some proposal to the effect that the Prince would be brought up more safely in England rather than in Scotland, where persons were still to be found who had assassinated his father.

Metz, 4th March 1569.

[*Italian.*]

March 15.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

454. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The news is confirmed that the Duke of Deux-Ponts has with him eight thousand horse, nine thousand infantry, and also twenty

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pieces of artillery; but it is said that he has not paid more than three thousand of his cavalry, and is in difficulty how to find money for the rest; still it is nevertheless believed that he will be provided with the means after all. Fifty thousand crowns in silver which have arrived, and which were believed to have come from England, appear now to have been supplied by the Count Palatine, Duke Augustus of Saxony, and other German Princes, and not by the Queen of England.

Last night Monsieur de Loscia [Luzy?] arrived from the camp, and gave great cause for rejoicing to his Majesty and all others, so that they rose from their beds to proceed to the principal church, to cause the *Te Deum* to be sung, and to render grateful thanks to the Lord God for the victory which his Majesty's brother [the Duke of Anjou] had obtained over his enemies.

The battle took place at the Castle of Château Neuf, where there is a bridge over the Charent, on Saturday, the 12th inst., and the Prince of Condé was taken prisoner and slain with an archibuse shot in his breast, although he offered two hundred thousand crowns to have his life spared.

The Scotchman of the house of Stuart who killed the Constable on the day of St. Denis was taken and brought to his Highness [the Duke of Anjou], and his Highness said to him, "So you are here, you traitor, you who have frequently boasted that you wished to kill the Queen, my mother; now you shall receive your deserts." At that moment the Marquis de Villars appeared, and with his own hands was the first person to execute vengeance for the Constable, his brother-in-law.

His Highness writes, "I have here in my lodging the body of the Prince de Condé; I am informed that the Admiral has been wounded by an arquebus shot in the arm, and that Montgomery and La Rochefoucault are both dead, but I cannot confirm this intelligence."

The battle took place between Jarnac and Château Neuf, and the enemy's force might have been ten thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, and four pieces of artillery.

Metz, 15th March 1569.

[*Italian.*]

March 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

455. GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The gentleman who went to England to communicate the news of this victory at Château Neuf states that he had been very ill received there, that his report was not credited, and that the Queen answered him that she could not congratulate the King upon having lost a Prince of his own blood, who was so greatly honoured; also that his Majesty had been very ill advised to declare this war, and that he would do well to put a stop to it, to which end she would willingly co-operate if she thought she could do any good. The Queen further spoke at great length to the effect that every foreign Prince considered her an idiot because she had let slip an excellent opportunity like the present for revenging herself for the

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wrongs which she had received from the French; but still she gave little heed to this report, and, according to her promise, desired to continue friendly and prove herself to be a good sister to his Majesty, notwithstanding that she had been told that his Majesty, though secure in his own kingdom, had come to an understanding with the Pope and the Catholic King to act to her detriment; but to this matter also she gave no thought, because she would never lack either forces or friends to resist those who attempted to trouble her.

This gentleman reports that the Court were somewhat anxious lest the Catholics, upon the news of this victory, might make some disturbance, and therefore put forth that the report was not true, and caused the houses of the Catholics to be watched during the night.

This gentleman was not permitted to visit the Spanish Ambassador, nor to go to see the Queen of Scotland, concerning whom it is said that the Duke of Châtellerault, the chief of her party, had come to terms with the Bastard, whereby the Duke was to take part in the government, with an understanding that if the infant Prince should die, he was to succeed to the Crown, to the exclusion of the Queen, who was to receive an allowance for her maintenance if she remained without the kingdom; and thus both parties had mutually laid down their arms.

Verdun, 27th March 1569.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

456. Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Twenty English vessels have arrived at La Rochelle, and it is believed that they have brought money and munitions of war. Notwithstanding this, the Queen of England persists in assuring their Majesties that she desires to be their good sister, but she makes no attempt to put a stop to the practices referred to above. We hear from Scotland that on the 10th of April a parliament was to be summoned to confirm the agreement which has been come to between the Bastard and the Duke of Châtellerault, but the Earls of Argyle and Huntley and other chief personages had declined to attend, and would not be parties to the above agreement; and hence it was generally believed that they would have recourse to arms.

Bar-le-duc, 4th May 1569.

[*Italian.*]

July 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

457. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I have passed by the bridge of Charenton, and have arrived at this city, where I have now joined the Court, and I hear that my predecessor is now resident in Paris.

Orleans, 1st July 1569.

[*Italian.*]

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July 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

458. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Mentions the departure of his predecessor, Giovanni Correr, on the 4th instant.

Orleans, 9th July 1569.

[*Italian.*]

July 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

459. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

There is a report that the King is sending to the Pope to urge the Princes of Italy, and especially the Republic of Venice, to aid France with a levy of three or four thousand foot and as many horse. Nothing has been said on the subject either to my predecessor or to myself, because I believe that if their Majesties can come to an understanding with the Pope, they think it will be unnecessary for them to negotiate with the other Powers, and although it is said that the Queen of England is making preparations, and that there is fear from Germany, nevertheless the Ambassador in ordinary from Spain has told me this morning that he had received good news for his Majesty, namely, recent letters from Germany to the effect that there was no sign of war there, and that all this bluster from England was simply owing to the operations of a few corsairs, who, taking advantage of the misunderstandings between the Catholic King and the King of France with the Queen of England, did mischief whenever and wherever they could. The Ambassador from England [Norris] has made a similar statement to me.

Orleans, 11th July 1560.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Copy, Venetian Archives.

460. Copy of INSTRUCTIONS given by LA MOTHE FENELON, French Ambassador in England, to a Secretary sent by him to France; enclosed in a letter from Contarini, dated Tours, 15th September 1569.

The affairs of the Queen of England are in a condition of peace which appears to be bordering upon war, because the great majority of the English expect to have war, but think that it will not break out until they see the position of France reduced to such an extremity that the game will then be more safe.

I have heard that the Duke of Lüneburg, who is in the pay of the Queen of England, and two other Colonels have made a levy of three thousand Roisters and eight thousand Germans for active service.

The Duke Casimir has his forces ready, and besides these the Duke Augustus has enlisted both horse and foot, but they are not yet called out for service.

I have endeavoured to get at the truth of the proceedings of the Duke of Lüneburg, from individuals who have lately arrived from Hamburg, and who state that the Duke had not called out his men, but kept them under notice and ready, and that he had distributed amongst them a certain amount of money, coming from a source which

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causes them in their festivities and convivial meetings readily to drink to the good health of the Queen of England.

A person has been sent to Saxony to negotiate with the Duke Augustus and Casimir for the conduct of this war, and he writes that Casimir had hitherto deferred operations in consequence of difficulties which would probably be overcome, and that he would soon undertake the campaign.

It is also in contemplation to send another Ambassador to Germany, to meet the next Diet, and the idea is that Throckmorton will be appointed, because he is making preparations for a voyage.

A commission has lately been issued to the city of London ordering all persons who are under obligation to furnish horses for military service, to have them in readiness; armourers to provide corslets; harquebus makers to provide harquebuses, and the merchants to provide arms, each one according to his ability.

Another commission has been issued whereby all the parishes are ordered to furnish, in proportion to the population of each, a quantity of pikes, harquebuses, bows, and other weapons, and to store them in the Tower of London, according to the number of each description to be specified by the Commissioners appointed for that purpose, with the intent of arming all men who may be enlisted for military service throughout the whole kingdom, and also to raise money to renew all the armaments of the Tower, which are old and worn out from having been for a long time past constantly cleaned with sand, and have thus become to a great extent honeycombed from one end to the other.

I understand that after the late general musters which have been held throughout the kingdom, the confidential estimate of the number of soldiers arrived at was six thousand harquebusiers, and six thousand men in armour, besides a further number of twelve thousand men, but I have not heard how these latter are to be armed; and all these forces are ordered to hold themselves in readiness for active service at four days' notice.

Money is also being raised in every possible way; all the merchandise of Spain is to be sold; new angels are being coined in the Tower in order to pay foreigners, and cash payments to private individuals are being stopped, so that no money is in circulation; and I have been informed that a few months ago two Englishmen went to Geneva and Lyons with many letters of exchange, to procure money to pay the Roisters.

Notwithstanding all these preparations, I do not believe that these people are desirous either to go to war at present, or to commence hostilities against us by violating any existing treaty, until either Casimir shall have entered France or until the army, which is now at Poiters, shall have approached Normandy or Picardy, or until they see so great a battle take place that the native forces of the kingdom (France) will be insufficient to prevent them from executing their cherished purpose. They are, in fact, waiting the course of events in the expectation that they will have the foreigners on their side; and I also hear that there are even some persons in France who persist in assuring them that they might take Calais within

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twenty days if they chose to attack it, and need not doubt but that there is a marvellous affection in their favour within that place; and they are even assured that they might land their forces at the three gates.

The insurgents during the late rising in Suffolk and Norfolk all belonged to the new religion, and the artisan clothiers in those parts in like manner rebelled because they were not employed in their accustomed trades, saying that they were without the means of livelihood by reason of the suspension of commerce with the Low Countries and Ireland, which last trade had heretofore been held in very small account, though it is now considered of great consequence. Several principal councillors of State, on account of the importance of these events, insist that the questions of trade should be first attended to, and that the State should not be overweighted with the consideration of foreign affairs; and they propose to abandon the affairs of the Queen of Scotland and the differences with the Low Countries.

Therefore with regard to a remonstrance which had strenuously been addressed by the Ambassador of his most Christian Majesty to the Queen and her Council, the Duke of Norfolk has been instructed to say to the Cardinal Châtillon that the Queen and her Council seeing that the French Ambassador had interpreted as a breach of the peace what the Queen had been doing within her kingdom both by sea and by land in favour and to the advantage of the inhabitants of La Rochelle, and considering that it was neither proper nor profitable to lose the friendship of the King nor to break the advantageous peace which existed between her and the King of this country (France), had determined to acquaint the defenders of La Rochelle that they must seek elsewhere the succours which they had demanded from England, and must remain content to find the kingdom of England a peaceful refuge for them, without bringing it under the disadvantages of a war.

I have since learnt for certain that the Duke of Norfolk has made a report to the Council, and that according to their decision, the vessels bound for La Rochelle have been detained, and are said to be about to sail elsewhere than to France, though some persons have expressed doubts to me upon the subject.

The soldiers of the Prince of Orange have been disbanded, and the French who were amongst them have departed, and have embarked for other places.

The loan upon the jewels of the Queen of Navarre appears to have been declined, and some form of agreement has been come to concerning captures, against corsairs, and for the protection of commerce.

I cannot come to any certain conclusion with regard to either peace or war, except what I see day by day, because all the information that I possess leads me to believe that the English are only waiting for a favourable opportunity to declare themselves, and that all their present professions are merely meant to gain time so as to take whatever course may appear to them most expedient,

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and to declare either for peace or war according as the opportunity may serve them. In the meanwhile they endeavour to satisfy both the King and also those in France who are well disposed towards them; but they are also assisting these latter as much as possible, for in truth they are secretly supplying them with money, munitions of war, and all other necessary things to such an extent that they are embarrassing the finances of the kingdom of Engand, and the Queen receives hardly any revenue.

The insurrection in Ireland at its commencement gave indications of being the most formidable outbreak that had ever taken place in that country, not only on account of the great number of men who had taken up arms, but because the chief personages there were giving aid, and the two ancient factions which had hitherto been always at enmity had combined together for this one purpose. But I now hear that one of the leaders of the movement has given the Queen to understand that it is not directed against her nor against her authority, but that there has been a resort to arms in order to settle certain private pretensions, and if ever he perceives any tendency or action towards rebellion he will then at once abandon his fellows and bring the greater part of his power to aid the service of the Queen. Subsequently the Earl of Ormond having arrived, he, though he is somewhat distrusted, negotiated in such a way with his brother and the Earl of Kildare that he has smoothed matters and given great satisfaction to the Queen and her advisers, who are also much gratified that the Ambassador of his most Christian Majesty should have shown a friendly disposition towards her on behalf of their most Christian Majesties; and she on this account, and also because she suspects that other Princes are kindling a blaze about her, has shown herself better disposed towards the King of France, more difficult in the affairs of the Low Countries, and less willing to comply with the demands from La Rochelle. However arms have not yet been laid down in Ireland.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

461. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Besides the information which your Serenity may receive from other sources, you will find annexed hereto a despatch which has been written by the Ambassador of his most Christian Majesty resident in London, for the information of his Secretary, who has presented the same to his Majesty.

Your Serenity will form your judgment concerning the matters contained therein, and will readily perceive that unless this despatch be held strictly confidential I might at the commencement of my embassy be deprived, and your Serenity also, of an opportunity which I now possess whereby I am able to learn most secret and important affairs.

The Duke of Alençon, third brother of the King, is at Paris ill of the small-pox.

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It is reported that the Duke of Alva has sent Monsieur Chiappin Vitelli to England in order to arrange matters with the Queen.

Tours, 15th September 1569.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

462. MICHAEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

The agent of the Queen of Scotland says he is advised that the Queen of England intends to recognise the Queen of Scotland as her successor, and will act thus either because the Queen of Scotland has turned Huguenot, or because the Queen of England, upon this pretext, expects to get a footing in Scotland. The vicar of Santa Maria Maggiore, who is an Englishman, left Rome this morning with orders from his Holiness to distribute eight thousand francs amongst the Catholics who have fled from Scotland and Ireland to France.

Rome, 24th September 1569.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

463. MICHAEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Letters have been addressed by the Duke of Alva to Cardinal Pacheco, giving news of a great rising in England caused by an alliance which the Duke of Norfolk has made with the Queen of Scotland, with a view of setting her at liberty and marrying her, and that so soon as the intelligence reached the Queen of England she forthwith imprisoned the Earl of Arundel and the Earl of Pembroke, who were relatives of the Duke of Norfolk. The Queen was not able to arrest the Duke of Norfolk, who had gone to his possessions on the east coast to raise forces, but she has placed the Queen of Scotland in stricter confinement. The Cardinal Pacheco, together with Morone, have been for a long while with his Holiness to consider how they can promote this insurrection against the Queen of England, because they think it would be easy to assist it through the medium of the Duke of Alva; but the distance is great, and if the Duke fails to do something of his own accord, there is no hope of being able to send assistance from hence in sufficient time.

Rome, 5th November 1569.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1570.

1570. Jan. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

464. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

News has arrived that the Government had discovered a plot for the seizure of the city of Bourges, and that a bridge thrown over the

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Garonne by the Admiral to effect a junction with Montgomery and the Visconti had been carried away by a flood. In addition to these fortunate successes, particulars of the insurrection in England have been brought hither by the Secretary of his Majesty's Ambassador resident there, who states that about twelve thousand men had taken the field, and these, having raised the crucifix for their banner, and heard mass, named the Duke of Northumberland for their chief, whereat the Queen of England was greatly troubled; and their Majesties of France, to aid the Queen of Scotland, had now sent 20,000 crowns to Scotland to pay the garrison of Dumbarton, which is the only place which during these wars had remained faithful to the Queen, and had resisted the Bastard. Their Majesties have also sent to England Monsieur de Montluc, who is a great favourite with the King, and who has been instructed to approach the Queen of England in order to assist the interests of the King's relative, the Queen of Scotland, against her enemy the Bastard, who, contrary to right and reason, had usurped the Government of Scotland, and expelled the Queen, the true and legitimate sovereign of the Kingdom; and to acquaint the Queen of England that their Majesties would consider any favour shown to the Queen of Scotland as a favour to themselves, seeing that they love the Queen of Scotland as a sister, and cannot forbear rendering her all possible assistance. A Secretary of the Queen of Scotland has departed this day, and the events now passing in Scotland and England anxiously occupy the thoughts and attention of this Court.

St. Goard près Colonges, 1st January 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

465. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Signory.

Hitherto there is no news of any foreign assistance having been promised to the rebels here.

As it is hoped that there will be no assistance from Germany, so it is considered certain that none will come from England, because the Queen of that country has her hands full, for the insurgents against her authority increase in number daily, and have taken a seaport town on the east coast of England, not far from the frontiers of Scotland [Hartlepool]. A document has been signed by many of the principal lords of the kingdom to the effect, that although they are faithful subjects and vassals of their Queen, yet seeing her deceived by some of her councillors, who, in order to maintain themselves in grandeur, and to enjoy the property which had been robbed from the churches, have persuaded the Queen that she is the head of the Church of England, and to abandon the religion and the faith which her predecessors followed, and whereby they obtained the title of "Defender of the Faith," therefore they (the signatories) have taken up arms to maintain the honour of God and the liberties of their country, doubting lest some foreign nation should endeavour to obtain by force that which they themselves would obtain by her Majesty's favour. Hitherto no news has

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been received whether the Queen has sufficient power to defeat her enemies.

Angers, 13th January 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

466. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

On the 24th of last month the Queen of England acquainted the Ambassador of France resident with her, and also her Ambassador resident at this Court, for the information of their Majesties, that she had completely defeated and overcome the insurgents who had risen against her, and had taken prisoners the principal chiefs, and had granted pardon to the populace. But, nevertheless, letters of the 27th December have been received at this Court from some of the insurgent leaders, whereby no mention is made of this defeat, but reporting that the insurgents were marching in the direction of the town of Berwick, which they hoped to enter without difficulty, and that they had determined to make their principal base for operations there during the winter; and seeing that every day their forces continued to augment, they expected to be stronger by the commencement of the spring. Enclosed I forward a copy of the proclamation which they have issued.*

Angers, 17th January 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

467. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

I have had a conversation with the deputies who have come from La Rochelle to treat for peace, with reference to the seizure of two Venetian vessels by the French Huguenots, and it appears almost exactly as I had heard, that two Venetian vessels, of which the names are not known, were captured on the 29th of last month by nineteen French Huguenot ships. The larger of the two vessels captured is of 1,200 tons burden, and was bound for England, laden with wine, cloth of silk, sugar and raisins. The other, the smaller vessel, was outward bound from England, and was laden with salt, under which were concealed 70 pieces of brass artillery. French Huguenot soldiers were placed on board these vessels, and they have been declared good and lawful prizes, on the ground the Signory of Venice had advanced money to the King in order to make war to prejudice of the Huguenots. I have also heard from the Cardinal of Lorraine that he was advised that the Queen of England had sent a person of influence to the Queen of Navarre to obtain the restoration of these ships, because the interests of England were considered to be no less prejudiced by this seizure than those of Venice; the Queen well knowing that if similar proceedings were permitted to take place, the commerce with Venice, which was so useful and advantageous to England, would be interrupted; and, indeed, that if intelligence were received at Venice that these vessels

* This proclamation has not been found.

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had not been restored, no other vessels would be put upon this voyage from Venice to England, and therefore that there would be no hope of receiving any merchandise from Venice during the current year. And although the hope of obtaining the restoration depends principally upon England, as foreign affairs in this country are in a state of great confusion, and the Spanish Ambassador, from whom I hoped to receive some assistance, not having arrived, I judged it best to wait upon their Majesties, but they being both indisposed, I went to Mons. d'Anjou, his Majesty's brother, who replied that as for the time being their Majesties received no obedience whatever from La Rochelle, he could say nothing beyond what had been told him by the King and the Queen, his mother. I have therefore written to the Venetian Consul in England to do what he possibly can in this matter, and also to write me all details.

Angers, 25th January 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

468. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

I have ascertained from the deputies lately come from La Rochelle that they do not know the name of the captured vessel which was outward bound from England and laden with kerseys, cloth, and tin, but that the other vessel which was bound for England was named the *Giustiniana*, and that her master was a young man of tall stature and ruddy complexion; and also that both these vessels were seized at a short distance from England and on the verge of its territorial waters, and that both vessels surrendered without fighting to four French vessels upon the terms that the lives of the crew were to be spared, and their effects restored, or otherwise that a thousand crowns was to be paid for each vessel. The secretary of the deputies says that the captains of these French vessels had made a great mistake in taking these Venetian vessels, because he might lately have captured five Spanish vessels, which were laden with cargoes of far greater value. He also says that the cargoes of these Venetian vessels had been discharged, one part being assigned to the captors, another for religious purposes, and a third to the vice-admiral of these seas, and that the captors had sent to sell the goods wherever they could do so, and that the captured sailors were treating to buy the smaller of the two vessels in order to return to England, where they believe they would obtain its full value. I have not received any advices from our Consul in England, though I frequently receive letters from him, but these always arrive open, as is the case with all letters which come from that kingdom to this. The Ambassador from Spain resident here tells me that he has had to make great complaints concerning several vessels belonging to subjects of his Catholic Majesty which had been seized, but that he has no hope of obtaining any restitution until peace be concluded.

Angers, 31st January 1570.

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 6.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

469. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Her most Christian Majesty, according to the promise she made to me, has appealed strongly to the Huguenot deputies for the restitution of the Venetian vessels which were carried into La Rochelle, and she has given a commission to that effect to Mons. de Biron and Mons. de Croc, who have gone in the name of these Majesties to the Queen of Navarre and the other Princes. And yesterday, her Majesty, at the marriage of the Duke de Montpensier, told me that when M. de Teligny, the principal deputy, came to take leave of her Majesty, the very last words which her Majesty spoke to him were that he could not more effectually show his fellow citizens to be obedient subjects of the King than by causing the restitution of these vessels. By the advice of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and with the assent of her Majesty the Queen, I have sent one of my suite, a prudent and discreet person, to accompany the deputies, and to endeavour to obtain all the information that he can concerning the detained vessels, and how far it will be necessary to communicate with the Queen of Navarre, and what results the envoy sent by the Queen of England may have effected.

Yesterday the marriage between the Duke de Montpensier and the sister of the Duke de Guise was celebrated. She has a dowry of 300,000 francs, of which 100,000 francs have been given by the King to the Duke de Guise for the defence of Poictiers, and the Duke de Montpensier has contributed another portion of 40,000 francs. The marriage took place according to the royal ceremonial, as is usual with Princes of the blood; and the Ambassadors resident here who were invited were the Nuncio, the two Ambassadors from Spain, myself, and the Ambassador from Ferrara.*

Angers, 6th February 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

470. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The most Christian Queen lately sent for the Ambassador from England, and made a bitter complaint to him that, according to her information, the Queen of England had placed under arrest M. de Montluc, who had been sent to England as an envoy by the most Christian King; and that, although M. de Montluc had been released a few days subsequently, her Majesty felt greatly aggrieved that so little respect should have been paid to an envoy accredited from France to her Majesty of England. *Her most Christian Majesty further complained that letters had been intercepted which had been written by the Queen of England to the Admiral, and whereby he was dissuaded, for many reasons assigned, from making peace.*

By the same advices which report the arrest and liberation of Mons. de Montluc, news is received that the insurgents in England

* The English Ambassador Norris does not appear to have been invited.

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are becoming more powerful every day, so there is good hope that when the cold weather, which prevails with great severity in that part of the island, has ceased, their forces will be able to make great progress.

Angers, 12th February 1570.

[*Italian: the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

471. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The most Christian King, who has been ailing, is now much better, and it is reported that he will shortly proceed to the coast of Britany and to the cities on that coast facing England, and probably fit out some armed vessels in order to free those seas from the innumerable corsairs who now infest them. Indeed, the day before yesterday the Cardinal of Lorraine said as much as this to the Ambassador of Spain, who was loudly complaining that so many daily detentions took place of Flemish vessels, not only by corsairs which hail from La Rochelle, but even by relatives of the Governors of that city, and although remonstrances were made and fully justified, yet no redress whatever was obtained.

Angers, 12th February 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

472. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The representatives whom I sent to La Rochelle concerning the captured vessels returned yesterday, and they were accompanied by the Magnifico Andrea Dandolo, who was an officer on board *La Giustiniana*, and by Messer Agostin Lombardini, who was purser (*scrivano*) on board the *Vergi* or *Casselera*, which was the name of the other vessel seized. By the report which I enclose herein you will perceive that my representatives, on account of the strict and continual watch which was kept on them, have been able to speak little and to see little, but they have nevertheless heard that the cargoes have all been discharged in La Rochelle and divided, although some say that the goods are intact, because there has been a difficulty in finding purchasers for fear of being compelled to make restitution. It was also stated that there was an idea of reloading one of the captured vessels and sending her to sell her cargo in England; and because they were afraid of chartering her to the usual commercial ports lest she should be detained, they intended she should make for some port in the West of England, where the circumstances of the case were less likely to be known. I have therefore forthwith given advice and notice to our Consul, not only of the above reports, but also of the fact that the vessel *Giustiniana* was captured at the Isle of Wight and within the waters of her Majesty the Queen of England.

The restitution should be demanded, in the first instance, by the Queen of England, and although it is reported that there was a repre-

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sentative of the Queen at La Rochelle for this purpose, nevertheless my people, who are just returned from thence, say this is not so. I have therefore appealed in the strongest manner to the Ambassador of England, and have pointed out to him that besides the injury which England will suffer by the interruption of commerce, which affects not only private persons but the revenues of the Crown and the convenience of the inhabitants of the land, this seizure also seriously impairs the dignity of the Queen, because it was made not only within her own waters, but actually between her own islands and in her Majesty's name. The Ambassador, who appeared to hear the facts I placed before him with great displeasure, then promised to write at once to his Queen. My people have also told me that the captain who seized the vessels, believing that the Queen of England might upon our application detain his wife and children, who were resident in England, has himself detained the noblemen who were on board the vessel *Vergi*, namely, the brothers Marc' Antonio and Paulo Venieri; and although my people did their best to obtain permission that these noblemen should be either set at liberty, or at least lodged in a private house and well cared for, they could get no reply, except a promise that these noblemen should be well treated; it being also pretended that these gentlemen were only kept prisoners in order to ensure the departure of the captain's relations in England, and that when the latter arrived the former would be immediately released. I have asked the most Christian Queen what reply she has received from M. de Croc, who was commissioned to speak with the Queen of Navarre for the restitution of the vessels. The Queen replied that she had nothing satisfactory to communicate, because the Queen of Navarre desired war not only with this kingdom but with all the Catholic Princes. The most Christian Queen added that she took this matter much to heart, and that she would do everything in her power to obtain the restitution.

Angers, 12th February 1570.

[*Italian.*]

473. Report to the Venetian Ambassador of the capture of the vessels *Giustiniana* and *Vergi* by the armed vessels of the Huguenots; enclosed in the preceding.

I have obtained the following declaration concerning the two vessels *Giustiniana* and *Vergi*, signed by the crew of the vessel *Giustiniana*, which is as follows:

"The *Giustiniana* left the Isle of Wight on the 10th December, at the second hour of the day, and we had been a little more than an hour on the voyage when we saw nine vessels leave the port of Portsmouth, five of which went towards Southampton (*Antona*), and four pursued our vessel. Two of these hove to on one side of the vessel, and two on the other, at a distance of about a bow-shot; and then these corsairs sent a boat to order, in the name of the Queen of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, that we should send them our purser (*scrivano*). Our master then immediately ordered the purser to go and inquire their demands, and he was

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accordingly conducted to Captain Sora (*sic*), the commander and vice-admiral of the Huguenot fleet, who immediately sent again and ordered the master to come to him, and the master, Messer Andrea Sansone, obeyed at once. These officers not returning, our crew became completely demoralised, and knew not what action to take, as they heard no more of the officers, who had thus become prisoners, except from the corsairs, who came every day with their boat to demand, in the name of the master, muscatel wine and other provisions.

"At the end of a week Captain Bera (*sic*) came to our vessel with fifty men, and stated, in the name of the master, that he intended to put these men on board; but our crew refused to receive them, saying they were quite capable of managing their own vessel without other assistance. The corsairs answered, that if they did not obey they would put all the crew to death; to which the crew answered that if the corsairs attempted to come on board, they would set fire to the ammunition which was in the vessel, and blow it up with everybody in it. The corsairs, having heard this answer, went back to the Captain Fincaville (*sic*), but returned again with a boat and with fifty men and more, and also with the purser, who ordered the crew, in the name of the master, to surrender the ship. The crew answered they would not give up possession, but the purser having informed them that an agreement had been made in consideration of four butts of muscatel, and that the master had confirmed it, Captain Bera was allowed to come on board with fifty men, and all the crew were removed, with the exception of the helmsman and a few of the seamen.

"The agreement which was come to between the master and the corsairs was to the effect that the master was to give up seventeen butts of muscatel and five butts of currants, and to pay 400 or 500 ducats which had been realised in Spain from the sale of glass; and that the crew were to retain all their effects. This agreement was carried out by the corsairs."

[*Remarks by the reporter:*]

When I left La Rochelle, the master of the ship *Giustiniana* was about to leave on the 19th instant for Italy. I said to him what a disgrace it was that he should have allowed himself to be taken in such a way. He answered that he had been deceived by the corsairs, who demanded the ship not only in the name of the Queen of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, but in that of the Queen of England, and had shown the ensign and authority of England; for which reasons, and being within the limits of England, he felt he could not act otherwise.

While they were on the way to La Rochelle, about the 23rd of this month, they perceived the vessel *Vergi* doubling Cape Lizard. The corsairs prepared to approach her, but seeing she was armed with two pieces of artillery, they lowered a boat in the water, and held a consultation as to what they should do. At last one of their captains, whose name was Bera, called to him one Antonio de la Zante, who belonged to the *Giustiniana*, and said, 'Antonio,

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whatever I say to you, you will confirm to the master and captain of this vessel, but if you do otherwise I will put you to death.' When the boat came close to the vessel, Bera called the master, saying, 'Captain, I have come in the name of the Queen of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. I call upon you to yield obedience to the Captain-General of this fleet, because then every courtesy will be shown towards you, as has been done to the Captain Cesare (*sic*); therefore send your boat on board at once to the General and speak with him, when he will give you every satisfaction.' And Bera caused Antonio de la Zante to affirm that what he had said was the truth. The master, having heard this demand, desired to send the purser, but he declined to go, and wanted to defend the ship. Notwithstanding this, the master sent a boat with four men and two others to speak with the General. As soon as these had come on board the ship of the corsairs, kinds words were spoken to them by Captain Sora, who promised them all their effects if they delivered up the ship, with the alternative of being put to death. When the men on board the boat had returned to their own vessel they reported what had been told them to the master and the crew, and the latter said they would not fight, as their effects had been promised them. And thus the master hauled down his sails, and the corsairs sent to take possession.

These vessels arrived at La Rochelle on the 29th December, and a week after the cargo was unloaded, and divided into three parts; one for the corsairs, one for the purposes of religion, and the third for the vice-admiral. But all the goods are still in La Rochelle, part in the warehouses, and part sold to merchants within the place. The vessels are in port, with their guns, and every day fifty or sixty men are sent on board to keep guard over the port, on account of the galleys in the neighbourhood; and they seem to attach great importance to these two vessels, just as much as if they were for their defence. This is all I have been able to learn about this matter.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

474. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Signory.

Mons. de Croc, who has returned from the Queen of Navarre, has reported to their Majesties that the Queen is satisfied with the conditions of peace which have been proposed to her, but hopes that besides the two places already granted, namely, La Rochelle and La Charité, some others may be conceded, because it is not possible for her co-religionists who dwell in Picardy, in Normandy, and in other distant provinces, to go two hundred leagues and more in order to baptise their children and perform the other exercises of their religion.

It is a great point gained that notwithstanding the differences of opinion and the factions which openly exist at this Court, on the whole this peace satisfies all parties; but, on the other hand, it is displeasing to foreign Princes, because, while the Pope and the Catholic King cannot approve that any sect should be allowed

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to have a footing in this kingdom, the result is particularly disappointing to the Queen of England, who, although professing the same religion (with the Huguenots), nevertheless has done all she could to keep religion in agitation, fearing perhaps lest this tempest should move in her direction and discharge its fury upon her country. And, indeed, an event of the greatest importance has recently occurred in Scotland which may lead to great changes both there and in England. For on the 13th of last month the Regent of Scotland, who was the illegitimate brother of the Queen, was assassinated with a harquebus shot by one Hamilton, who was lately at this Court, and who either from the hatred which he bore the Regent, or from having been offended by him, or from his belief that the Government was tyrannical, or to gratify the Queen, who had been excluded from the Government by her brother and persecuted by him, resolved to do this deed with his own hand alone in the midst of two hundred soldiers who formed the guard of the Regent; and he then fled and saved himself. After this occurrence, the persons who favour the party of the Queen, and who are for the most part Catholics, took to arms, and have liberated the Duke of Châtellerault, who is a relative and the chief partisan of the Queen, from prison; and it is said they have also liberated the Earl of Northumberland, who is the head of the insurgents in England, and who, having fled to Scotland, had there been detained by the Regent; and indeed the Regent, at the time of his death, was about to treat with Commissioners of the Queen of England who had been sent to obtain possession of the Earl's person. It would therefore seem that the Scottish insurgents might easily join with those of England, with a view to restore the Queen of Scotland to her kingdom, a result which these most Christian Majesties most earnestly desire and are doing all that may lie in their power to effect; and already two vessels, laden with munitions of war, which their Majesties have sent, have arrived to succour Dumbarton, which is the only fortress now remaining faithful to the Queen. Moreover, to further assist the Queen of Scotland, they have sent already to England Mons. de Montluc, whose return here is shortly awaited. These events cannot but be displeasing to the Queen of England, and particularly having regard to the pretensions of the Queen of Scotland to the kingdom of England, who is nearest heir to the English throne, the Queen of England being childless.

Angers, 18th February 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. [25]. Copy, Venetian Archives.

475. Copy of the Bull of Pope Pius V. excommunicating Queen Elizabeth; enclosed in the Despatch of Michael Surian, dated 6th May 1570.*

Pius, Bishop, servant of the servants of God; for perpetual remembrance. He who reigns in the highest places, and who has

* This copy is in Italian. The original Latin text is printed in the Rev. Joseph Mendham's "Life and Pontificate of Saint Pius V.," from "Magnum Bullarium Romanum," Lugd. 1655, tom. ii., p. 303.

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all power in heaven and in earth, has willed that His one holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, out of which there can be no salvation, shall be governed by one alone upon earth, namely, by Peter, prince of the Apostles; and in the fulness of His powers* it has been committed to him (Peter) only, and to the Roman Pontiff, his successor. He has constituted this man alone prince over all nations, and over all kingdoms, with power to extirpate, destroy, dissipate, disperse, plant, and build, to the end that he may keep His faithful people united in spirit by the close bond of mutual charity, and present them safely to their Saviour. In such charge, we, who by the favour of God have been called to the government of the aforesaid Church, assuredly do not spare any labour; and we endeavour with all diligence to preserve entire this unity and the Catholic religion, which has been permitted by its author to be troubled by so many tempests for the proof of His faithful people and for our correction. But the number of evil men has become so great and powerful, that at length there remains not a place in the world which they have not sought to corrupt with most wicked doctrines.

Among others who offend in this manner is that servant of all iniquity, Elizabeth, pretended Queen of England, with whom, as in a most secure place, all the worst kind of men find a refuge. This woman, having occupied the kingdom, and monstruously usurped throughout England the place of supreme head of the Church, attributing to herself a particular authority and jurisdiction therein, has caused that kingdom, which had previously been brought back to the Catholic faith, again to return to a pernicious condition. For, having by main force discontinued the use of the true religion, which after having [formerly] been destroyed by [its deserter] Henry the Eighth, was restored by Mary, the lawful Queen, of happy memory, with the aid of this See; she has, by means of† certain favorite errors of the heretics, dissolved the Royal Council, and in place of the most noble men of England, who used to compose it, she has filled it with ignoble and heretic persons. She has oppressed the professors of the Catholic faith, and has reappointed most wicked preachers and ministers of impiety. She has destroyed and utterly taken away the sacrifice of the altar, the prayers, the fasts, the use of the sacraments,‡ and every other Catholic rite. She has given express command, that books which are manifestly heretical, shall be published throughout the kingdom; and that the impious constitutions and atrocious mysteries of Calvin, which she personally acknowledges and observes, shall be likewise observed by her subjects. She has deprived the bishops and other priests of their churches and benefices, which she has bestowed on heretical persons; having the audacity also to intermeddle in ecclesiastical causes. She has interdicted the prelates,

* The Latin text reads, "in potestatis plenitudine."

† *Sic.* The Latin text shows that this should read, "following and embracing certain errors," &c.

‡ Instead of "l'uso de' sacramenti," the Latin text has "ciborum delectum."

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the clergy, and the people from acknowledging the Roman Church in any manner, and from giving obedience to its commands and canonical constitutions. She has by a solemn oath compelled many to submit* to her accursed laws, to abhor† the authority and obedience of the Roman Pontiff, and to acknowledge herself alone as mistress both in temporal and in spiritual matters. She has decreed divers penalties and punishments for such as are not obedient to her, and she has put these in force against every one who wished to continue in the unity of the faith, and in the pristine obedience. And finally, she cast many bishops and prelates into prison, where after many sufferings they have miserably perished.

All these things being manifest to all nations, and having been fully proved by the testimony of many grave persons, so that there can be no room for any excuse or defence; and as impieties and wicked deeds, and especially the persecution of the faithful and the oppression of religion, are continually multiplying more and more by the means and aid of the said Elizabeth, who continues daily to strengthen and harden her heart, so that she not only despises the prayers and admonitions which are made to her by Catholic princes for her salvation and conversion, but will not even allow the Nuncios, sent to her for this cause by the Apostolic See, to pass into England; we are necessarily constrained to take up against her the arms of justice, and cannot but feel great displeasure at having to proceed against one whose ancestors so well deserved of the Christian Republic.

We, therefore, sustained by the authority of Him who has placed us upon this supreme throne of justice, although without any merit of our own, in the fulness of the Apostolic authority, do declare that the aforesaid Elizabeth is a heretic and a favourer of heretics, and that her adherents in the matters aforesaid have incurred the sentence of malediction, and are utterly separated from the unity of the body of Christ; and that she is wholly deprived of her pretended right to the aforesaid kingdom, and likewise of all and every dominion, dignity, and privilege; and that the barons, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all others who may have taken any oath to her, are in every respect free‡ from such oath, and from every other obligation which they may have to be faithful and obedient to her; as we, by the authority of these presents, do absolve and release them [therefrom], and do deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended right to that kingdom, and of all other pre-eminences, as is aforesaid. And we command and interdict all and every one of her barons, subjects, people, and others, that they shall not dare to obey either her, or her laws and commandments; and he who shall act otherwise, shall incur the same sentence of malediction.

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* "Entrare" in the Italian; "venire" in the Latin.
† "Detestar" in the Italian; "abjurare" in the Latin.
‡ "Absolutis" in the Latin text.

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But as these presents can hardly be conveyed to every place, we will that copies of them, sealed with the curial seal,* and subscribed by the notary public and the ecclesiastical prelate, shall have the same credit, both judicially and otherwise, in every place whatsoever, as these presents would have if they were given forth and produced.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of our Lord 1569, on the 23rd [25th ?] of February, in the fifth year of our pontificate.†

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

476. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Signory.

The Marshal de Cosse is preparing to expel the Huguenots from La Charité, in order to deprive the enemy of the only communication upon the River Loire whereby assistance can come from Germany to that part of the country which they now occupy, and which is the most fertile in the kingdom. It is considered so important by the enemy to maintain this communication, that in the event of peace being concluded, the Admiral will, it is said, insist on retaining La Charité in order that he may by its means receive succours from Germany, and he will also, it is said, do his utmost to retain La Rochelle in order to keep a seaport open to obtain assistance from England. These two provinces are the principal support of the Huguenots, because it is manifest that without them they could not have maintained themselves for so many years, and after having lost so many battles. And the Queen of England, being aware how greatly this matter weighs with their Majesties, and seeing herself assailed by insurrections both in her own kingdom and in Scotland, and that their Majesties of France are endeavouring in every possible way to promote the interests of the Queen of Scotland, has enlisted and agreed to pay in her own name 4,000 Roisters in Germany. It is impossible to believe that these troops could now be intended to serve in England, although formerly they had been employed there in wars with Scotland; but that was during the period when England possessed Calais, and when there was no obstacle to an embarkation from Flanders, whereas now the Queen, possessing neither of these advantages, would have to embark any forces at Lubeck or some other free port upon the eastern ocean, thus necessitating a sea-passage both long and perilous. Hence it is quite certain that these Roisters are intended to join the insurgents in this kingdom, and to divert and keep occupied the authorities in this country, so that they cannot give any thought to foreign undertakings. And this is the more certain, because in letters which have been lately inter-

* "Co'l bollo curiale." In the Latin text: "notarii publici manu, et prælati ecclesiastici ejusve curiæ sigillo, obsignata."

† The Bull, as printed in the Bullarium and by the Rev. Joseph Mendham, bears date 5 Kal. Maii 1570. He refers, however, to copies dated 25th and 27th February 1569 (-1570); and the marginal note in the Bullarium itself gives the date as "25 Feb." It is therefore clear that "Maii" is a mistake for "Martii." There is a copy among the State Papers at the Public Record Office, which bears the correct date, viz., "v. Kal. Martii."

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cepted the Queen of England, writing to the Admirals and to the Princes of Navarre and Condé, has dissuaded them from making peace, giving, amongst other reasons, that the assistance which she had promised them was already on the way, and it is therefore impossible not to believe but that this allusion refers to the Roisters.

I have also been informed for certain that the Queen of England has lately ordered her Ambassador [Norris] to wait upon the King and the Queen, in order to mention three matters to them. First, that she, at the instance of these Majesties, had ordered the Queen of Scotland to enjoy more liberty, so that she might live more conveniently and take her pleasure more fully. Secondly, the Queen, having regard to the insurgents in her kingdom and the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, had determined to enlist and equip 80,000 infantry, but their Majesties were to have no fear on this account, for her Majesty would continue for the future to be the same good friend to them as heretofore. Thirdly, her Majesty entreated their Majesties not to assist or encourage the insurgents in her kingdom.

No reply was given to these haughty and high-sounding communications by their Majesties at the moment, but after some days' interval they summoned the Ambassador, and instructed him to write to his Queen that so far as concerned the freedom which she said she had granted to the Queen of Scotland, their Majesties gladly received the intelligence, but they would have preferred, as they believed to be just, that this should have been done long ago; and they considered it fitting that the Queen of Scotland, who had been driven from her kingdom by seditious persons, and who had taken refuge in England with a relative who professed to be loving towards her, should have been treated like a Queen and relative, and not as a prisoner. With regard to the second point concerning the military preparations, their Majesties said that if her Majesty had enlisted 80,000 infantry this kingdom would enlist 150,000, but not from any fear from England, because the frontiers between the two kingdoms were so clear and well defined, and the ditch which divided the two was of such large dimensions that the ocean could pass through it. With regard to the third matter, the reply was that her Majesty ought to be conscious who had the best right to complain on this account, because she had not only secretly with money encouraged seditious persons in this kingdom, but had by her very side certain of their chiefs who were probably prepared to do worse deeds than ever.

Letters from Scotland, dated the 7th instant, advise that after the death of the Regent the prospects of the Queen of Scotland had greatly improved; that the siege of Dumbarton had been raised, and that the Governor of that fortress had returned half of the cargoes of the two ships which had arrived from France in aid, to the commanders of the vessels, as being not required.

Monsieur de Monluet, who was lately sent by these Majesties to England, and who left England on the 16th instant, arrived here yesterday. He states that the Queen of England would not permit

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him to visit the Queen of Scotland according to the order which he had received from these Majesties; also that the Queen of Scotland had been removed from Coventry, where she had been previously detained, to Tutbury Castle, because the latter was a larger, more commodious, and agreeable residence; and that in England matters were in a state of tranquillity. He further states that while he was at the English Court a person was sent by the Queen to La Rochelle in the matter of the Venetian ships which had been detained; and that he heard that their release was being assisted by the Ambassador of her Majesty in England [Mons. de la Mothe Fénelon]. But he knew no particulars, and as there is no communication with La Rochelle from hence, nothing is heard of the matter here.

Angers, 26th February 1570.

[*Italian.*]

March 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

477. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The last advices from England relate that the insurgents both in England and Scotland continue to augment in great numbers, and had endeavoured to effect a junction, a movement which was greatly feared by the Queen of England, because the insurgents in both kingdoms belong to these borders, and are a very warlike race in consequence of the continual wars which the two kingdoms have carried on for a long time past upon these borders; and thus the inhabitants have learnt warlike practices without ever going far from home. It is also the fact that the people both of England and Scotland, in these districts, are for the most part Roman Catholic, because almost all the English and Scotch who wish to live after the Roman Catholic manner have retired to these border frontiers in order to be at a distance from their respective governments, and to be able speedily to seek safety by passing into one or other of the kingdoms, as the case might be. For this reason there is an impression at this Court [France] that the Queen of England, although she has lately detained the Ambassador of the Queen of Scotland,* will not only release him, but will also release the Queen of Scotland herself, to smooth all difficulties, because the insurgents do not ask for anything but the Queen's release. This release is also urgently insisted upon by these Majesties, who favour the affairs and interests of that Queen in every possible way, and indeed orders have lately been given to all the governors of the seaports of this kingdom [France] not to hold intercourse with any merchants from Scotland who are not furnished with passports or letters from the Queen of Scotland or her representatives. I have no communication whatever with La Rochelle. No person either comes from thence or goes thither, and I have therefore no intelligence whatever concerning the Venetian vessels, or of the persons belonging to them who remain at that place, and it grieves me greatly not to have been able to procure the release of the two noblemen Venieri, who were on board the vessel *Vergi*.

* The Bishop of Ross. (Foreign Calendar.)

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The instant that any opportunity may occur of giving them assistance I shall not hesitate to avail myself of it.

Angers, 6th March 1570.

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

478. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday the masters and many of the crew of the detained vessels arrived in this city. They left La Rochelle on the 2nd, and report that all their cargo had been discharged, and the greater part of it sold.

The Huguenots had allowed the *Giustiniana*, which was a very old vessel, to go to pieces, and had put all her artillery and armaments on board the *Vergi*, which vessel they seem desirous to arm, and it was said they meant to send her against the Spanish fleet, which about this time was expected to return from the Indies. An individual had arrived at La Rochelle who had been sent there by the Venetian merchants in England, with letters written by the Queen, to obtain the restoration of the captured vessels, and he has sent me copies of the enclosed answer which he had received; and if he has done nothing else, he has at all events taken with him the two noblemen Venieri, and the remainder of the crews of the two ships. I also forward copy of the judgment, whereby the capture of the vessel was adjudicated to be lawful. I am endeavouring to procure passports in order that the men may depart safely, but it is proposed that the purser (*scrivano*) of the *Vergi* should remain, in order to watch the interests of the merchants, who are the real owners of the cargoes.

The court of the Admiral of La Rochelle has condemned the two vessels belonging to subjects of the Signory of Venice, together with their cargoes, as good prize, upon the ground that the Signory of Venice had persistently assisted the Papists, and not only on former occasions, but lately, when the Signory advanced and lent 300,000 crowns to the King of France; and moreover at the present time the Ambassador of the Signory, together with the Ambassadors of the Pope and of the King of Spain, were daily urging the King of France to follow a course from which he cannot turn back. The court therefore declared it to have been proved that these vessels were enemies' ships, and that the court could do no less than to adjudge them good prize, and assign one third of the value to the Admiral, one third to the captors, and the remaining third to be retained for the good of the cause; the Queen [of Navarre] herself making no claim whatever to participation in the same, notwithstanding that she and many of the princes and noble blood of France, who had been deprived of all their property, might lay claim against those who were aiding the cause of the Papists; remembering also that this war was declared not only against the Papists who were in this neighbourhood, but also against Spaniards and Italians, and all those who were enemies of the cause. Notwithstanding, the Queen of her goodness trusted that she might be some day able to make intercession with the King, in order to

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compensate those who had suffered loss. It was further to be remembered that the Signory of Venice had assisted the King of France in the war which he is carrying on against the Queen and the Princes.

Angers, 10th March 1570.

[*Italian.*]

March 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

479. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Signory.

By letters from England, dated 2nd instant, I hear that a powerful lord named Darchs [Leonard Dacre] had risen against the Queen, and, upon the pretence that the Queen was sending forces to take him prisoner, assembled a great number of his own adherents, with whom he marched against the soldiers of the Queen, and killed upwards of four hundred of them, though with equal loss upon his own side. He retreated to Scotland, with the remainder of his force, and many of his own people have followed him thither, and daily others do the same. The Queen, therefore, perceiving that this insurrection continues to increase, and doubting whether all the inhabitants of that district might not turn against her, has sent a large sum of money to Scotland to those who profess her religion, and who were the adherents of the late Bastard, in order that they may keep the Catholics in subjection, and give them full occupation; and the Queen has also instructed her Ambassador resident here to entreat their Majesties not in any way to encourage her subjects who have rebelled against her.

Angers, 23rd March 1570.

[*Italian.*]

March 31. Bequeathed MSS. Portf. 1.

480. Notarial Instrument.

Testifying that in the year 1570, 12th Elizabeth, 31st March, the young man Mr. William Horsey, servant of John Peryam, of the city of Exeter, merchant, at the instance and special request of Signor Sebastian de Nicolo, purser (*scrivani*) of the ship *Federica et Bonalda*, whereof Stephen de Nicolo is master (*patronus*), presented to the notary a certain memorial or acquittance in the Italian language, made, written, and subscribed by Signor Giovanni Luchatelli, servant or cashier (*cassierum*) of Signor Innocenzio Luchatelli, merchant of Venice, residing in London, the tenor of which is set forth. It is dated 1569, 5th January, in London, and states that Jo. Juane (*sic*) Luchatelli, for Innocenzio Luchatelli, had received from William Horsey, for Master John Peryam, of Exeter, the sum of 33*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling, for so much received from the ship *Fedriga*, at Dartmouth, &c. This instrument is made at the request of William Horsey for the benefit of Sebastian de Nicolo, in London, at the notary's house situate in the public street of Cornehill, in the parish of St. Michael in Cornehill, in the presence of Ambrose de Pavia and George de Gaspero, merchants residing in London. The notary is William Broke, *literatus* of the diocese of York and citizen of London.

[*Latin.*]

1570.
May 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

481. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The army of the Queen of England has entered Scotland, and has burnt and destroyed all the castles and habitations of those persons who had lately invaded England, that is to say, so far as the Catholics were concerned, for the property of the Protestants has been spared. It is said that this destruction has extended to four hundred castles, properties, and villages. The English have heard that the Scotch had liberated the Duke of Châtellerault, the principal partisan of the Queen of Scotland, from prison, and that he was about to arm a large force to oppose them. The English forces have retreated to Berwick, which is a place upon the frontiers between the two kingdoms.

Paris, 30th May 1570.

[*Italian.*]

June 19.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

482. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Signory.

On the 14th of last month the English again entered Scotland, and did much damage there by burning many castles to the number, as it is said, of five hundred, and then they returned within their own frontiers, having suffered very little loss themselves.

Paris, 19th June 1570.

[*Italian.*]

June 29.
Original Letter. Cancellaria Secreta. Venetian Archives.

483. Elizabeth, Queen of England, to Alvise Mocenigo, Doge of Venice.

Has willingly, out of regard for the ancient alliance of their States, done what was requested by the letters of the Doge's predecessor; namely, that she would undertake the protection (*curam*) of the ships of certain of the Doge's citizens, which had been captured and despoiled by certain Frenchmen, who are alleged to belong to the territory of the Queen of Navarre. Although she has done everything therein which was required by law or friendship, such is the pertinacity of wicked men in evil doing in these times, that she has not been able to obtain the recovery of what was unjustly seized. Will continue her efforts until they are successful. Giovanni Pesaro, Venetian Consul in London, will give the Doge details of what she has done in the matter. Commends Pesaro as a young man of great ability, beyond his years, in managing affairs.

Oatlands, 29th June 1570.

There is an endorsement stating that Pesaro was about to return home.

[*Latin ; signed by the Queen.*]

July 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

484. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Advices from England state that Commissioners from Scotland were expected at the Court to negotiate some agreement concerning

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the existing disturbances and the release of the Queen of Scotland, and it would appear that the conditions proposed on the part of the English were that the infant King, the sole heir of that kingdom, should be delivered to them; that in matters of religion the edicts of the late Regent [the Earl of Murray] should be confirmed, and also that two fortresses were to be surrendered to the English for a term of years. These conditions appeared to the Scotch so hard that, although the Queen of Scotland, as may be well imagined, desires her freedom, nevertheless she will not give her consent, believing that these proposals have been made to gain time, and to prevent the Scotch arming, or assistance being rendered by a foreign Prince, such, for instance, as their Majesties might be disposed to afford if they succeeded in preserving peace with the Huguenots.

Paris, 17th July 1570.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

485. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of France, to the Doge and Signory.

The Nuncio of the Pope and the Ambassador of Spain are making strenuous efforts to prevent a peace being made with the Huguenots, and are even offering, in the name of their Sovereigns, assistance in the shape both of money and of men. But a circumstance which occurred the day before yesterday will show the great desire which prevails universally throughout the Court for peace. For the Ambassador of Spain, being then in the King's chamber, in audience with his Majesty, Mons. de Tavannes, a gentleman highly esteemed, arrived there, and he, seeing that the Ambassador was present, and being himself rather deaf and accustomed, as is usual with deaf persons, to speak loudly, said in a voice so audible as to be not only heard by the Ambassador's gentlemen who were near him, but by the Ambassador himself, who was near the King, "These Spaniards would do better to govern their own homes, and not interfere by trying to govern other people's countries; for I well know that the Spaniards have no wish but to foment civil wars, so that both one party and the other may be weakened, and they themselves become stronger than both; and for my own part I would rather see a hundred white cassocks (which is the costume of the Huguenots) than one red cross (which is the badge the Spaniards wear), because, after all, the first are our brethren and our kindred, while the latter are the natural enemies of our country.

Poissy, 20th July 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

486. Giacomo Soranzo and Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassadors with the Emperor, to the Doge and Signory.

The Queen of England has sent an Ambassador to the Queen of Spain to offer her all facilities on her voyage by sea.

Spires, 16th August 1570.

[*Italian.*]

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Sept. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

487. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen of Spain, after having remained three days in Antwerp, had proceeded to Berges (*sic*), where she was only waiting fine weather in order to embark, for in that place and in Zealand a fleet had been got ready, consisting of eighty armed vessels and upwards of one hundred and twenty others, so as to sail safely to Spain, and without fear of the fleet of La Rochelle, which consists of twenty ships, and every day commits some fresh act of piracy; indeed it has lately captured a Flemish vessel of the value of more than 100,000 ducats. It was reported from England that the Queen, hearing of these preparations by the King of Spain in these seas, had herself armed a number of vessels; but she has nevertheless sent one of her principal gentlemen to acquaint the Queen of Spain that she had given orders at all the seaports of her kingdom that if by stress of weather or for other cause her Catholic Majesty should enter one of them, she was to be received with all due honour.

Paris, 17th September 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

488. Giacomo Soranzo and Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassadors with the Emperor, to the Signory.

A gentleman sent by the Queen of England still remains here, waiting the answer and decision touching what the Emperor has written to the Archduke Charles with reference to the marriage of his Highness to the Queen. It is said that this gentleman is invested with sufficient authority and power, both from the Queen and from the kingdon, to bind her to whatever he may conclude as to the marriage. He therefore says that the decision rests entirely with the Emperor, if the Archduke places himself at the Emperor's disposition upon this occasion, in like manner as he did the last. This gentleman announced that the Queen greatly distrusts the King of Spain, who does not approve of the marriage between the Queen and the Archduke, notwithstanding that both parties might consent, and that the affair was originally undertaken by the advice and counsel of his Catholic Majesty.

Spires, 27th September 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

489. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The agents of the Huguenots are in negotiation for the restoration to the Cardinal Châtillon of the revenues of his ecclesiastical preferment, which he had held, and to effect this purpose a suggestion has been made that a Catholic should be appointed as his nominee, but the Nuncio opposes this idea. On the other hand, in order to keep the promises which have been made, it has been proposed to give to Châtillon a pension secured upon Crown property of an equal amount with his ecclesiastical revenues, and this plan is the more feasible, because the greater part of this preferment has already

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been conferred upon the Cardinal of Bourbon, and produces more than 2,000 crowns annually.

Paris, 29th September 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

490. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The marriage of the Duke of Guise took place three days ago with great pomp and solemnity. On the first day a feast was given by the King, on the second by the Duke de Nevers, whose wife is a sister of the bride, and on the third day by the Duke de Guise; and many tournaments took place, both on horseback and on foot, led partly by the King and his Majesty's brothers, and partly by the Marquis, his cousin, who was the son of the Marquis d'Elbœuf, the brother of the Duke de Guise. In the banqueting hall of the house of the Duke de Guise there was a table covered with vases of gold, crystal, and silver gilt, which for their exquisite design were estimated to be of the value of more than 100,000 crowns, and these were the property of the Cardinals of Loraine and of Guise. The Ambassadors who were invited to these festivities were the Nuncio, the Ambassadors of Spain, the Ambassador of the Queen of Scotland, and the Ambassadors from Venice and the Duke of Ferrara. The English Ambassador was not invited, the reason being, as their Majesties informed him, that there was a question of precedence between him and the Ambassador of Scotland [the Bishop of Glasgow], and as the Duke of Guise was the first cousin of the Queen of Scotland, they being the children of a sister and a brother, his Majesty could not do less than invite her Ambassador; and with this explanation the Ambassador of England seemed satisfied.

It is reported that the Queen of Spain, who left Zeeland on the 25th of last month, sailed during five days in very fine weather, until she arrived a short distance from the coast of Spain, when contrary winds arose, and she was constrained to turn back, and on the 1st of the present month, according to the letters from England, she was said to be close to that island.

Paris, 8th October 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

491. Giacomo Soranzo and Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassadors with the Emperor, to the Signory.

Nothing further is heard concerning the marriage of the Archduke Charles with the Queen of England; but there is a secret negotiation for the marriage between the Archduke and the eldest daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, niece of the Archduke, and daughter of his sister; and it is said that the negotiation is far advanced, and was only made known when the Emperor proposed the alliance with England.

Spires, 19th October 1570.

[*Italian.*]

1570.
Oct. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

492. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The advices that the Queen of Spain had been driven to England on the 1st of this month have not been confirmed either from France or any other place, and the news is held to be untrue, and it is considered almost certain that her Catholic Majesty has by this time arrived in Spain.

Paris, 22nd October 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

493. Giacomo Soranzo and Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassadors with the Emperor, to the Signory.

The marriage of the Archduke Charles with the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria is believed to be arranged, with a dowry estimated at 200,000*l.*, and jewels and clothes of the value of another 100,000*l.*; and the Emperor has offered to obtain the dispensation from the Pope, notwithstanding that the Duke of Bavaria had secretly received the promise of his Holiness to grant it, because this marriage is in the same degree with the marriage between the King of Spain and the daughter of his Imperial Majesty. After the Queen of France has departed, the gentleman from England will be dismissed, and many people think that his Imperial Majesty will throw out some hints in order to ascertain whether the Queen of England would be satisfied with his second son, who has entered his eighteenth year, and who will shortly return from Spain; but after this failure with the Archduke, it is doubted whether the Queen will not turn all her attention to Monsieur d'Anjou, the brother of the King of France.

Spires, 2nd November 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

494. Giacomo Soranzo and Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassadors with the Emperor, to the Signory.

The gentleman sent hither by the Queen of England was this day dismissed by the Emperor, who excused himself by saying that the Queen had so long delayed to communicate her resolution concerning the marriage with the Archduke, that his Highness, not being able to wait longer, had promised himself to the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria. Consequently the gentleman departed in great grief, which he says will be shared by all the nobility of England, and that the Queen will hold a Parliament and open another negotiation, which is understood to refer to Monsieur d'Anjou, the brother of the King of France. The same gentleman says that he perceives the Emperor, although he conceals his feelings, to be greatly displeased with the decision of the Archduke, in having declined the offer from England with the dowry of such a kingdom.

Spires, 7th November 1570.

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

495. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Ambassador from England declined to attend the marriage of his Majesty, and said to the gentlemen who had invited him in the name of the King, that he could not be present because he knew he should meet there the Nuncio of the Pope, who was the open enemy of his Queen, and also the Ambassador of the King of Spain, whom he did not rightly know whether to treat as friend or foe, and who also pretended to have precedence over him ; and that he would be prepared to give his reasons to their Majesties, should he be called upon to do so.

Paris, 29th November 1570.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

496. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Six Ambassadors have arrived at this Court from six Protestant Princes of Germany, namely, three from the Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate, one from the Duke of Würtemberg, one from the Landgrave of Hesse, and one from the Duke Casimir.

They congratulated the King on his marriage, and exhorted him to observe the articles of the peace. They then made strong representations to his Majesty that he should give orders for the arrears of the pay which was due to the Roisters who had served him to be discharged at once. The President de Montfort, who is here to represent the Duke of Savoy, has told me, and also the Nuncio and the Secretary of Spain, that these Ambassadors of Germany have proposed to the King to make a league defensive and offensive, and have done so on account of the apprehension which they entertained respecting the league which has been negotiated in Rome, because they are under the apprehension that this league, although professing publicly to be made against infidels, is in fact also directed against heretics. The Nuncio affirms that the Cardinal of Guise, who was present at each audience, has assured the Germans there is no foundation for their apprehension, nor is it thought there is, for these Ambassadors are persons of but small consideration, and were only granted one interview, and were then dismissed with a present each of a chain of the value of 400 crowns.

It is also reported that a personage of rank is coming here in the name of the Queen of England, and some believe that it will be the Lord Robert, and that he will travel in great state and be accompanied by 100 gentlemen, and that besides his mission to congratulate the King on his marriage, he will propose a marriage between his Queen and Monsieur d'Anjou, the brother of the most Christian King ; which proposal will be made more for the satisfaction of the people of the English nation, who are earnestly entreating her Majesty to take a husband, than for the belief that such an event can come to any conclusion whatever ; but ever since

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the Archduke, the brother of the Emperor, who for so long a time negotiated a marriage with the Queen of England, married the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, the English nation have made a new and very strong appeal to the Queen to take a husband, in order to obtain an heir, for there being at the present time five claimants with equal pretensions to succeed her, their efforts must necessarily give rise to great trouble and disorder in that kingdom, which is already rent with so many dissensions on account of religious matters. Therefore her Majesty has sent hither to commence this new negotiation, and thus in the meanwhile to feed her subjects with hope. But besides this question, there is no doubt that one of the causes of the mission of this envoy of England, and perhaps the principal one, is in this kingdom to favour the affairs of the Huguenots, who exert themselves in every way to make known how intimately they are united with some provinces of Germany and with England, and to maintain the reputation which they have established, and which is so great that they are even represented by an Ambassador at this Court after the custom of foreign princes.

At La Rochelle a number of gentlemen have assembled to assist at the marriage of the Admiral, his future wife, Madame de Antramon, being on her way and not distant from these parts. It is also believed that the marriage of the eldest son of the Prince of Condé with a daughter of M. d'Andelot, who is the brother of the Admiral, will also take place at the same time. She is the heiress not only of her father but also of her mother, who was of the honourable and rich house of Laval. Nevertheless the Nuncio of the Pope is putting great pressure upon the King to prevent this marriage, alleging that it is contrary to the articles of peace, one of which sets forth that no marriage can be contracted contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and that the Prince and the lady of Laval, being first cousins are within the prohibited degrees.

La Ferté Melun, 28th December 1570.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1571.

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Feb. 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

497. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of France, to the Signory.

Advices have been received from Spain that Julian Romer is about to leave Spain with some armed vessels to proceed to Ireland, to assist the people of that country, who are for the most part Catholics, and who have demanded aid from the King of Spain in order to expel all persons of another religion, and together with them the Governors who represent the Queen of England. This news has given great anxiety at this Court, and particularly because they know that lately the Catholic King has sought to obtain from the Pope, and perhaps has obtained from him, the investiture of the

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kingdom of Ireland, which is a feud of the Apostolic See. The advice of the departure of these ships from Spain has been received here through M. de Malicorne, one of the King's gentlemen who went to Spain to congratulate the Catholic King upon his marriage, and the news was forthwith made known by M. de Lansac to the Ambassadors of England who are resident here at present.* But this news, so far as I can understand on good authority, has been exaggerated, in order that the Queen of England, seeing herself menaced by the King of Spain, may consent more readily to the marriage with the Duke of Anjou, the brother of the King, which marriage has been negotiated in England by the Cardinal Châtillon, who for this purpose, and by order, has remained in that kingdom, although he would otherwise have embarked to return to La Rochelle. It is said that on the first occasion when the Cardinal proposed this marriage to the Queen, her Majesty answered him that she thanked their Majesties for their regard for her, but that she did not desire to take for a husband any man whom she had not seen, but that if Monsieur would visit England he would be well received; nevertheless her Majesty would not guarantee his personal safety, nor give him any safe conduct whatever. The above has been reported to me by a person who has seen the original letter of Châtillon, in which it was also stated that an Ambassador from Saxony was then at the Court, negotiating in the name of many of the Protestant Princes of Germany for a strict alliance and good understanding with the Queen in favour of the maintenance of their religion, and for aid to the Huguenots of France, and because they feared lest these new connexions made lately by the Emperor might be the cause of some new departure against them.

Paris, 1st February 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

498. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Signory.

A few days ago Cavaliere Scura,† a gentleman highly qualified, proceeded from hence to the Court of the Emperor, and although it is reported that he had gone thither to give an account of the illness of the Queen, it is nevertheless disbelieved that a man of his high position could be sent for such a purpose only; and it is considered more probable that he has some secret mission, and possibly to negotiate a marriage for Monsieur d'Alençon, who is brother to the King, with the daughter of the Duke of Saxony. This marriage is greatly desired at this Court, because this King having no fear from any power, except Germany, which is allied with and of the same religion as these Huguenots, and has also been accustomed to the rich spoils of this kingdom, their Majesties believe that they might strengthen themselves in this manner, because they would not only be in close relationship with Saxony, which is probably more powerful in force and authority than any other

* Sir Henry Norris and Francis Walsingham.

† "The Chevalier Sheures" is mentioned in the Foreign Calendar, and "the Chevalier de Teure" (*sic*) in the Calendar of Cecil MSS.

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principality of Germany, but they would also make sure of Casimir, who has married another daughter of the same Duke of Saxony. The Ambassador Extraordinary of the Queen of England is expected to arrive shortly, for there are advices that he has crossed the sea, and it is expected that he will be here for the entry of the King, which is to take place on the first Monday of Lent, though the entry of the Queen will be deferred. Nothing more is known about the affairs of Ireland.

Paris, 16th February 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

499. Leonardo Donado, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Signory.

The last messenger who came from Flanders brought news that the places which had been occupied by the exiles had been recovered, and that there did not appear to be in Germany so great a disposition to make preparations as had been reported; but nevertheless the complaints which the Flemish exiles had preferred at the meeting of the Diet, and the negotiations of the Queen of England with the Germans, foreshadow an understanding between them, which will not cease to continue, for the Queen, knowing that she has deeply offended his Majesty (King Philip) by the detention of so much property which belongs to his vassals, and which has been already disposed of by her, and seeing that the King has received and well treated the exiles from her country, both in Spain and in Flanders, seems resolved soon to act openly and to have recourse to arms. Therefore she continues her understanding with the Germans, believing that in case of an open rupture she could induce some German Princes to attack Flanders, and if there is not an absolute declaration of war, the feelings of both parties are nevertheless bitter and angry.

A certain Thomas Stukeley (*Stuclé*) has been residing in this country for some months past. He is an Irishman, a person of quality, and exiled by the Queen. He has been all this time splendidly entertained at the expense of the King, and now it is understood that his Majesty is about to furnish him with four ships for an expedition in the English waters, but he leaves here nevertheless his only son in the care of the Duke de Feria, to be retained as a voluntary hostage, as it were. The shadows and secret intelligences which are prevalent in the world bode no good to the design of the league, but the French, as is well known, have lately reinforced their garrisons in Picardy, and on the frontiers of Flanders; and this proceeding exciting the King of Spain's suspicions, the Ambassador of France resident here has informed his Majesty that the reason why these troops were sent to the frontiers was to give them employment, because if the King [of France] had disbanded them all at once, they might have mutinied for lack of pay, and thus done great injury in the kingdom; but the King's intention has been, as it was always, to remain a good brother to his Catholic Majesty, and preserve the friendship which exists between them. The proclamation which was published in Paris and throughout France some months ago for free trade between the French and the Turks

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during the negotiation for the league, has afforded such matter for occupation to people here, that they never cease discussing it.

The French Ambassador has told me that the Nuncio in France having endeavoured to induce the King [of France] to enter into the league, the King replied that he did not believe the proposal real, because during a whole year he had obtained nothing but words, but when he saw that there was a desire to act vigorously, irrespective of private interests, he would be the very first to support the undertaking; but so long as he was treated coldly he did not think it worth while to lose uselessly the friendship of so great a Prince.

Madrid, 19th February 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

500. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Ambassador Extraordinary from the Queen of England has arrived in this city. His name is Lord Buckhurst, and he is lodged and entertained most nobly at the expense of the King. He went to his first audience this day, but I cannot hear that he has any other mission except one of ceremony. He has presented six palfreys, richly caparisoned, in the name of his Queen, to the King, and two palfreys, in the name of Lord Robert, to the King, and two to Monsieur, his brother.

Paris, 23rd February 1571.

[*Italian.*]

March 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

501. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday his most Christian King made his royal entry into this city, but although very magnificent, it was greatly inferior to the last ceremony of the same kind conducted by King Henry, his father. The Ambassadors were not present at this entry, because it is not customary for them to attend the King on such an occasion, but they will attend the Queen upon her entry, which will take place towards the end of this month. We were all invited to the supper which was served last night in the Court of the Palace of the city, and to-morrow we are to attend the ceremony, which the King will perform in his royal robes, at St. Denis' Church, in order to carry back to their proper places the bodies of the first apostles and protectors of France, namely, St. Denis, St. Rusticus, and St. Eleutherius, which, when the Huguenots were in this neighbourhood, were brought within the city for fear they should be profaned, as has been done elsewhere; but no Ambassadors were invited except those of the Pope, Spain, Scotland, and Venice, notwithstanding several other Ambassadors, including the Ambassador of England, are at the Court.

Paris, 7th March 1571.

[*Italian.*]

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March 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

502. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The most Christian Queen, who is in good health, and not pregnant, as lately affirmed, will make her entry into the city on the 27th of this month. Yesterday the King made the solemn procession which is customary after a royal entry; to-day his Majesty has attended Parliament to exhort all judges to do justice, and his Majesty, according to custom, then heard a cause, and gave judgment in person.

Paris, 11th March 1571.

[*Italian.*]

March 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

503. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The coronation of the most Christian Queen took place yesterday at St. Denis. The ceremony was most imposing on account of the surroundings, the form and richness of the vestments, and the excellent order with which the whole proceedings were conducted.

Paris, 26th March 1571.

[*Italian.*]

March 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

504. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The most Christian Queen entered into this city yesterday. The spectacle was magnificent and most solemn. Subsequently a gorgeous festival was given by the King in the great hall of the Palace, together with tournaments, and the Ambassadors in ordinary from the Pope, Spain, Scotland, and Venice, were invited and given very distinguished places.

Letters from England, dated the 26th, announce the death of the Cardinal Châtillon, the brother of the Admiral, from fever. This news has been received by the Catholics with satisfaction, because the Cardinal, from his lofty and restless disposition, and from the great reputation in which he was held by the Queen of England, induced her to give material assistance to those persons who follow the new religion. By his death an ecclesiastical preferment of the annual value of 60,000 crowns has become vacant. But the King has not yet disposed of this, and it is thought that his Majesty will confer it only upon those who at present have a title to it, because during the late wars these benefices were divided between the Cardinals de Bourbon, Guise, and Pellève; but now, since the peace, the annual revenue had to be restored to Châtillon. It is also heard that the Admiral has solemnized his marriage, and consummated it in the house of M. de La Rochefoucault, with Madame d'Antramon, who he has married.

Paris, 31st March 1571.

[*Italian.*]

April 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

505. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The other day, to the great annoyance of the King, his Majesty's preacher, whilst on the road from Saint Denis to this city, was set

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upon and severely beaten with sticks and otherwise ill-treated, by four masked persons, who, unfortunately, have not yet been discovered.

It is reported from England that the Queen greatly laments the death of the Cardinal de Châtillon, and several members of his family have been arrested, upon a suspicion and idea that he was poisoned, but no proof has been forthcoming of their guilt.

Paris, 5th April 1571.

[*Italian.*]

April 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

506. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Ambassador in ordinary of England, resident at this Court,* told me that before he left England the Queen, when speaking with him about the affairs of your Serenity, and of her earnest desire that you should prevail against the infidels, said that she was greatly surprised, because although during the life of Queen Mary and when she was a private person and almost a prisoner, she had never passed a week without being visited either by or on behalf of the Ambassadors who represented your Serenity at that Court, since she had been Queen your Serenity had become so unmindful of her. I then answered without hesitation, and as if from myself, that I thought that your Serenity only refrained from sending an Ambassador on account of the opinion which you had long entertained that her Majesty ought to take a husband, and I referred to the Princes with whom marriage negotiations had been carried on; and I suggested further that your Serenity might delay sending a representative until such an event took place, which you hoped was near at hand; but notwithstanding that what I thus stated was merely my private opinion, at the same time I said I could affirm with certainty that your Serenity would always bear towards her Majesty the same affection and respect which you had displayed towards her father, her brother, and her sister. My opinion is that the Ambassador spoke to me in these terms on account of the unceasing representations which the Nuncio of the Pope is constantly making to his Majesty and also to the King of Spain to recall the Ambassadors who represent them in England, immediately after his Holiness has declared in public a Bull of Excommunication against the Queen, and for her deprivation of her kingdom, and her Majesty is probably apprehensive lest your Serenity should refrain from sending her an Ambassador from the same cause. I went to visit, according to custom, the Ambassador Extraordinary to the Queen of England, who came to this Court lately to congratulate the King on his marriage, but he failed to return my visit, as all the other Ambassadors have done; and he did not even send any one to represent him.

Paris, 11th April 1571.

[*Italian.*]

* Francis Walsingham.

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April 30.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

507. Leonardo Donado, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Signory.

Two days ago an Ambassador from the Queen of England* arrived at this Court. When he first passed the frontier he waited at Bayonne for a safe conduct for his own person, because, as your Serenity knows, there is no peace existing between these Powers, having regard specially to religion, which in Spain is much thought of, and any one coming from England has need of effectual protection. I have not yet seen the Ambassador, but I understand that he has come to congratulate the King upon his marriage, and to negotiate concerning the property which has been detained so long in England, because the Duke of Alva has never been able to come to any definite settlement.

Madrid, 30th April 1571.

[*Italian.*]

June 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

508. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The negotiation for the marriage between the Queen of England and Monseigneur d'Anjou still continues. The Court is at Gaillon, and the English Ambassador has been granted a long and most gracious audience in the matter of the marriage by the Queen Mother, who, for the great love which she bears to her son, is doing her best to bring the affair to a conclusion; and although there are many reasons to the contrary, and amongst others the disparity of age and the difference of religion, it is nevertheless the opinion of many that the negotiation will be successful. The English Ambassador speaks frequently and at length on the subject, and the Bishop of Paris [Pierre de Gondy], the brother of the Comte de Retz (*Res*), and a great favourite at Court, has said lately to the Nuncio that he believed the marriage would take place; but nevertheless many persons of influence are of a different opinion, and particularly because, amongst other conditions demanded by the representatives of England, Calais is required to be given to Monsieur d'Anjou as part of his inheritance in the event of his having children by the Queen of England, and no one believes for a moment that the French would ever consent to this demand, because, when the last peace was concluded between them and the King of Spain, it was manifest that the French would rather have abandoned all their possessions in Savoy, Italy, and the Low Countries, than restore Calais; and further, it is not likely that the Huguenot party would approve this marriage, seeing that in any subsequent hostile operation which they might undertake, they could not expect the assistance from England which they have received during the late wars, and by which they have principally been supported. Furthermore an opinion is prevalent both in France and in England that this negotiation for a marriage has been put forward by the Queen in order to neutralize the assistance which the French might give, and are disposed to give, to the Queen of Scotland, whom they pretend

* Henry Cobham.

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to be the legitimate heir to the kingdom of England, and who is favoured by all the Catholic party in England. Consequently, and as the Queen of Scotland has received assistance from France, both in England and in Scotland the Queen of England has good cause to fear disturbance in her own kingdom, and would therefore by this negotiation for a marriage not only secure herself at home, but daily increase more and more her power in the kingdom of Scotland. However, time will disclose the real truth. Meanwhile a doctor, who was a great favourite with the Queen of England, is daily expected here, and if the negotiation goes forward the Marshal Montmorency will proceed to England.

Paris, 7th June 1571.

[*Italian.*]

June 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

509. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Ser Chiappin Vitelli passed through this city a few days ago on his way from Flanders to Spain. It is supposed that he is about to tender his resignation to the Catholic King, and to enter the service of the Duke of Florence in Italy.

During the absence of the most Christian King at Forea di Leon (*sic*), where he is gone to lay the first stone of a new palace which he is about to build, and which will be the finest in France, the Queen-Mother and Monsieur d'Anjou have been residing for four days in this city to endeavour to obtain the payment of a donation of 300,000 francs which the city has made to his most Christian Majesty, and which is destined to pay the Roisters what is due to them on next Saint John's day.

Paris, 7th June 1571.

[*Italian.*]

June 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

510. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The negotiation for the marriage of Monsieur [d'Anjou], the King's brother, with the Queen of England still proceeds, as appears from the long and private audiences with which the Ambassador of the Queen is frequently favoured.

Their Majesties have determined to send Monsieur L'Archant, a captain of Monsieur's guard, to England. He departed this morning, and although he is not a man of much experience, he is, nevertheless, a great favourite with Monsieur, and it is believed that he has gone to expedite the preparation of the safe conducts necessary for the personages who will subsequently have to visit England on behalf of their Majesties, and also that Marshal Montmorency, accompanied by Mons. de Foix, who was formerly Ambassador with your Serenity, and subsequently Ambassador in England, will be nominated for the mission. Mons. Guido Cavalcanti, a Florentine, is also employed in this negotiation. He is a man of good and sound judgment, and in years gone by he treated and concluded the last peace between this kingdom (France) and England, after the war of Havre de Grace, for which service he still receives a pension from both parties.

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Cavalcanti was speaking to me yesterday about this business, and, neither confirming nor denying any facts, said to me that he thought if this negotiation were concluded it would be satisfactory to many Princes, because it would thus create a weight, as he expressed himself, to balance the great power of the King of Spain, by uniting together these two kingdoms of England and France. The opinion that this negotiation is really advancing is confirmed by a commission which the King has lately issued that his six galleys, now in the Channel seas, should proceed to Havre de Grace, the ordinary port of communication between this kingdom and England, and also by the preparations which are being made for the journey of the King and the Court to that neighbourhood, and the arrival of his Majesty in Paris for providing money. However, nothing is absolutely certain.

Louviers, 19th June 1571.

[*Italian.*]

June 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

511. Leonardo Donado, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Signory.

The Ambassador from England* who was lately sent hither to the King has returned home, and in taking leave of me he said that, as he was passing through France, he should probably attend the Court. I am not acquainted with the particulars of his mission, which have not been made public, but I know from good authority that he, though a great general, has departed greatly dissatisfied and very ill-disposed towards the King, and indeed to such an extent that those persons who have been in communication with him believe that he intends to do all the mischief he can everywhere; and a person of quality, having been asked in what manner the Ambassador had been dismissed, answered, "Like a poltroon as he is, and according to his deserts;" and with regard to this race of Huguenots, as I perceive they are always weaving some evil web, I have reason to believe that they have formed some project prejudicial to the current epoch, and particularly if the proposal for the marriage of the Queen with Monsieur d'Anjou upon his own conditions should be successfully accomplished.

The exiles from England and the Catholic party in England have frequently represented to his Majesty that he should undertake some expedition against England, and revenge himself for the property and goods which were taken from the merchants of Flanders, they promising the King, with the assistance of five or six thousand infantry, to effect great results, and the Pope had already been moved to induce his Majesty to consent. His Majesty had commenced preparations, but because such an expedition was difficult in itself, and might perhaps provoke the Germans, and possibly even the French, to defend the Queen, it appeared to his Majesty, who by nature is cautious, and who has to look a great many ways, expedient that the project should be deferred to some other season.

Madrid, 24th June 1571.

[*Italian.*]

* Henry Cobham.

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July 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

512. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The return of the gentleman who was sent to England is daily expected. When he comes back I shall be able to form a better opinion whether the marriage between the Queen of England and Monsieur, the brother of the King, will take place.

Paris, 2nd July 1571.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

513. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The most Christian King departed yesterday from Monceaux, the palace of the Queen-Mother, which is two leagues distant from hence; and the order has been given that the Court is to go to Fontainebleau, and the Ambassadors to Melun; but his Majesty will first visit Paris. This decision has confirmed the opinion which had arisen, that the negotiation for the marriage between Monsieur and the Queen of England is not advancing, because it was first believed that the Court would proceed to Compiegne as being nearer England, but this voyage to Fontainebleau appears to be for a contrary purpose; and also because the gentleman of Monsieur, who was sent to England, has not yet returned to France. It is also certain that the King of Spain is doing his utmost in every possible way, both with one party and the other, in order to thwart this negotiation; and although the displeasure of the King of Spain may be one of the principal causes which induce these Majesties to desire to bring about the event, yet so many other objections have arisen that it seems most difficult to surmount them.

Meaux, 10th July 1571.

[*Italian.*]

July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

514. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The two envoys who lately went to England to negotiate the marriage of Monsieur, the brother of the King, with the Queen of England, have lately returned thence. I hear that they report the existence of many obstacles and difficulties, and above all the question of religion, the Queen refusing to consent that the persons who are to accompany Monsieur to England should exercise publicly the Roman Catholic religion from fear of an insurrection within her kingdom, because, seeing that the Catholics last year without any assistance rose against her, there was greater reason to fear that they would do so when they had the presence and favour of the French Catholics; and although Mons. de Foix and his colleagues propose by divers means to obviate this difficulty, such, for instance, as that there should be a place of worship assigned for the use of Monsieur's suite, where masses and other offices of the Church might be celebrated with closed doors, nevertheless, it is the opinion of those who are best informed that the negotiation will prove a failure.

Melun, 23rd July 1571.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

515. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The difficulties concerning the marriage of the Queen of England with Monsieur, the brother of the King, notwithstanding that Monsieur de Foix has done his best to remove them, still remain on foot. It is, however, certain that either by means of this marriage, or in some other way, a new alliance is being treated between France and England, in order to unite the two nations more closely. This result appears to be desired no less by one party than by the other, and mainly on account of the natural suspicion which exists between them of the overwhelming power of the King of Spain; these two nations of France and England believing that if they become united, they would create a powerful weight in the balance. The same result is greatly assisted by those professing the Catholic religion in this country, who perceive that by placing his Majesty in enmity with the King of Spain they would compel his Majesty to avail himself of their services, and show them favour. The King, on the other hand, is endeavouring to hold himself on an equality both with one party and the other, because while he is exerting himself to remain in alliance with the King of Spain, on the other hand he is endeavouring to conciliate the Huguenots, as he has lately shown, by removing all the garrisons that occupied St. Jean d'Angeli, Niort, Saintes, and Angoulême, places situate in the neighbourhood of La Rochelle.

Melun, 1st August 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

516. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The marriage between Madame, the sister of the most Christian King, and the Prince of Navarre, appears daily more probable, because some of the principal obstacles have been removed, and particularly that which relates to the marriage ceremony, which it now appears both parties have agreed should be solemnized at the door of the church; after which the bride is to enter the church to hear mass, and the bridegroom to proceed to a preaching of the minister. It is understood that for this purpose not only the Prince himself but also the Admiral and nearly all the chiefs of their party will come to Court.

The Queen of England has proposed to give her niece, whom she greatly favours, in marriage to the Prince of Navarre in order that she may succeed to this kingdom. Nevertheless it is generally believed that this report has been spread merely to hasten a conclusion of her own marriage, and that her Majesty will be more yielding with regard to the difficulties which still remain to be adjusted. These proposals of marriage greatly displease the Ambassador of Spain resident here. A few days ago in the presence of the King's Council he made loud complaints upon the subject, not, however, alleging any cause but that of religion, but it can be seen that State reasons also influence him greatly, because he doubts whether the great love which the King and his

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mother bear towards their sister and daughter be not the cause of this proceeding; for this Prince bears the title of the kingdom of Navarre, which is, in fact, almost entirely in the possession of the King of Spain, and the latter fears, therefore, that this bond of matrimony will bring together both parties in France to devote themselves to new undertakings; and nothing would be more acceptable to the French Catholics than to attack Spain for the recovery of the kingdom of Navarre, and to this project the King might more easily consent for the love which he bears to his sister. The Spanish Ambassador has made every effort to excite the jealousy of the King against the growing power of the House of Bourbon, and has reminded his Majesty that of the twelve provinces of the kingdom ten were in the hands of Governors who were relatives and dependents of the House of Bourbon.

Mons. de Foix, who lately went, as I have written, to England, has not yet returned thence, and from what I hear, upon good authority, his mission was undertaken because the Queen of England had agreed to all the essential conditions which had been proposed to her. But notwithstanding this report, Monsieur would never give his consent; and although, besides the persuasion of the Queen his mother, the King had put great pressure upon him by saying that, as he had already twice risked his life in two battles in the service of his Majesty, so his Majesty was prepared to do him a like service by having determined to maintain and support him, as King of England, with all the forces of his own kingdom, yet it has been found impossible to make him change his mind. Under these circumstances, and doubting lest the Queen of England might not greatly complain, these Majesties decided to send this personage, Mons. de Foix, to satisfy her as much as possible; and this negotiation is the more pressing because there is an idea that if the Queen be disappointed here, she may endeavour to marry one of the sons of the Emperor who had lately come from Spain, and if this event were to happen, it is probable that England might incline rather to the interests of Spain than to those of this country.

The King lately departed from Fontainebleau to go to Blois, where he expects to arrive about the 1st of September. The Queen-Mother, with Monsieur her son, is still in Paris on account of money matters, but she is sure to leave in order to join the King. The Ambassadors have received an order to go to Blois at the beginning of the following month. I enclose a letter which I have received from Rouen from a credible person, with recent advices of matters which have taken place in Muscovy, greatly, as it would appear, to the prejudice of the Grand Duke.

Paris, 15th August 1571.

[*The following letter was enclosed in this Despatch*:]

517. Paolo Lamberti to the Ambassador of Venice at Paris.

About three months ago I despatched from Dieppe to Muscovy several vessels to load merchandise for importation here. These vessels arrived safely at Narwa (*Nerve*) on the 12th June, and from

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what my correspondents write me much merchandise had arrived from the city of Moscow, the principal place in that country, but on a sudden news came of the defeat of the Grand Duke by the Tartars, and of the sack of the city of Moscow, which was consumed by fire, together with its suburbs, in the space of three hours, and all the merchandise there lost and burnt, and the inhabitants put to death to the number of more than 150,000 persons, together with all the English, Flemings, Italians, and Germans who were resident in the city. The women and children were still alive, but from the ruin of this city it will be impossible to trade any longer with that country.

11th August, in Rouen.—I have received this letter (*sic*) from Narwa of the 2nd instant. It was brought by a ship which arrived yesterday at Dieppe.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

518. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

A great number of gentlemen of the new religion are making preparations to accompany the Admiral to the Court, and the Prince of Navarre will also go there if his marriage be arranged; and the probability of this is greater because the members of the House of Guise, and their adherents, have left the Court, upon the excuse that they desired to attend the confinement of the Duchess of Guise, who has lately given birth to a son.

Paris, 23rd August 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

519. Alvise Contarini and Leonardo Contarini, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Signory.

Announce their first audience of the King.

Blois, 4th September 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

520. Alvise Contarini and Leonardo Contarini, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Signory.

The Queen of Navarre was expected in these parts, so the Queen-Mother had intended to proceed to Chenonceau to meet her; but contrary to all expectation, the Queen of Navarre has gone to Béarn, a possession of hers on the frontiers of Spain, and at a great distance from this place. She has taken with her the Prince, her son, and communicated to these Majesties that she was compelled to visit that country in order to take the waters of the baths which are there, and which, unless taken at that season, would be of no benefit to her, but that she would return within the space of two months; and in the meanwhile the Admiral would attend the Court in order to arrange any points which might be left open concerning the marriage, with instructions not only to satisfy those who belong to the new religion, but also to consider with the King certain contemplated expeditions against the King of Spain both by sea and by land; and

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her Majesty of Navarre added that she understood she should have the assent both of the Queen of England and the Princes of Germany.

However, all must wait the arrival of the Admiral, who is expected in this city in four or six days. The English Ambassador has told me that he is advised by letters of the 2nd of this month, that Monsieur de Foix was shortly about to leave England, but that it was not known what decision he would bring. He also informs me of the great conflagration and ruin made by the Tartars in the city of Moscow, the capital of Muscovy, and that it had resulted in severe loss to many merchants, particularly to the English, who were trading in those parts. Signor Chiappin Vitelli has lately passed through this place on his road from Spain to Flanders. He visited me, and desired me to express his extreme respect for the Republic of Venice.

Blois, 9th September 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

521. Alvise Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Admiral arrived in this city three days ago, very honourably accompanied, and two days previously the Duke of Montpensier and the Count of Lude were summoned here by the King, probably as a demonstration against the Admiral. The Admiral was met by a large assemblage, and he went immediately to pay his respects to the King, who was in the chamber of the Queen-Mother, her Majesty being in bed and indisposed. The most Christian Queen, Madame the sister of the King, the Cardinal of Bourbon, and the Duke of Montpensier were also present. No one entered the chamber with the Admiral, except the Marshal de Cosse, and the Admiral having made two most respectful bows to his Majesty, a remarkable change passed over the face of each of them, and they both turned very pale; but the King, after the Admiral's second reverence, raised his bonnet and embraced the Admiral, and listened to a few words which the Admiral spoke privately in his ear. The Admiral then proceeded to the Queen-Mother, and was most graciously received by her, but she did not embrace him as was the custom; and she having then told him to pay his respects to the most Christian Queen, her daughter-in-law, the Admiral fell upon his knees and desired to kiss her most Christian Majesty's hand, but her Majesty, becoming quite red, drew back, and would not allow him even to touch her. Nothing further happened, except that the Admiral went to wait upon the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon in their apartments.

Subsequently the Admiral has daily attended the levée, the dinner, and the supper of the King, and he appears at all hours near his Majesty's chair (*cadrega*) upon the same terms as the lords who have never left the Court; in fact, the King treats him with the same familiarity as he shows towards the other lords, and it really would appear as if all past events were buried in oblivion. This state of things is observed every day by a

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large number of persons who assemble wherever the King and the Admiral chance to be found together. But there is no information concerning new negotiations, probably either because the Admiral is very cautious in his proceedings, or because since he arrived he has had little opportunity to negotiate on account of the indisposition of the Queen, and also because Monsieur d'Anjou has had a violent attack of fever, which has kept him three days in bed, but he is better to-day and has risen.

Blois, 15th September 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

522. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The illustrious Leonardo Contarini departed from this place on the 15th instant. During his stay here he received greater marks of honour than were paid to any other of the foreign Ambassadors resident at this Court.

Blois, 28th September 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

523. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Mons. de Foix, who has been in England, has just arrived here, and while he announces that the marriage between the Queen of England and Mons. d'Anjou, the King's brother, is entirely broken off, he says nevertheless that a good understanding has been established between England and France, and that he was highly honoured by the Queen, who presented him with many vases of gold and silver, with palfreys, and with considerable sums of money, and a chief personage is expected from England here in a few days to communicate further with his Majesty. To-morrow, the King will hold the ceremony of the Order of St. Michael, which has not been performed for four years past. The Ambassadors who have been invited are those from the Pope, Portugal, and Venice. The Ambassador from Scotland has not been invited on account of his dispute about precedence with the Ambassador from Portugal, and though the Ambassador from Spain has been resident at this Court for more than eight years, yet *it is believed that his Majesty is dissatisfied with his conduct, and especially on account of the quarrels he has had with the Cardinal de Bourbon.*

Blois, 28th September 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

524. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The principal and most important negotiation at this Court now concerns the marriage of Madame, the sister of the King, with the Prince of Navarre. This marriage is greatly desired by these

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Majesties for the purpose of uniting the contending parties, and thus establishing and assuring tranquillity in the kingdom. But the Nuncio of the Pope is opposing the project vigorously and with some effect; and yesterday at a lengthy audience which he held with the King, at which the Queen-Mother and the Duke of Anjou were both present, the Nuncio exerted himself greatly to prove to their Majesties that they could not consent to this marriage, for as Christians, which they and their ancestors had always professed to be, they could not ally themselves to a heretic, nor could they, as princes, give their sister as wife to one who was a rebel, who held their own fortresses, and who had done his utmost to deprive them of the Crown. The Nuncio added that his Majesty for the welfare of his sister should beware lest, instead of giving her for a wife, he should give her for a concubine, because a marriage between persons of different religions could not be lawful, and there might come a time when children born of such a marriage would be precluded from succeeding to the Royal States and inheritance as being bastards.

These reasons, and especially the last, appear to have given cause for consideration to these Majesties; nevertheless they persisted in entreating the Nuncio to do his best with the Pope, in order that his Holiness might grant a dispensation for a marriage so important for the welfare of this kingdom, and with the hope also that by this means the Prince of Navarre might be restored to the Catholic religion. These Majesties have also told the Nuncio that they would be satisfied if his Holiness would keep the grant of this dispensation secret, or *in petto* of the most Christian King or of the Queen-Mother; and thus, under the persuasion of the Nuncio, their Majesties, partly to gain time, and partly to refer the negotiation to Rome, where the matter could be more conveniently treated by the Pope, have, together with the Duke of Anjou, sent a letter by special messenger to his Holiness. It is true that the Duke of Anjou during the whole of this controversy has never said a word, a fact which has been very much remarked; but the Queen-Mother, in urging the Nuncio to do his best with his Holiness, has told him plainly that she perceived the King to be so bent upon accomplishing the marriage, by reason of his belief that it would be the salvation of the kingdom, that she thought the King would, even if the Pope refused the dispensation, and in spite of disobedience, accomplish it at any risk. The persons who belong to the new religion, who are about the Court, support this view as much as possible, for they desire nothing more than to induce the King, not so much perhaps to accomplish the marriage as to show disobedience to the Church; and to this latter result they attach the greatest importance, having regard to the consequences which might ensue, for their memories recall a striking example which occurred not many years ago, when, on account of a dispensation of marriage, the King of England renounced his obedience to the Church. It is, however, to be hoped that the goodness of God and the prudence of the Pope will find a way out of this difficult situation.

Blois, 5th October 1571.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

525. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Announces the arrival of the courier bringing the news of the battle of Lepanto.

Lyons, 25th October 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

526. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Announces the arrival of the courier dispatched on the 19th October with news of the battle of Lepanto.

Rosciedin, 3rd November 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

527. The VENETIAN AMBASSADORS in France to the SIGNORY.

First joint despatch of Alvise Contarini and his successor, Sigismondo di Cavalli.

Rosciedin, 8th November 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

528. ALVISE CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Announces the gift to him from the King of a gold chain worth 400 crowns in return for a coach and four Turkish horses which the King had begged of him; and he adds that the chain is of equal value with the carriage and horses.

La Flèche, 12th November 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

529. ALVISE CONTARINI and SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.

Announce that Alvise Contarini had taken his leave of the King.

La Flèche, 12th November 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

530. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

I have received, long after date, the letter addressed by your Serenity to the Queen of England, and in consigning the same to her Ambassador here, I begged him to excuse the delay caused by the fault of the couriers, and the frequent changes of residence of this Court. He answered that the letter would be most acceptable to his Queen, and said that it should be forwarded immediately.

Amboise, 19th December 1571.

[*Italian.*]

1571.
Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

531. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador informed me that he has forwarded your letter to the Queen, and, in the advices he has received from her, she desires to express her great satisfaction at the victory, for which she thanked God. The Ambassador then narrated to me at great length the conspiracy which had lately been discovered against his Queen, and said that she felt under obligations to the war with the Turks, because the Pope and the King of Spain, being occupied in that matter, were not able to assist the conspirators against her with money, as if they intervened they might cause great changes in the kingdom; but now that the Queen was on her guard, she would know how to act for the future, and would meet her enemies with less difficulty.

Amboise, 23rd December 1571.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

532. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

One of the principal members of the Queen of England's Council has arrived at this Court, but it is not yet known what his mission may be.

Amboise, 29th December 1571.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1572.

1572.
Jan. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

533. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The new Ambassador from the Queen of England has arrived at this Court. His name is Sir Thomas Smith, and he holds the office of Grand Secretary in England. He has already had two audiences of the most Christian King. In the first, as I hear, he gave a detailed account of the late conspiracy against his Queen, and censured in very strong terms the Queen of Scotland, charging her with having shown in her actions the greatest ingratitude towards his Queen; and the Ambassador stated that the Queen of England would have, for the future, to compel the Queen of Scotland to live in stricter confinement in order to prevent her advising and promoting similar proceedings, and that her Majesty had exercised great clemency in sparing the Queen of Scotland's life. The Ambassador also said that he was prepared to justify all that he had alleged by authentic documents. The Ambassador's statement, even if it be true, was made with great astuteness, in order to prevent the King from interfering on behalf of the Queen of Scotland, and to absolve his Queen, on account

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of these events, from her promises to set the Queen of Scotland at liberty; for the Queen of England has frequently said to their Majesties that she felt her honour was concerned, and that she could not endure that one who had been the wife of his Majesty's brother, and Queen of France, should be kept thus miserably a prisoner.

At the second audience the Ambassador reminded the King of the great danger in which the kingdom of England was placed, and how important it was that no part of it should fall into the hands or under the influence of the King of Spain, and that it was evident to his Queen that union and friendship was for the manifest advantage of both England and France, because it was time now to open their eyes to the vast power of other Princes, and to provide in time for the safety of their respective States. He said that whenever his Majesty might think fit to enter into a secret federation, the Queen of England offered to be the means of obtaining assistance of other powerful Princes; and this expression was intended to refer to the King of Denmark and other Protestant Princes, and to the free States of Germany. Hitherto, I have not heard what answer his Majesty has given, except that he has sent the Bishop of Limoges and Mons. de Foix to the house of the English Ambassador, to see and examine many written documents in the Ambassador's possession. Not long since the Queen-Mother, speaking with the Nuncio, said, "The Pope for the advantage of Christianity greatly desires the friendship of Spain with this Crown to be preserved, and we are of the same mind, but to unite and establish that result some new relationship is necessary. Since, therefore, it has pleased God to call to himself the Catholic Queen our daughter, and now that the King of Spain has sons, and perhaps may have others, so that there is no fear of there being only females to succeed him, I much wish his Holiness, moved by zeal for the public good, would induce the Catholic King to give one of his daughters to the Duke of Anjou; and though there might be a disparity of age between them, I will guarantee that my son will wait until the King's daughter becomes marriageable, in order not to lose so excellent an opportunity"; and the Queen requested the Nuncio to communicate her ideas to the Pope, which, as your Serenity knows, has already been done.

Amboise, 9th January 1572.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

534. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The new Ambassador from England upon his arrival sent a letter written by his Queen to the Secretary of Spain, requesting that he would forward it to the Catholic King, to whom it was addressed. The Secretary became suspicious, on account of the powers given to the English Ambassador, and from the complaints which he had made against his Catholic Majesty, lest the letter might contain matter which, if forwarded, might be to the prejudice of his master; *he therefore resolved to read the letter, and without*

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professing to know the contents, to speak again with the Ambassador and ascertain all he could; and thus the Secretary learned that the Queen wrote that she had on many occasions informed the King of the evil proceedings of his Ambassador, and begged him to recall him and send another in his place, to which demand she had never received any answer; and seeing that the said Ambassador more than ever incited sedition in her kingdom, and insurrection among her people, she could suffer his conduct no longer, and had therefore ordered that within the space of a given number of days he was to depart from her country; but whenever the Catholic King should think fit to send another Ambassador, who might be well conducted and of a peaceable disposition, her Majesty would willingly receive him and do him the utmost honour; and in order to show her disposition upon this point she would send an Ambassador of her own to Spain, so as better to preserve that friendship which for more than 400 years the Kings her predecessors had maintained with the House of Burgundy and the Counts of Flanders. The Secretary answered that he would forward the letter, and he endeavoured to excuse Don Gerao, for this is the name of the Ambassador. The English Ambassador answered that the reply as to forwarding the letter would greatly please the Queen, because she was convinced that of the many letters which she had sent by the Duke of Alva only those which seemed good to the Duke had reached the hands of his Catholic Majesty; but that, as regards the Ambassador, it was not possible to excuse him, because his actions had been so clear and manifest, that they could not be defended. I have to add *that at the end of the letter* the Queen congratulated the King greatly upon the victory which God had given him against the common enemy of Christianity. I should much regret that this incident of opening the letters should become known, for the Secretary's sake, who believed that it was part of his duty to confide the fact to me, and I therefore beg you to keep the matter secret. From what I have written it will be seen that although the English seek a closer union with the French, they are, nevertheless, prepared apparently to treat with the Spaniards, nor would they willingly be considered open enemies of the King of Spain, because they do not believe that the friendship of the French is too sure, but they are endeavouring to obtain information by every means in their power.

Amboise, 16th January 1572.

[*Italian; partly in cipher.*]

Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

536. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

I understand that the proposal which has been made by the English to the King to strengthen the friendship of the two nations has been favourably received, and in consequence articles have been prepared, which the English Ambassador has sent by express to his Queen, and his Excellency will not depart until her answer has been received. From what I have been able to learn, the differenec

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between the parties is that the English ask that the alliance should be offensive and defensive, while the French desire that it should be defensive only, in order not to make too many concessions at once; moreover the parties are not agreed concerning the affairs of the Queen of Scotland, because the English are determined to put her to death, while these Majesties, if it be possible, desire that she should not die, but I much doubt whether honour will not have to yield to utility, if the main result should turn out satisfactory. Although it seems strange to the French to have to abandon the friendship which for so long a period they have maintained with the kingdom of Scotland, and to suffer that kingdom to be governed according to the will of the English, yet they have agreed that two personages, one chosen by each party, should be sent thither, who are to endeavour to reconcile the two factions under the government of the infant King, with whom the French will renew their ancient alliance. I do not know whether it is contemplated to include other powers in the alliance between England and France, but to facilitate the negotiation, the Queen of England has again put forward her marriage with Monsieur d'Anjou, and she would appear to have offered much more reasonable conditions than on the former occasion, but I can give no information with any certainty. A report is current here, upon the authority of the Queen-Mother and by advices from Dieppe, that the fleet proceeding from Flanders to Spain had been completely destroyed, some ships having sunk, others been wrecked, and the remainder driven into English ports. It is said that Don Francisco d'Alva, who lately left the embassy of this Court, had perished; but the Secretary for Spain, who has letters of the 4th instant from Antwerp, declares that there is no truth in the story.

Amboise, 17th January 1572.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

537. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

I am able to confirm the information I wrote on the 17th instant, with this additional circumstance that the marriage of the Queen of England with Mons. d'Anjou is now at an end, but the cause which has been assigned is that the conditions with regard to religion were displeasing to Monsieur and not the person of the Queen. It has been suggested that the Duke of Alençon, third brother of the King, would not be so scrupulous in this respect, and if the Queen be willing, the negotiation might be renewed with him; but from what I hear from the Ambassador, it appears certain that the Queen will not listen to this proposal, because such a proceeding appears to her to be derogatory to her reputation. I have heard from well informed friends that the negotiation between the two Crowns of England and France is limited to the questions of boundaries, commerce, and certain other differences, with a view to a better understanding in the future, and without reference to any other Power, and that the French have acted willingly, but more to keep the Queen

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of England fully occupied than from any need they have of her assistance. With regard to the affairs of Scotland, the same friends told me that the most Christian King, for honour and pity's sake, is doing all he can to save the life of the unfortunate Queen. Nevertheless he doubts whether he will suceeed, believing, even if she escaped public condemnation, that her life would be taken secretly.

The trials were to come to an end on the 14th instant, after which date the persons convicted, commencing with the Duke of Norfolk, were to be executed.

Amboise, 25th January 1572.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

538. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Secretary of the English Ambassador, who went lately to England, has returned, and he has been to wait on me to express the satisfaction of the Queen of England at the great victory [the battle of Lepanto] which your Serenity has obtained, and to congratulate you thereupon.

With regard to the negotiation with France, I understand that the Queen of England is using all her endeavours to make the alliance offensive, and she declares that in case of war she will be prepared to spend annually four millions of francs, which amount to one million two hundred thousand crowns, with other conditions highly advantageous for France, such, for instance, that in the event of the conquest of the Low Countries the greater part of the territory should be ceded to France. *Upon good authority I hear that these offers have greatly impressed the French, and that they will probably consent to make the alliance offensive.* And with regard to the marriage, the Queen says that though she could not come to terms with Monsieur on account of religious difficulties, she would consider the offer of the third brother, but owing to his youthful years, and other important questions, she could not then come to any decision; and she has acted thus so as not to raise any impediment to the conclusion of the alliance, which she is most anxious to effect on account of the new conspiracy lately discovered, and organised by the Duke of Alva, for the second time, to assassinate Lord Robert and two other principal persons, with a view, subsequently, to make an attempt against her own person. The individual accused is the majordomo of the Ambassador of Spain, who was lately here; this majordomo was arrested as he was about to embark with his master, and he is now in prison with certain Englishmen who are said to be his accomplices. Although the Duke of Norfolk has been sentenced to death, he will not be executed until after the termination of the present proceedings. The negotiations with England are suspended for the present, and until the gentleman sent from hence to Scotland together with the gentleman from England, to procure the obedience of Scotland to the infant King, shall have returned.

Blois, 9th February 1572.

[*Italian; partly in cipher.*]

1572. Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

539. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France to the SIGNORY.

The Queen-Mother has visited the Queen of Navarre for two days, and although their conferences were secret it is understood that they related to the marriage, which is considered certain to be accomplished, and in the meanwhile the marriage of the Prince of Condé with the third sister of the Count de Nevers, who belonged to the Queen's suit, is announced.

The most Christian King has informed the Legate of the Pope that his proposed alliance with England was not intended to disturb or offend anyone, but for the adjustment of their own particular differences, and to keep on friendly terms with the Queen of England; and certainly for my own part I am confirmed in the belief that whatever may be the fate of the alliance, these Majesties are greatly indisposed to undertake any new wars. When I was lately speaking with the Queen Mother concerning the unfortunate vessel *Vergi*, she assured me in most earnest terms of her wish to preserve peace with Spain, and if the King of Spain did not compel them to do something against their will, they would remain at peace. In confirmation of this I can add that a friend of Mons. de Bricinoro (*sic*), who is a principal officer of the Admiral's, having asked him whether they meant to lose the favourable opportunity of attacking Flanders, when the Catholic King was occupied elsewhere, received for answer, "What can we do? We are good for nothing, for we have to deal with a scared King and a timid Queen, who will not come to any decision."*

Blois, 24th February 1572.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1573.

1573. April 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

540. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

It is reported from Flanders that preparations were being made in England for the transport of troops to Holland.

Monsieur, having been informed that Montgomery had left England with about 35 ships and six thousand infantry, sent to an intimate relation of his, by name Château-Neuf, and held out to him that if Montgomery would return to the King's allegiance he would receive a commission and other advantages. His Highness acted thus because, although he thinks that the investment of La Rochelle is sufficiently effective to prevent relief, still he doubts whether, if Montgomery landed his forces there, he might not cause great difficulties and expense, and his Highness therefore authorised proposals for an agreement; but I have reason to believe that the gentleman who was charged with this mission has

* This extract (No. 539) is transcribed from the last letter in the Filza Francia No. 7, and the next extract (No. 540) is taken from the first letter in Filza Francia No. 8; all letters between the 24th February 1572 and 6th April 1573, a period in which the massacre of St. Bartholomew occurred, having been abstracted from the archives.

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returned without any good result, and that Montgomery has undoubtedly refused to come to terms.

Moret, 6th April 1573.

[*Italian.*]

April 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

541. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Montgomery, with about seventy ships, some laden with victuals and the rest carrying combatants, appeared on the 20th instant before La Rochelle as he had promised, and he laid at anchor the whole of that day at a distance of two cannon shots from the city. Monsieur sent two galleys to reconnoitre, and was under great anxiety until the following day, when forty vessels, which had sighted Montgomery sailing along the coast and had followed him, arrived from the ports of Britany and Normandy. These are the vessels which the King had ordered to be got in readiness, and they were ready to set sail in a moment. After the arrival of this reinforcement Monsieur determined to wait no longer, lest the enemy with the rising of the tide might make an attempt to enter the port, and he therefore sent out twenty vessels of light burthen to make an attack; but Montgomery, after a few shots had been exchanged on both sides, took to flight, returning towards Britany, from which direction he had come. His Highness then ordered his fleet to go in pursuit. The most Christian King has heard this news with infinite satisfaction, both because La Rochelle is now as it were abandoned by the enemy, and also on account of the important results which must follow. His Majesty has therefore thanked God publicly, and has communicated the intelligence both to myself and the other Ambassadors.

It appears that these enemy's ships had hoisted the English flag with the red cross, and in the pursuit one vessel with defective sails was taken and found full of Englishmen; and therefore his Majesty sent for the late English Ambassador [Sir Francis Walsingham], who had taken leave and was about to return to England, and desired to speak with him upon this subject, and to ascertain what the disposition of the Queen of England was towards his Majesty and his affairs.

I hear that a new insurrection of Huguenots in Dauphiny has broken out.

Advices from Antwerp report a general belief that some new agreement will take place with England, or that there will be a suspension of all difficulties for two or three years, and in the meantime commercial relations between the two countries will continue as before, and that the English who went to Hamburg, a city of Germany, for commercial purposes, will now return to Antwerp; but I cannot speak with certainty, because I suspect that the Queen of England is merely negotiating to gain time, and to see how events will fall out in France and in other places.

Moret, 26th April 1573.

[*Italian.*]

1573.
May 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

542. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Her Majesty the Queen Mother said to me yesterday that "there were certain ministers within La Rochelle who preached after such a fashion as to make the inhabitants believe that all the angels from Heaven would come to their assistance, but since they have lost any hope of assistance from Montgomery, they appear more willing to accept the conditions which had formerly been offered to them; but Monsieur, my son, expects that if we stand firm we shall improve even these." "It will be a good thing," I replied, "if this could be done, but you should remember, Madame, that by negotiation we may obtain a result which great battles have failed to accomplish. Extinguish the fire in your own kingdom rather than be consumed by it yourselves, and then your Majesty will learn that in time you will obtain your own terms in every way; and you should consider also that Montgomery, although put to flight, is not defeated, and that he can obtain reinforcements from England with the ships which the Queen of England will have at her command now that she has come to an arrangement with Spain; and should Montgomery reappear, then the inhabitants of La Rochelle might also return to their former ideas." The Queen answered, "You are quite right. Still, we desire to see whether we cannot arrive at the point of agreeing with them without permitting them the exercise of their religion."

Moret, 2nd May 1573.

[*Italian.*]

May 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

543. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

A few days ago I met the new Ambassador from England,* who showed great anxiety that our merchant ships should recommence their voyages to England, and the Ambassador informed me that if it were necessary to take precautions for fear of corsairs, her Majesty his Queen would be prepared to do her utmost for that purpose. Concerning the agreement lately concluded with England by the Flemings, the Ambassador told me that the particulars which were to have been published on the 20th of last month had been postponed until the 8th of the present month, but that he did not know for certain whether the agreement would be carried out, because on two former occasions, and under more favourable circumstances, it had failed, and this might perhaps be the case now.

Moret, 10th May 1573.

[*Italian.*]

May 20.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

544. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The agreement between England and the States of Flanders not having been published, I inquired the cause from the English

* Dr. Valentine Dale.

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Ambassador, who answered that the differences between the two States concerning reprisals had not been adjusted, and that the English were disinclined to transport their merchandise to Antwerp because it greatly exceeds in quantity the merchandise which the subjects of the King of Spain possess in England; and they are the more distrustful in this matter because the agreement appears to have been concluded only by letters which had passed between the Queen and the Duke of Alva, and the assent of his Catholic Majesty had not been given, and could not be speedily obtained, in consequence of the despatches from Flanders upon this question having been intercepted, and before communications could be made and returned a thousand changes might take place; and, therefore, according to the Ambassador's opinion, the negotiation will continue in suspense.

Moret, 20th May 1573.

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

545. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

It is believed that the inhabitants of La Rochelle will not come to any terms until they see what course Germany and England intend to take. The understanding between these heretics is like a solid mass which only moves by a common consent, and hence the whole affair for a moment is in suspense.

Moret, 27th May 1573.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

546. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Recent advices have just arrived from Flanders that the commercial agreement between England and the States of Flanders had been published, but that if Flushing were not comprised a large amount of merchandise would be sent home.

Paris, 8th June 1573.

[*Italian.*]

June 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

547. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Three days ago a despatch was received by the English Ambassador containing matters of great importance to communicate to the King, but his Majesty will not summon him until the arrival of news from Madrid, when he will give audience to all the Ambassadors. I have no further intelligence with regard to the marriage of the Queen of England with the Duke of Alençon, except that the proposal greatly displeases the Cardinal of Lorraine, who is offering it every hostile impediment.

Paris, 20th June 1573.

[*Italian.*]

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July 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

548. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The agreement with La Rochelle, which has been concluded, has greatly displeased the Spanish Ambassador, who has said to me: "You will recollect two months ago the Queen Mother told me she had been informed that the Duke of Alva was desirous to come to terms with the rebels in Flanders, and I have since heard that under pretence of negotiating a marriage with England a messenger had been sent from hence to beg the Queen, in the event of Rochelle being surrendered, to induce Montgomery to leave the neighbourhood, whence it was probable he might proceed to Flanders; and as I fear that this project may succeed, I have therefore warned the Duke of Alva to keep his eye upon the English ports lest the English, under the pretence of commercial transactions, might make some captures in those seas, and possibly furnish arms and ammunition to the insurgents."

Paris, 2nd July 1573.

[*Italian.*]

July 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

549. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Queen of England has sent an answer by the gentleman who represents her to the Queen-Mother concerning the passport which her Majesty asked for the Duke of Alençon, saying that she (the Queen of England) would grant the same most willingly, and, indeed, even in more ample terms than those asked, but as the Duke's years were a good deal less than hers, she desired that he should come not so much for a matrimonial engagement as that she might honour and entertain him; that she desired to make this known in order that if the marriage treaty did not proceed, her Majesty the Queen-Mother might be satisfied with her; and that she would gladly receive the Duke in her kingdom. From this answer it is believed the Queen of England has no object in view except giving empty words, in order that she may not be hindered in the matter of affairs in Scotland, where, by means of her partisans, she is diligently endeavouring to bring the whole of that kingdom into subjection under her, and especially now that the Catholic party is weakened by the loss which they have lately suffered of a fortress of importance called Leith; and although the Queen's mode of proceeding is well known here, and that she is following the same footsteps, still every respect is paid to her Ambassadors.

Paris, 3rd July 1573.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

550. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Announces the entry into Paris on the eveningof the 6th instant of the new Venetian Ambassador, Giovanni Francesco Morosini. Advices from England relate that Montgomery, as soon as he heard

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of the agreement concerning La Rochelle, despatched some of his vessels, with fifteen hundred soldiers on board, to succour the Prince of Orange, and gave this force orders to disembark at Delft in Holland, but Montgomery has not gone in person, and he still remained at anchor with the rest of his fleet on the English coast. Amongst the force which has been sent to Holland there are said to be about three hundred Englishmen, and therefore the Spanish Ambassador who is here has remonstrated with the English Ambassador, pointing out that this act is in contravention of the treaty lately concluded between Spain and England; and he has urged the English Ambassador to write to his Queen not to permit any more English subjects to go to Flanders, and the English Ambassador has promised to do this. The Spanish Ambassador has also requested the most Christian King to do his utmost to prevent any of his subjects from proceeding to Flanders.

Signed, CAVALLI and MOROSINI.

Paris, 7th July 1573.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

551. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI and GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Ambassador who arrived from England,* after he had performed his mission to the Court, and without seeing the King of Poland, has departed for England. He has received a present of the value of two thousand crowns, and he also bears a message relative to the visit of the Duke of Alençon to England. The Cardinal of Lorraine has lately said that the Duke is more determined than ever in his desire to go to England, and that he had requested the Cardinal, when the question was being considered in Council, to favour the Duke's views, although it was thought that no decision would be come to until the Queen Mother met all the three brothers. We hear from Flanders that the English and French forces which proceeded to Holland to the assistance of the Prince of Orange, had arrived there, and also that the inhabitants of Haarlem were suffering greatly from want of both bread and powder, and that the forces of the Duke of Alva were greatly on the increase.

Paris, 12th July 1573.

[*Italian.*]

July 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

552. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI and GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.

We waited yesterday upon his Majesty at St. Germain en Laye after his dinner, which is the usual hour when he gives audience to Ambassadors. The Ambassador from England† was present, attended by the King's command by Monsieur de Lansac, one of his Majesty's principal and favourite gentlemen.

Paris, 25th July 1573.

[*Italian.*]

* Edward Horsey.

† Dr. Valentine Dale.

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July 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

553. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI and GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador informed us that the Queen Mother had pressed him very strongly to use his best endeavours to induce the Queen his mistress to limit her operations with the Prince of Orange and with Montgomery, so that their forces should not interfere with the vessels which were about to transport the French infantry to Dantzic, and that these vessels of his Majesty's might receive every favour. The Ambassador said that these facilities would easily be obtained from the Queen, and that he had endeavoured to ascertain whether the King of Poland was to sail in that fleet, but that the exact fact had never been either affirmed or denied to him; nevertheless from certain conjectures he thought it probable that the King would go that way, as affairs in Germany were in such a condition that the King might be indisposed to trust himself by that road; and now that a safe conduct from the King of Denmark had arrived, and one was also expected from England, it seems likely that this sea voyage would assist the project for the visit of the Duke of Alençon to England, because as he will accompany these Majesties and the King of Poland to Calais or Dieppe, where the passage is safest, the Queen's permission for him to see her kingdom would appear more reasonable.

Paris, 27th July 1573.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

554. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI and GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.

The King and the Queen Mother and the King of Poland have arrived in Paris, whither they have brought the Duke of Alençon, who has been suffering from fever. Our audience has been delayed until the Duke shall have recovered from his attack.

The Queen of England continues to keep open the negotiation for the visit of the Duke of Alençon to England, and she has lately announced that she would grant him a safe conduct in the terms demanded, and if there should be any disagreement with regard to any particulars of the negotiation, it would seem easy to come to a settlement; and also that by the middle of September she intended to be at Southampton, not far from the Straits of Calais, as she desired to visit that part of her dominions, and thus the Duke, if he came to England, would not have to make a long voyage.

The Queen Mother still hopes for the success of this negotiation.

Paris, 9th August 1573.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

555. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Announces the departure of Giovanni Francesco Morosini, the Ambassador Extraordinary.

Paris, 15th August 1573.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

556. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Queen of England having arrived at the Straits of Calais according to her promise, these Majesties have sent to excuse the Duke of Alençon for not having gone to meet her by reason of his illness, and the Queen immediately replied that she greatly regretted the Duke's indisposition, and requested that their Majesties would be pleased to accredit some personage of importance to her, with power to negotiate; so it has been decided to send the Marshal de Retz, who will depart the day after to-morrow.

The request which has been made by the Queen for the presence of this personage, so far as I am told by well informed persons, is not so much from any passion to marry, but to make the Spaniards jealous by such negotiations, and perhaps to lead to some agreement with the French for common defence, the Queen suspecting that if affairs in Flanders come to the end which they are likely to have, the King of Spain might meditate some undertaking against her on account of the many injuries which she has inflicted upon him; or possibly the Queen, whilst not abandoning the assistance of the Prince of Orange, may have some new expedition in view; but anything is credible.

Paris, 24th August 1573.

[*Italian; partly in cipher.*]

Aug. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

557. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Marshal de Retz has left for England, and I know for certain that the Treasurer of that kingdom,* a personage of great authority with the Queen, has written hither in very positive terms that the marriage will take place, insomuch that their Majesties of France greatly wonder what reasons have induced her Majesty of England so speedily to change from her former professions; but their Majesties doubt whether after the Queen has seen the Duke she may not send him back without any conclusion being come to, and in order that she may regain the credit which she believes she has lost owing to the King of Poland having refused her. However, it remains to be seen what answer the Marshal will bring back, as he is expected to return in a fortnight, but the example of his brother has greatly excited the Duke to become a king himself, and he desires under any circumstances to proceed to England.

A person has been sent here from Count Louis of Nassau and the Prince of Orange to negotiate with their Majesties, and he has departed without the object of his mission being known; but I have heard that he informed their Majesties that his masters still occupied seven or eight places of importance in Holland, exclusive of other places in Zealand; and although they had suffered reverses and had lately lost three ships sent to them from England, laden with men and ammunition, they still did not

* Lord Burghley.

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lack sufficient forces for resistance, as some seemed to think was the case.

Paris, 29th August 1573.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

558. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

I am now able to give you the reasons for the hope which their Majesties entertain that the marriage which is now being negotiated with England will be arranged and concluded. Two personages of supreme authority are in attendance upon the Queen, and they rule her. One of these is the "Treasurer General," otherwise called "Secretary Cecil" (*Cicino*); this individual is of ignoble origin and wealthy, and is endured by the Lords of the kingdom against their will, and he knows that if the Queen were to die he would lose both his life and property. The other of these personages is Lord Robert, Earl of Leicester (*Lincestre*), who, although he is of noble blood, has yet given offence to many persons, and is generally detested. Nevertheless, both these personages have advised the Queen to marry a foreigner, in order to obtain a king who would defend her. All are now agreed upon the Duke of Alençon, and the Queen appears to acquiesce, but I know not what the end will be.

Paris, 31st August 1573.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

559. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Marshal de Retz writes that he has crossed the sea, and expects to attend the Court on the following day, and to expedite his mission so as to return immediately.

The latest advices from Flanders are from the postmaster of Cambray, who states that ships with soldiers and ammunition frequently arrive at Flushing (*Fleslinge*), and that it is impossible to prevent these coming, as the distance is only thirty or forty leagues, which can be traversed with almost any wind.

Paris, 9th September 1573.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

560. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador [Dale] has asked my opinion concerning the affairs of Poland. I replied that in my judgment the Poles had every reason to be satisfied with these Majesties, because they had been well treated, and every promise which had been made to them amply fulfilled. The Ambassador rejoined, "I have no doubt about the good treatment, but with regard to the fulfilment of promises, what you say is not quite accurate, for the King of Poland has failed to swear to two articles which were promised to all the States without reserve. The first of these is an obligation

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to discharge all the debts of the Crown. The second, an undertaking to bring into Poland every year 450 florins of his own revenues. His Majesty has said that it was impossible for him to observe this last condition, because he cannot increase the revenues which he formerly possessed, and which he surrendered when he went to Poland. With regard to the first article his Majesty's construction is that the promise made was to pay the debts due by the State, but not those due by the King, and the expression 'State debts' is intended to refer to the debts which were incurred after the death of the late King, and which are unimportant; but the King denies any liability in respect of the other class of debts, which are of greater amount and consist principally of a large sum of money owing to the King of Sweden. The most Christian King has also refused to observe any of the particulars of the article promised and sworn to by his Ambassadors in favour of those who profess the new religion in Poland."

After saying this the English Ambassador gave me the particulars, and when I said that I had never heard of any such obligations he undertook to show me an authentic copy of them, and he sent it to me the following day by his Secretary. I have caused these documents to be re-copied, and I now forward them. He has obtained this information and these instructions from the heretic Ambassadors from Poland, with whom he has a good understanding, which is the case with all these heretics, however widely they may differ in opinion.

Having ascertained that the Marshal de Retz had returned, I asked the English Ambassador what good had resulted from the Marshal's negotiations. He answered me that the Marshal had been sent for three purposes. First, to confirm the league which had been concluded last year between England and France, because after the death of the Admiral and the many changes which had intervened, the league had become weakened and in part suspended; secondly, on account of the trade which the English carry on in the northern seas; and, thirdly, concerning the marriage of the the Duke of Alençon.

Upon the first point the league had been confirmed with the addition of supplementary articles for its greater security, and if it came to be more strictly observed, great benefits would result for the general good. Upon the question of trade, the Marshal had been sent according to the Ambassador's wish, and in order that the Queen of England might be induced to prohibit her subjects from carrying merchandise to ports subject to Muscovy, and to order them to unload at Dantzic, where their privileges and advantages would be greatly increased by the King of Poland, and the like would be accorded by the Queen to the subjects of the King who might be trading in her seas.

Concerning the marriage, the Ambassador said his Queen had replied that, under the persuasion of her councillors, she desired its accomplishment, but that it was necessary to communicate the project to the Lords and Barons of her kingdom, and more especially because she knew that they were then greatly incensed against the

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French on account of so many Huguenots having been put to death, and for this reason she doubted whether this marriage would not be displeasing to many of them; but she was about to proceed forthwith to London to negotiate with these Lords upon this question, and to take all possible means to satisfy them, and she would send a courier by post to announce her decision.

Paris, 9th September 1573.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

561. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Advices from England state that the Queen is about to send hither a lord of her Court to reciprocate the mission of Marshal de Retz, and to treat some negotiation, but the report is that the marriage prospects have cooled down very greatly. A gentlemen had arrived in England as Ambassador from the Catholic King, ostensibly to obtain the Queen's confirmation of the articles already agreed upon relating to commerce, but his real object is first to endeavour to facilitate a thorough understanding between these powers (England and Spain), because the Spaniards now perceive that in order to destroy the energy and hopes of the Prince of Orange they cannot do better than deprive him of the advantage and assistance which he derives from England; and, secondly, to arrange that the two Powers should in the meanwhile send Ambassadors to reside at their respective Courts, and the Catholic King will permit the English (Ambassador) to live in Spain, provided he cause no scandals to arise in his house. I understand upon good authority that the French Ambassador in England* has been instructed to exert himself with all dexterity to defeat the appointment of these Ambassadors, and probably the other Spanish proposals as well.

Crepy, 22nd October 1573.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

562. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The gentleman from England† has arrived, but he will be detained here until the return of the Queen Mother.

Bar-le-Duc, 22nd November 1573.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

563. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The gentleman who came here from England has been making great efforts to return hence, and as he refused to remain any longer he was, together with the English Ambassador in ordinary and a knight, whom the most Christian had assigned to him, as a guide and companion, sent on to meet the Queen Mother. The Grand Chancellor and the members of the Council are in despair at the absence of the Queen Mother, because her Majesty has to be informed of

* La Mothe Fénelon.
† Thomas Randolph.

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every matter of importance, and as the going to and fro occupies much time, all negotiations are prolonged with manifest disadvantage. Consequently the most Christian King has written to his mother and entreated her to return as soon as possible in order to attend to affairs which are urgent. The Spanish Ambassador is very curious to ascertain what negotiation the Englishman came hither to treat, and he leaves no means untried to obtain the information, because he doubts whether this project of marriage be not a mere pretext to hide something else of importance, but hitherto he has not been able to discover what may be going on. His Excellency told me that he had received orders from the Catholic King to send all advices and intelligence to the Grand Commander [de Requescens] because the Duke of Alva had been ordered to leave Flanders immediately, and to resign the government to the Grand Commander. The most Christian King had set out for La Fere when he heard of the Queen Mother's sudden return, and his Majesty thereupon proceeded to Rheims to meet her Majesty.

Chalons, 2nd December 1573.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

564. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

His most Christian Majesty at Commercy has dismissed the gentleman from England who was sent to the Queen Mother, without any reply to his proposal, but the gentleman has been informed that as soon as their Majesties met, an answer would be sent to a somewhat lengthy document which he had delivered, and which contained several articles, and that the answer would be conveyed to England by Mons. de la Mauvissière, a personage well known and acceptable to his Queen, and who would remain as Ambassador in England in the stead of the Ambassador then resident there. I have not been able to learn with any certainty the entire scope of these negotiations, but one point has clearly been to establish a good understanding between France, England, and the Princes of Germany. England and these Princes have proposed to the King that he should pardon all individuals who have been exiled from the kingdom on account of religious opinions, and who are upwards of 25,000 in number; and that his Majesty should also restore to them their property, and enact that both they as well as all other persons of the Huguenot persuasion should live in security in their own abodes. In confirmation of this view I have been informed by high officials that the King has no other wish except to be good friends with everyone, and that he desires to be freed from a life beset by suspicion, so as to be enabled some day to establish peace throughout his kingdom, and to repair the losses and ruin which his vassals have suffered.

Their Majesties give out by various hints that the marriage treaty for the Duke of Alençon is still on foot, because the English gentleman who was lately here was invariably accompanied by the gentlemen and servants of his Highness, and had his expenses, as well as those of the English Ambassador in ordinary, paid at his Highness' cost; and subsequently the Duke in person gave a banquet to

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the English gentleman, and was seen to have a long conversation with him. Nevertheless, it is believed that the conclusion of this marriage is a very remote contingency.

Soissons, 15th December 1573.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

565. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

I have heard upon good authority that when the Queen Mother was at Blamont she had frequent interviews with Count Louis of Nassau, who assured her that his brother the Prince had been so far successful in Flanders that he was now able to act against the King of Spain, not only defensively but offensively, and that besides those parties who supported him openly he had a good understanding with several other Provinces, which might at any time declare in his favour.

It is not easy to understand the exact scope of these conferences, but it seems likely that their Majesties are desirous to come to an arrangement with England and Germany, and thus make peace with their own Huguenots.

Poissy, 29th December 1573.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

566. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

I went yesterday to visit the English Ambassador [Dale], who asked me whether I had heard any particulars of the plot which had been lately discovered at La Rochelle, and having answered in the negative, I requested him to tell me what he knew. He then informed me that some time ago the President of Poitiers, though he had become a Catholic, professed to have turned Huguenot, and declared for liberty, insisting that the people were plundered, and could no longer bear their burdens; and in this way he collected adherents, for whom he had provided standards and yellow cassocks with a black band, bearing as a motto in white letters the word "Liberty." Thus, by making a show of siding with the citizens of La Rochelle, he introduced some of his accomplices into the city, and his intention was, when opportunity favoured, to enter the city with all his own men, and to obtain such a footing there that he might carry into effect his ulterior intention of taking the city, and surrendering it into the hands of the most Christian King; but the citizens of La Rochelle had discovered the plot, and captured about twelve of the conspirators. And here the English Ambassador expressed his great surprise at the policy which was followed by the Government of France, saying that, "while they did not want war, they knew not how to take advantage of peace;" that the agreement with the Huguenots was proceeding favourably enough, and that when the King was at Orleans the Huguenots had again sent Ambassadors to consider and terminate this agreement, and that his Queen (Queen Elizabeth) had consented to mediate in

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order to bring the affair to a close. But that now it would be extremely difficult for the Huguenots to have any faith in the agreement, considering that none of the promises made to them have been kept, and that therefore they could trust no one, and his Queen also, seeing such vacillation, would in all probability be more cautious, in order that her friends might not have any cause of complaint against her. The Ambassador also told me that the departure of the Court from Compiegne was solely on account of the Huguenots, who considered that place unsafe for their Ambassadors, so the King had consented to go to Orleans. I also learned from the Ambassador that he had received advices to the effect that four barges, laden with wheat and barley, which had been dispatched to relieve Middleburg, had arrived there, so that with this aid the place would now have sufficient provisions for twenty days longer.

Poissy, 30th December 1573.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

567. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The plot which I wrote to you on the 30th ultimo as having been discovered at La Rochelle is a fact, and in exact accordance with what was told me by the English Ambassador, and I have since heard further details as follows. Some days ago the President of Poitiers, whose name is La Haie (*Lae*), promised these Majesties to place La Rochelle in their power by a strategem of his own invention. He was then most gratefully embraced by the most Christian King, and promises, and also offers of large sums of money, were made to him to accomplish this deed. The President therefore at once endeavoured to obtain the confidence of those whom he intended to deceive, by, in the first instance, professing to turn Huguenot, and subsequently by procuring himself to be nominated one of the Ambassadors sent from Provence to approach the King upon the matters in dispute. When the negotiation was being treated, the President spoke with so much insolence and haughtiness in the presence of the King and Queen Mother that everyone was astounded that he should be suffered to do so, but their Majesties, knowing that all this behaviour was for another purpose, took no offence; and when the President returned to Poitiers with the answer which had been given, he showed still further insolence towards their Majesties, and then went to La Rochelle to consolidate his friendship with the citizens there. He promised, amongst other things, within a very short time to procure three or four cities to rebel against the King. Upon the faith of these professions he obtained an opportunity for introducing

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a certain number of his accomplices into the city, and appointed one of them, a captain of great valour and judgment, to be his agent, and secretly commissioned him to suborn some of the guards so as to obtain possession of one of the gates. Meanwhile the President collected soldiers, and made believe that he intended to take Poitiers; and the most Christian King, the better to confirm this report to the Huguenots, gave orders to Count de Lude, the governor of the city, to take the President either alive or dead. The President and his forces approached near to the city, and then, pretending that he was not sufficiently strong for the purposes of a siege, retreated towards La Rochelle, and arranged that on the 15th of last month his partizans were to take possession of the gate by night; and the following day, after being reinforced by several companies of soldiers who had been assembled in the neighbourhood, he thoroughly believed that the undertaking would succeed. But the day previously one of the Huguenots who had been suborned, repented that he had consented to such an act, and his conscience being moved by his religion and by the shame of betraying the city which he had so lately defended with his blood, he revealed the whole plot to the principal magistrate, who immediately arrested as many of the conspirators as he could find, and these persons, after very slight torture, confessed all, and were put to death in various ways. After the execution, the citizens of La Rochelle sent a copy of the proceedings to the King, complaining greatly of the mode in which they had been treated, when his Majesty affirmed most positively that he knew nothing of this matter, and said that they had done right in putting these people to death, and that if the President fell into his hands that he would surrender him in order that they might deal with him as they pleased, because it was his intention to observe his promises, and he begged them not to put an end to the agreement, which he desired to carry into effect. In conformity with these words his Majesty had ordered Marshal Damville to meet the Huguenots at Meliort on the 15th, and to come to terms with them if possible.

His most Christian Majesty is now also sending to England Captain Masin dal Bene, who has the confidence of the Queen, to disavow the proceedings of the President and to exert himself to persuade the Queen to persevere in her intention to concur in the agreement which his Majesty desires to make with her.

Poissy, 7th January 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

568. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The English who are resident at Rouen, Dieppe, and at other places in France for the purposes of trade, are under great apprehension on account of the conspiracy at La Rochelle, and fear a general massacre such as took place when the Admiral was killed, and consequently the Ambassador of the Queen of England, by command of the King, spoke lately in the Privy Council concerning

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the security and guarantee for traders, and he was then answered by the Chancellor in most reassuring terms that the King would do all in his power to gratify the English nation. Your Serenity can hardly credit the stupendous indignation which the report of the conspiracy at La Rochelle has kindled in the minds of the Huguenots, and unexpected consequences may follow. Indeed I hear that the agreement will now encounter many difficulties, and will not easily be concluded.

Poissy, 22nd January 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

569. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

A courier arrived here yesterday from Lower Normandy with the news that Montgomery, who is now in England, had designs against the French coasts, and that there were individuals at the Court here who habitually gave him intelligence and acquainted him with every event. The report caused so much uneasiness that yesterday the Council was summoned before daybreak, a proceeding which has produced more talk than any real result, but the discontent throughout the kingdom becomes more apparent. A legal functionary has just been arrested upon suspicion that he was the informer, and he has been sent to Paris, and other persons will be arrested likewise.

Poissy, 1st February 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

570. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

A spy has been arrested at Paris, and three other persons have been arrested with him. Letters and documents of great importance have been found upon all of them relating to a contemplated insurrection in Normandy, which province therefore now lies under great suspicion; indeed, certain intelligence has been received that many Huguenot nobles have assembled there, and are enlisting soldiers, and it would appear that these gentlemen are inspired by Montgomery, who, if he has not already left England, will soon be on the spot accompanied by forces.

Poissy, 6th February 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

571. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

When apprehensions were first entertained of an insurrection in Normandy, their Majesties sent again to England to beseech the Queen most earnestly not to permit Montgomery to retain the services of the Queen's subjects who had accompanied him to the island of Guernsey (*Gerenze*), adjacent to Normandy; therefore, Montgomery having remained in that place with but a small force, there is better hope of maintaining quiet in the province of

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Normandy, especially as means have been taken to procure the same.

The English Ambassador, when discoursing with me on this subject, said, "It is proper you should know that my mistress, probably against the will of her Council, bears no ill will against the French, and indeed on several occasions she has endeavoured to ally herself with them, but she finds in them so much vacillation and change of purpose that she really does not know what solid result can ensue from their friendship. Formerly, with all sorts of professions, they endeavoured to arrange a marriage between the Queen and the King of Poland; the Queen, to say the truth, did not give her consent at once, but when subsequently she sent a Signor Smith (*Smit*) with full powers to conclude the contract, the French drew back and declined to complete it. Now they have put forward this Duke of Alençon, and are promising, among other things, to maintain peace and use well all persons who belong to the new religion. I can assure you that these proposals were very favourably entertained; but then the French, having endeavoured to obtain possession of La Rochelle by means of a plot, have thrown great difficulties in the way of negotiation, for the Queen sees that neither the hopes of an alliance nor the good will which she has shown, nor the promises which they themselves have made, are of any avail to keep them firm in their purpose. Nevertheless, my mistress will not fail to behave towards them as becomes a good neighbour and her own reputation, and she will regulate herself according to the terms of any agreement which may be made with the Huguenots."

Poissy, 24th February 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

572. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Signory.

The news received on the 26th announces Huguenot movements in Guienne and Poitou, and that the insurgents have taken Mele and Batteville; and it was also heard that on the 27th eight hundred horse had gone towards Normandy by Orleans, Chartres, and La Brosse, and had reached Mantes, six leagues from St. Germain; the Court therefore sent for coaches and horses, and the Queen departed for Paris by night, the King remaining at St. Germain till the morning of the 28th.

Paris, 28th February 1574.

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

573. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

By my letters of the 28th ultimo and the 4th and 5th instant I have informed your Serenity of the success of the insurrection, which has compelled us all to return to this city, and the details of the events which have happened are as follows. Four days before the most Christian King thought of departing from St. Germain

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he was informed by the Duchess of Bouillon (Boglion) *that large bodies of cavalry were being assembled in several localities. His Majesty did not take much notice of this advice at first, but other persons subsequently having told his Majesty very positively that these people were about to unite in order to come to St. Germain, his Majesty caused the guard to be doubled and strict watch to be placed upon the lodgings of the King of Navarre, because his Majesty was warned that Mons. de Durazzo, a great favourite of the King of Navarre, had conveyed to the King's lodgings a quantity of arms. In addition to these reports, on the 27th ultimo, one La Mola, a person very intimate with the Duke de Alençon, revealed to the most Christian King that the Duke of Alençon, his master, as well as the King of Navarre, was an accomplice, and that the forces had been raised at their joint instigation.*

His Majesty immediately ordered the Swiss to be armed and the gates of the castle to be closed, and then calling the Duke de Alençon into his chamber, where no one else was present but the Queen-Mother, said, with deep emotion, "My brother, what new thing is this that you have done? I understand that in your name forces have been levied to come to this place, and that it is your intention to join them." The Duke knew not how to deny the charge, and answered that it was true, but that he had not acted thus with disloyalty or to the prejudice of his Majesty. The King then again inquired for what purpose he had done this. The Duke answered, because he had intended to proceed to Flanders, whither he had been summoned to try his fortune there. "What!" said the King, "were you about to undertake affairs of such importance without my consent?"

The Duke answered that he perceived that he was not an acceptable person to his Majesty, because while he was before La Rochelle in the camp, affairs of importance were never discussed in his presence, nor was he given the position which he ought to occupy; and after the departure of the King of Poland, when he hoped in the King's absence to have more insight into public affairs, he had not been admitted, nor was he able to obtain the dignity and functions which had belonged to the King of Poland, although he was still his Majesty's most humble brother; and that these facts had lowered his reputation in the Court to such an extent that the Guises not only desired to quarrel with him, but were continually labouring to effect that result, and it was no longer possible for him to bear their insolence.

After these words the Queen-Mother reprimanded the Duke very sharply, and whenever she referred to the most Christian King she said "the King your lord and master," and added that the King of Spain for less cause had put his only son to death in prison. Whilst his mother was speaking the Duke seemed quite bewildered, and began to weep with great bitterness, and inquired whether these facts were known, when the Queen rejoined, "What! do you not wish them to be known?" The Duke then fell upon his knees before the King, and, still weeping, besought his Majesty to put him to death, because he was no longer worthy of life. The most Christian King, like a good prince, showed himself more compassionate than

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his mother, for he spoke some encouraging words to the Duke and made him rise, and before the Duke departed from St. Germain he was pardoned by both their Majesties.

The above is what the Duke actually confessed, but it is not easy to say whether his statements were in conformity with his intentions, or whether his idea was to obtain supreme power in this country and not to proceed elsewhere; it is however certain that his Highness did not mean to go to Flanders. The King of Navarre has been pardoned at the intercession of his wife; but he has always shown a very bold face without any fear of the consequences, while the Duke remains completely disheartened and half silly.

The Prince of Condé at this juncture entered the King's presence and said, "Sire, it is possible that I may be suspected, and therefore I have brought my head. If you believe me to have guilty knowledge, cut my head off, but you will learn, if you desire, that I shall render you, in truth, good service." It has been ascertained that this Prince was not an accomplice, and his Majesty has therefore shown him much favour, and has restored him with full authority to his government in Picardy.

The persons who devised this plot, and through whose hands all the details have passed, are the two younger brothers of the Marshal de Montmorency, namely, Messieurs de Meru (Merce) *and de Torcy* (Thore), *and the same night they both disappeared from St. Germain; but it is asserted positively that the Marshal was not an accomplice, because the whole affair seems to have been rather a youthful folly than an organised undertaking. His Majesty himself says that he has been well served by Montmorency, because the latter had warned his Majesty about many things connected with this business, and had endeavoured to influence his brothers not to join the insurgents, but return to their own home. Nevertheless the most Christian King is very much disheartened, and whilst complaining to one of the gentlemen of his chamber said, amongst other things, that he was under this misfortune, viz., that he himself did not know whom to trust, and there were but few persons in his kingdom who trusted him. The Queen-Mother is also in a state of great depression, because she begins to discover that her mode of government does not satisfy the people, but makes them discontented, and she has intimated to the King that at last she believes that she must retire into private life.*

Paris, 10th March 1574.

[*Italian, in cipher.*]

March 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

574. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I have been told by a person who knows the facts, that the Queen-Mother has on several occasions endeavoured to extract from the Duke of Alençon who his accomplices were in the plot and projected flight; because her Majesty has evidence that several persons of importance were implicated, and it is known that Montmorency, notwithstanding he was not amongst the number, was still acquainted with all the particulars, and had therefore delayed his coming

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to Court; but the Duke of Alençon has never revealed the names of any other persons of importance except those whom I have already mentioned. Indeed it appears that his Highness is still very hot upon this proposal to go to Flanders. I do not know whether it is to justify his former action, or whether as matters have not turned out to his expectation here, he has really set his mind to undertake this expedition; but he complains both to the most Christian King and to his mother that they are throwing difficulties in the way of his intentions, and he makes use of such well reasoned arguments that it is clear the case that he puts forward has been prepared by persons possessing greater experience and knowledge than his capacity can pretend to have. I do not know the exact words which he spoke, but the substance of what he said was as follows: he alleged, in the first place, that being himself the scion of so many kings he would have to remain a poor prince unless by force of arms he could acquire a position whereby he might obtain sufficient reputation to accomplish a marriage with the Queen of England; that in France the authorities and powers enjoyed by his brother the King of Poland are not given to him, and that what little power he has is only in name, which is a great loss to his reputation; while on the other hand, the Prince of Orange had sought his aid by very large offers, and was prepared at once to place all the fortresses and places now occupied by him in the Duke's hand; that many offers and great promises had also been made to him from Germany and England, and that in this kingdom of France many persons had plighted their faith to follow his fortunes everywhere. I am unable to form an opinion how this matter will end, or what will be the result of the conference between Strozzi and La Cormu, but it is quite clear that although the fire has been kindled in many parts of this kingdom, hitherto no orders have been given nor sufficient provision made for war. Their Majesties have not written for a levy of the Swiss, nor sent for cavalry from Germany, nor infantry from Italy, means which have always been taken in the time of former wars, and those French soldiers whom they have decided to enlist are being taken into pay very slowly.

Paris, 17th March 1574.

[*Italian, in cipher.*]

March 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

575. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Signor Filippo Strozzi has brought back a very doubtful answer with regard to the negotiation for the agreement. The two gentlemen who went to Normandy with Guitery (*Gitry*) have not yet returned, and the cause of their delay is due to the arrival of Montgomery, who has appeared there, accompanied by one hundred and twenty adherents only, but his arrival seems to have rendered the negotiation for disbanding and sending home the insurgent partisans much more difficult, as their prospects appeared more favourable; still the above-named gentlemen did not despair. The proceedings of the Huguenots have greatly embarrassed their Majesties, because while they are unable to see what means the Huguenots possess to

1574. continue and sustain war, their Majesties have proposed an agreement with them which their Majesties are bound in honour to abide by. Moreover, their Majesties are under apprehension lest suddenly, either at home some danger might assail them, or that abroad, by the action of Germany or England, material assistance might be given to the Huguenots to carry their designs into effect; and, pending these doubts, their Majesties are showing every possible favour to the Queen of England. Their Ambassador resident in England has written that warlike preparations are being made there, and that he has spoken on the subject with the Queen, who answered him that her armaments were not intended to menace the most Christian King, nor any one of the other princes, but only for the defence of her own country, and because a most powerful fleet was being got ready in Spain, in which a large number of troops were to be embarked; and although it was said that these forces were only to succour Flanders, yet, as they had to pass through the English waters, she considered it necessary to take measures for her own defence. The reasons which the Queen assigned appear plausible, but greater satisfaction and security would have been felt here if her armaments had not been made.

Paris, 24th March 1574.

[*Italian.*]

March 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

576. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Montmorency is still absent, although he promised at St. Germain to return in ten days. A strict guard is secretly kept over the Duke of Alençon, so that he cannot be absent one single day. San Gian (*sic*), the brother of Montgomery, has been found dead in his own house; he was in league with those persons who had intended to take possession of St. Germain, and he had sworn more strongly than anyone else to kill the Queen-Mother. The abbacy which he held was of the value of five thousand francs, and has been given to the governor of Caen (*Can*), who put him to death. Yesterday, news came that Montgomery and Guitery, with their forces, had taken possession of Argentan and of Vitré, and that they had begun to construct another fortification at a place called Carentan, situate upon a river not far from the sea and amongst marshes and low ground, and that Montgomery had conveyed thither seven or eight pieces of artillery from the ships.

Paris, 26th March 1574.

[*Italian.*]

April 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

577. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Signory.

The Viscount of Turenne (*Torrena*) and Baron de Torcy (*Torsi*) have both returned from the coast of Normandy, and they bring word that Montgomery and Guitery have answered that they favour the agreement and know how to procure its accomplishment, but as they have neither the authority nor the consent of their other

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confederates, the conclusion of the agreement by them alone would do little towards the tranquilisation of the kingdom; they demand a passport for their agent to negotiate with their own adherents, and this favour has been conceded to them. The Queen of England has sent Monsieur Guido Cavalcanti hither, it is said to assure the most Christian King that her armaments are not intended to act against him, but I am unable to affirm whether his mission is limited to this particular matter. I forward a printed declaration made by the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre, affirming their good will towards the most Christian King, and their resolution always to oppose his enemies. The publication of this declaration at first sight appeared to me somewhat strange, but a friend of mine who is in the secret, has told me that this was done to lessen the Duke's credit with the Huguenots, and to show them that he was not a free agent, but that the King had absolute power over him, and thus to disabuse the Huguenots of any hope of receiving assistance or succour from the Duke.

Paris, 2nd April 1574.

[*Italian.*]

April 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

578. The VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in SPAIN to the SIGNORY.

Six days ago the Duke of Alva arrived here, towards whom the King has shown no unusual sign whatever, neither of satisfaction nor the reverse. The Duke is in excellent health, and bears his years well.

Madrid, 3rd April 1574.

[*Italian.*]

April 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

579. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The wife of the Marshal de Montmorency, who is the natural sister of the most Christian King, has contrived that her husband shall come to Court with the hope that his appearance will greatly tend towards peace, and hence the journey of his Majesty has become less probable.

Paris, 5th April 1574.

[*Italian.*]

April 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

580. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Marshal Montmorency has at last arrived, and has been extraordinarily well received by their Majesties, who have consulted with him intimately, and the speedy conclusion of peace is considered more probable than ever.

Paris, 9th April 1574.

[*Italian.*]

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April 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

581. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

A friend of mine came to tell me yesterday that there is a rumour current in the Court that they have reinforced the guard, and that no one armed is allowed to enter or depart without the leave of their Majesties. The cause of these orders is not known, but I have heard to-day that it proceeds from a plot which has been discovered, and which was to be carried into effect on Easter Day, against the persons of the most Christian King, the Queen-Mother, and the Grand Chancellor, and that the Duke of Alençon was the head of this plot, being assisted by the King of Navarre and by Montmorency; and therefore all the guards in the castle have been removed save those of his Majesty's, and the Duke, the King of Navarre, and Montmorency are so far watched that they are not permitted to depart. During the whole of this day all the gates of this city have been closed, because it is expected to effect the arrest of some accomplices, and I believe that they have already laid hands on fifteen, but these are only captains and partisans of inferior rank, and not persons of any importance. A search is being made with great activity for the Count da Cocona, who was the captain of the guard of the King of Poland, and who lately left in small favour with his Majesty, but it appears that he has now taken to flight. Letters have been found upon one of the persons arrested stating that a number of cavalry were to meet at St. Maur (*San Moro*), a short league distant from the wood of Vincennes, with other particulars which throw light upon what was intended to be done. The Grand Chancellor, to whom the plot was revealed, and also other persons who really desire to preserve the lives of their Majesties, and the safety of the kingdom, are very urgent that a resolute policy should be followed, so that there may not be a recurrence of similar events, but it appears somewhat difficult to find any personages in authority who are sufficiently determined to take the measures which would be required for this purpose.

Paris, 10th April 1574.

[*Italian.*]

April 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

582. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Count da Cocona, who has been sought for so energetically, has at last been arrested. He was concealed by a great lady, very little to her reputation, and on the morning when he was taken La Mole and another person, who are the most intimate favourites of the Duke of Alençon, were also arrested. These three persons were examined at great length in the presence of their Majesties, and a council was subsequently held concerning their revelations, at which no one was present except the most Christian King, the Queen-Mother, the Chancellor, Morvilliers, and Limoges. As far as I can learn, the Queen was the first person to speak, and she, turning to the King, said, with passionate grief, "that she perceived that the villainy and wickedness of her son and son-in-law against the person of his Majesty, and

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against her own person, had not yet ceased; wherefore it seemed to her absolutely necessary, having regard to these matters, to take measures to obtain a sufficient and secure result."

The most Christian King, after having heard his mother, asked the Chancellor for his opinion, and the latter said, "Sire, matters have proceeded to such an extent, and the facts are so well known, that if you do not make an example and take severe measures, the means which hitherto your Majesty has used of pity and clemency will no longer be considered to have proceeded from the singular humanity and Christian charity which you have exercised towards your brother, but rather from weakness and irresolution. You should take into account the continual fear for your own person, and the imminent ruin which threatens the whole kingdom, given to you by God to govern; and these considerations without doubt should move your Majesty to follow the example of King Louis XI., your ancestor, who was so renowned in history, and to cause the world to know that while your Majesty is full of clemency, so you can also punish when the occasion demands."

When the Queen-Mother heard the opinion of the Chancellor so plainly given in favour of shedding blood, by citing the precedent of King Louis XI., she proceeded to say that she greatly approved the advice of the Chancellor, that his Majesty should take precautions for his safety, and she also adduced the example of King John of England, who, when a conspiracy was formed against him by his brother, cut off the heads of a number of persons, and kept his brother imprisoned in the Tower for eight or ten years (*sic*); and thus she endeavoured to divert the King's mind from the idea of a death punishment.

The other members of the Council spoke in general terms, and finally it was decided to take steps for a trial. In the meanwhile the Duke, the King of Navarre, and Montmorency are not allowed to depart, and the Queen herself has told her son he was not to attempt to leave the castle because he would not be allowed to pass; and matters remain in this position. The gates of the city are closed, and no person is permitted to leave without a passport. M. de Grandchamps, who for some years represented these Majesties at Constantinople, has also been taken, and it is believed that about fifty persons are now under arrest. Viscount Turenne, who was authorised by the King to negotiate the agreement with Guitery and Montgomery, being connected with the conspiracy, fled to the rebels on the first rumour of discovery.

Those who most favour the Duke say that he did not intend violence against the King or the Queen-Mother, but only to take flight with some appearance of reason and repair to Sedan to join the Count Louis, and then either to go to Flanders or to re-enter France with an army, and compel the King, with the assistance of the Huguenots, to come to terms acceptable to him (the Duke). I understand that one of the prisoners examined has said that after the affair of St. Germain some persons thought to persuade the Duke that the most Christian King had determined either to cut off his head or to keep him prisoner until peace was concluded

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with the Huguenots, and that great promises had been made to the Duke from England to induce him to avoid this danger by coming thither in pursuance of an arrangement to that effect; and I know for certain that the English Ambassador [Dr. Dale] more than six days ago endeavoured to procure a passport to send him to England, but it was refused. It is believed that the King will hasten the proceedings for the trial.

Paris, 14th April 1574.

[*Italian.*]

April 19. Consiglio X. Comune, No. 31.

583. Sir Philip Sydney.

Motion made in the Council of Ten, that licence be given to Sir Philip Sydney, an Englishman, son of the most illustrious Sir Henry Sydney, Governor of the province of Calais, who is staying here on his way to Padua, where he designs to take up his abode for the purpose of studying, to carry arms in this city of Venice and all other cities, towns, and places of our dominion, with a gentleman attending him (*appresso di lui*) named Lodovico Bruschetto, and with three servants, whose names are to be noted in the office of the Chiefs of this Council, and in the Chanceries of the places where he shall sojourn; he taking oath that they remain in his house and at his charges.

Ayes, 13. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

April 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

584. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I have heard that the King, full of just indignation, had intended to adopt the severer course, but subsequently changed his mind, having been advised by the Council that it was a better and safer policy to permit the Duke and the King of Navarre to live, and keep them in security, so as not by their death to irritate the Queen of England and the Princes of Germany, and so also as not to increase the suspicion of the Huguenots, his Majesty's vassals, that his Majesty was of a cruel and sanguinary disposition, and thus augment the dissatisfaction of the above, instead of carrying the agreement into effect; and that his Majesty should bear in mind that while the Duke and the King were alive he could do what he pleased, but if they were dead there would be no remedy. His Majesty yielded to this opinion, and would now seem inclined to set the Duke and the King free, provided peace were to ensue.

Nevertheless, strict watch is kept over the persons of the Duke and the King, so that they are not allowed to leave the castle, but otherwise they are at liberty, and are upon the same terms as formerly with his Majesty and the Queen-Mother. The Marshal Montmorency is allowed to go out hunting, and if any facts have been proved against him, these are concealed, and his opinions are listened to because the Queen-Mother still inclines to a conciliatory course, so as to avoid difficulties, and establish the agreement. It is true that as an example and terror to

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others, some prisoners might be executed, and this proceeding would be so far justifiable as it would not interfere with the conclusion of the agreement, which I understand is being negotiated through the Princes of Germany, and which relates to the two points of general security and the free exercise of religion. The latter has always been the greater difficulty, but an expedient seems to have been found by the King promising to the German Princes and to the Queen of England to maintain all the concessions which may be made to the Huguenots.

His Majesty summoned the English Ambassador, and gave him assurances that he bore no ill will to his brother, and would not subject him to any bad treatment, and that he desired above everything to ensure peace, so that all persons might live in tranquillity within his kingdom, and he desired the Ambassador to report to the Queen of England to that effect The Ambassador, therefore, will return to England with these promises, and he was also permitted by the King to speak a few words of ceremony to the Duke in his Majesty's private apartment. While the Court is acting thus, the Huguenots are always on the offensive, and the Governor of Normandy has notified the appearance of two bodies of infantry belonging to Montgomery, who is now under Cherbourg, which is the principal place on that coast and of great importance, if taken, from its proximity to England; but the King does not appear to take much notice of public affairs, possibly on account of the gravity of the disease which afflicts him, and not being able wholly to recover from his indisposition, he passes the greater part of his time in bed; and it is positive that his Majesty is in bad health.

Paris 19th April 1574.

[*Italian.*]

April 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

585. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The most Christian King, on account of his illness, has not been able to give audience to the Ambassadors, but I visited the Queen-Mother in order to congratulate her upon the accession of the King of Poland. While I was speaking her Majesty's eyes filled with tears, and she answered me that she and her son, the King, accepted my congratulations, but that she was under such affliction, that she could not sufficiently reciprocate them. The officers of justice have entered the house of the Ambassador from Florence, to arrest Cosmo Ruggieri, a Florentine, who practises astrology, and who was in the employ of the Duke of Alençon, but although he was in the house at the time, he escaped. The charge brought against him is, of having bewitched the most Christian King by means of a figure of wax; for it is said that, owing to this enchantment, the King cannot recover, but will waste away by degrees. I know nothing about the enchantment, but as a matter of fact the King is a long while recovering. Montgomery has retreated from the position where he had taken the offensive. Peace is being negotiated, and the English Ambassador [Dr. Dale] comes to speak with

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the Queen almost every third day, but the German Ambassador has not yet answered the summons.

Paris, 27th April 1574.

[*Italian.*]

May 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

586. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The most Christian King has, since the 28th ultimo, suffered two very troublesome attacks. A large quantity of blood, instead of issuing by his nose, has flowed down his throat. The physicians, after this attack, notwithstanding it was near sunset, blooded him immediately, and so they diverted the attack to another part. Two days subsequently a severe catarrh ensued, which oppressed his Majesty's chest during sleep, so as to impede respiration, and when he awakened he was compelled to leave his bed, because while in a recumbent posture he was almost suffocated. However, with efficient remedies and the good constitution (*buona natura*) which he possesses, he has got over the attack.

The Count da Cocona has been beheaded and quartered, and M. de La Mole, a great favourite of the Duke of Alençon, has suffered the same fate. The Duke made every possible effort to save the latter's life, but he could only obtain, as a concession, that instead of being executed in public, he should be put to death in prison. This news came late, and when the Duke heard of the death of La Mole, he was seized with such grief that he immediately went to bed, and remained there during the whole of the following day. Other persons will also be put to death, and the King will be satisfied with their execution. Cosmo, the Florentine, charged with having bewitched the King, has been arrested, and the populace of Paris believe that after his death the King will recover, so that, even if acquitted, he will always be in great peril of his life. Three or four other persons of honourable position and name, practising astrology, have also been arrested. Montgomery's partisans have again disembarked in Normandy, and it is certain that he has fled from St. Lo to Carentan; it is even said that he has embarked to return to England.

Paris, 2nd May 1574.

[*Italian.*]

May 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

587. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

All the guards about the Court are strengthened more than ever, and everyone entering or departing from the castle is searched, and the ladies who go at night to sleep out are all compelled to take off their masks, there being some impression that the Duke and the King of Navarre will escape at night unawares disguised in this fashion; and the Queen-Mother has redistributed the halberts to her Swiss guards, who always attend her. The most Christian King has not yet left his bedroom, nevertheless he is better, and one of his doctors told me that the night preceding the arrest (*qu.* that of

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Cosmo Ruggieri) his Majesty was not able to sleep, and that he is much vexed at certain events which happened, such, for instance, as the want of vigour shown by his people who had allowed Montgomery when shut up and besieged in St. Lo to escape thence, even through the midst of them. His Majesty has also suffered great displeasure upon hearing that the quarters of La Mole, which were placed near the gates of this city, had been stolen by night.

Paris, 6th May 1574.

[*Italian.*]

May 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

588. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

News has arrived that Montgomery had suddenly left Carentan with about six hundred and fifty horse to attack Alençon, and that the movement had succeeded; that he had also turned in another direction in order to make the army of the King raise the siege of St. Lo; also that Matignon had driven Montgomery into Domfront (*Danfron*), and that the King had sent reinforcements under M. de Lansac. It is plain enough that his Majesty has a keen desire to get Montgomery into his hands, and the intelligence from Normandy interests him more than ever. The Queen of England, under the pretence of sending to visit the most Christian King, and to congratulate him on the recovery of his health, has written strongly by an English gentleman [Thomas Leighton] in favour of Montmorency, stating that he is her friend, and that any favour granted to him will be considered as a favour to herself, and especially because she knows for certain that Montmorency has always been a faithful servant to his Majesty. The King has answered that for the security of his life and kingdom he must not fail to make full investigation, but that he will derive great pleasure if Montmorency be found innocent, and when this is proved he will bestow upon him greater functions and honours than those he has hitherto exercised.

The English gentleman then made similar representations to the Queen-Mother, and in addressing her expressed the great displeasure of the Queen, his mistress, that the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre should be still detained prisoners. Her Majesty expressed great surprise at this communication, and answered in a loud voice, "Prisoners, indeed! Call them here, and ask them whether they do not enjoy all the liberty they wish, and whether they are not here of their own free will to bear the King my son company, who finds that this air agrees with him."

On the following day his Majesty in company with these Princes went to a place of his called St. Maur, two leagues distant, and another day he went to another place in order to show to these English that the Princes were not under restraint, and the English have reported to England what was said to them, and the particulars of the situation; but the English gentleman will not depart until he receives further instruction from his Queen. The astrologers who were arrested have been tried. The Florentine has been condemned to the galleys for life, and the others punished with a lighter

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sentence, and prohibited from exercising judicial functions, because two or three of them are said to have prophesied that the life of the Duke of Alençon would be more illustrious and happier than those of his other brothers.

Paris, 20th May 1574.

[*Italian.*]

May 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

589. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The King is still ill with fever, and as he receives contradictory advice he knows not what course to take. Hitherto he has not cared to undertake negotiations personally, but now he has become completely irresolute, and, fearing all parties, is in great perplexity. The Marshal Damville has not yet been arrested, and I have reason to believe that the Queen-Mother said yesterday to the English representative that the King had no complaint to make against Damville, and considered him a good and loyal servant. Montgomery is besieged in Domfront.

Paris, 24th May 1574.

[*Italian.*]

May 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

590. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory

The King is much worse. The Queen-Mother has sent privily two couriers to King Henry in Poland to warn him to be ready for any emergency. Montgomery is still besieged in Domfront.

Paris, 29th May 1574.

[*Italian.*]

May 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

591. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Last night the King's fever gradually increased, accompanied by symptoms of a most dangerous character, with a violent flow of blood and catarrh, similar to a previous attack, and as the unfortunate King was very weak, he had not strength to assist himself, and thus two hours after noon to-day he died. Immediately after his Majesty had expired, the Duc of Alençon, shedding genuine tears, threw himself at the feet of the Queen-Mother, entreating her most earnestly to banish from her mind any suspicion concerning his acts, because, as he protested, there was no person in the whole kingdom more obedient to her than himself, or more ready to sacrifice his blood and his life to maintain and defend this crown for his brother the King of Poland. The Duke's words and actions gave extreme satisfaction to her Majesty, and up to the second hour of the night (10.30 p.m.) all was quiet. News arrived this morning that Domfront had been captured, and Montgomery taken prisoner by the troops of the most Christian King. The Count Martinengo has returned from Languedoc, and says that he has

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been unable to seize the Marshal Damville, on account of the mismanagement which has taken place there, and that the Marshal has entered into Montpelier.

Paris, 30th May 1574.

[*Italian.*]

June 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

592. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The King on his deathbed appointed the Queen-Mother to the regency of the kingdom, and the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre have made no stir. The Queen-Mother and the Court have returned to the city to-day. I have heard from a person of consequence, that it is not improbable that the new King may marry the widow of his brother, and precedents are cited when on several occasions the Popes had given dispensations for such a purpose, the last dispensation being in the case of King Henry the Eighth of England, when he married the cousin of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, she having previously been the wife of his brother, though subsequently, owing to the King's desire to have male children, he endeavoured to induce Pope Clement to declare this dispensation incestuous; and when the Pope refused his consent, the alienation of the kingdom (England) from the Apostolical See followed.

Paris, 1st June 1574.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

593. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

A few nights ago the bolt and fastenings of the door of a small postern gate of the palace which leads out of the city were broken, and if the Swiss guard had not heard the noise of the drawbridge falling, it is certain that some escape of consequence would have been effected; but the guard having been roused, the attempt failed, and the persons who were without took to flight. Subsequently the chamberlain of Monsieur (as the Duke of Alençon is now styled), by name Buonacorsi,* whose father was a Florentine, though he was himself born in France, was charged with being privy to the breaking of the door, and to the escape which was to follow; he was also charged with having written to England, and with having had several interviews with the English gentleman who last came hither. Two other persons have also been arrested who are charged with having had care of horses which were in readiness in the suburbs. On account of these apprehensions the guards have been increased in most parts of Paris, and iron gratings have been placed outside the windows of the lodging where the King of Navarre resides, and the same would have been done to the apartments of Monsieur had they not been situate in a much more lofty position in the palace. It is therefore believed that the Queen-Mother will return to Vincennes, where she thinks that

* Mons. Bienvenu, otherwise Bonacorsi. (See Foreign Calendar.)

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she can watch over Monsieur and the King of Navarre more safely, because until the coming of the most Christian King there is a great uncertainty what will happen, and much delay is feared; therefore, considering that the promises of these two princes are by no means reliable, it has become necessary to provide for the tranquillity of the kingdom by keeping them in custody until the arrival of the most Christian King. Montgomery will not be brought to this city for fear of disturbance on the road, but he will be taken to Caen, where he will be tried by three persons commissioned from hence for that purpose, and he will be executed there.

Paris, 9th June 1574.

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

594. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Although the Huguenots are without any chiefs of importance, and are in want of many necessary things, nevertheless this kingdom is full of malcontents who desire above all things to set free persons who are now deprived of their liberty, and particularly to assist Monsieur and the King of Navarre in the attempts which they are continually making to escape. Quite lately Monsieur and the King devised a plan to get out of the palace in female attire, because as ladies are accustomed to go about with their faces concealed by masks they thought they could easily do likewise, but their intentions were discovered, and the Queen-Mother became very angry, and used strong language to Monsieur, who, being unable to deny the charge, endeavoured to meet it by saying that he had only intended to dress up a page as a joke, to take in the King of Navarre. The King of Navarre has, as I have written, gratings placed before his windows, but the windows of Monsieur have not been interfered with because, as they are in a very lofty situation, there is no necessity to do so. What there may be to fear or to hope from Germany or England we shall hear very shortly.

Paris, 16th June 1574.

[*Italian.*]

June 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

595. Sigismondo di Cavalli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Though it is fortunate for the Queen of England that these two countries of France and Flanders should continue to be disturbed, yet other considerations openly prevent her taking any active part, and the report of the great Armada which is expected to come from Spain is the cause why, for her own security, she has no desire to deprive herself of her forces by sending them elsewhere. All that she can do is secretly to furnish money to the Germans in order to induce them the more speedily to invade France, where it is more to her advantage to maintain war than in Flanders.

Paris, 19th June 1574.

[*Italian.*]

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June 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

596. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Letters from Antwerp state that Signor Chiappin [Vitelli] has failed to effect any good result. All hope now lies in the Armada which is expected from Spain, and its delay is the cause of great difficulty and even of danger, because, besides all the exertions which are being made by the party of the Prince of Orange, the Queen of England is arming powerfully and with extraordinary vigour, and has laid an embargo on all foreign ships. Moreover it is known that the governor of Middleburg has gone to England to treat with the Queen for the junction of their respective fleets, and this event, if it takes place, will be of great importance.

Paris, 27th June 1574.

[*Italian.*]

June 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

597. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday Montgomery was beheaded, and then quartered, in the presence of a vast concourse of people, but had it not been for the greatest pressure by the Parliament, the Queen would not have taken this step, on account of the strength and alliances of the Huguenots, and also because written notices had been distributed in her apartments to the effect that her Majesty should beware of putting Montgomery to death, lest she should displease the Queen of England and certainly give rise to many other disorders and difficulties. Thus her Majesty had been in a state of great doubt, and it was certainly more to please the Parisians, from whom she hoped to have efficient aid, than for any other reason, that she had put Montgomery to death.

Paris, 27th June 1574.

[*Italian.*]

July 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

598. SIGISMONDO DI CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Archbishop of Nazareth, who has lately arrived from Rome, has advised the Queen-Mother to be upon her guard against the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre, and to remove from attending their persons those of their chief partisans who are suspected, and also those who have always been the cause of the new ideas. This advice has not been very acceptable to the Queen-Mother, because she has invariably endeavoured to believe and to promulgate that her son and son-in-law were not to blame, and that they should therefore enjoy their full liberty; nevertheless she shows great gratitude to the Holy Father for this and his other remembrances of her, and returns thanks to his Holiness accordingly. The day before yesterday the body of King Charles IX. was buried in the church of St. Denis, where all the Kings of France are interred, but for forty days previously his effigy, habited in royal apparel, and placed in a

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bed, richly furnished, was exposed in the place where he died, and was served during the whole of that period with dinner and supper with almost the same ceremonies as were observed before the King himself when alive. On each side of the bed most sumptuous altars were erected bearing many lights, which continually burnt around the body, and during all the morning masses were said, and after dinner the funeral offices were recited. At the expiration of forty days, the body, placed on a superb car, was conducted first into this city, and subsequently to St. Denis, and the effigy with its bed, raised upon another car, followed, and was accompanied by the Parliament, the princes, the barons, three cardinals, a great number of bishops who attended, the guards, and five hundred poor men each bearing a lighted torch in his hand; and it is estimated that from the day of the death of the King until his burial one hundred and fifty thousand crowns were expended. Immediately after the funeral, King Henry III. was proclaimed with great joyfulness. While the late King's body was unburied, his wife never, according to custom, left her chamber, which had the windows closed and was lighted with candles. Now she has begun to go abroad. The Queen-Mother proposes to go to Lyons to meet the King.

Paris, 13th July 1574.

[*Italian.*]

July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

599. Sigismondo di Cavalli and Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Signory.

Our first audience was given to us this day in the Queen-Mother's chamber, where we found the Queen-Mother; Monsieur d'Alençon her son and the Queen of Navarre were also present. The Chancellor is dissuading the Queen-Mother from going to Lyons, urging, amongst other reasons, that if she left Paris she must send to prison the Marshals de Montmorency and de Cosse, for fear lest they should take to flight, and that in these times it was inexpedient to incur large expense upon a voyage, when she must be attended by a strong guard, both for her own safety and to secure the Duke her son and the King of Navarre, whose safe custody was more important than any other consideration, it being even doubtful whether any precautions could be adopted sufficient to prevent their escape, and especially because it is well known that they intend to avail themselves of any opportunity to do so; for it is reported that when they went to St. Denis to assist at the obsequies of the late King, they meditated flight, but the captain of the guard perceived their intentions, and took such measures as deprived their movement of all hopes of success. Her Majesty continues to carry on the government, and to keep a strict watch over her son and son-in-law; still she would willingly set them at liberty, but she is compelled to relax no precautions, because it appears there are not wanting persons who desire their escape; and yesterday I was informed on good authority that there are some individuals here, who by order of the Queen of England had come to this Court upon the pretext of accompanying her Ambassador [Dr. Dale], and who had

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endeavoured to corrupt the guards to allow the escape of the princes. Indeed it is absolutely certain that the Queen of England is doing her utmost to assist this purpose, and it is even asserted that she had actively promoted the conspiracy which has lately been organised.

Paris, 15th July 1574.

[*Italian.*]

July 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

600. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen-Mother desires earnestly the arrival of the King, because she finds much difficulty in keeping safely Monsieur and the King of Navarre, who think of nothing but escape; and since the attempt which they made at St. Denis they have made another, which they thought easier, namely, to pass out of the palace through the lower court and by the gate opposite the Louvre, and then to enter one of the boats which are always waiting at that spot for the convenience of those who wish to pass the river; their idea being to drop down the stream in one of these small boats until they were out of the city, where they expected to find good horses awaiting them, and thus to take flight without being seen. In fact this device was so far advanced that Monsieur had already by himself reached the place where the kitchens are situate, and was just about to leave the palace by one of the gates which is opened very early every morning to admit the kitchen servants; and having arrived there unchallenged, he hoped to get out without being recognised. On that spot there were no guards of importance, but two gentlemen having accidentally come thither, he (the Duke) was saluted by them and asked whither he was going thus alone; but when they proposed to accompany him, as was their duty, his Highness perceived that his design was defeated, and, pretending that he had been merely going for a walk, returned to his apartments. When the Queen Mother was informed of this circumstance, stricter orders were given to the guard, and prohibition issued under pain of the gallows for any boat to ferry passengers either near the palace or in any other part of the city. Nevertheless the Queen-Mother feeds both her son and son-in-law with good hopes, professing not to penetrate their intentions, and she acts in like manner with regard to the Marshals de Montmorency and de Cosse, having given permission to the mother and wife of Montmorency to visit him in prison.

Paris, 26th July 1574.

[*Italian.*]

July 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

601. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen arrived yesterday at the Abbey of St. Germain, accompanied by the King of Navarre, who, when in that place, attempted to escape so openly, that it became necessary to give him warning, which proceeding afforded him the opportunity of going to the Queen to make explanations. He then spoke many and violent

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words to her Majesty, asserting that the time had now arrived to set him at liberty, and that he could and would not endure to live after such a fashion, and that he must have his remedy, or otherwise he would find his way with his dagger; and he also used similar and more exaggerated language, indicating his intention to depart by force. The Queen endeavoured to appease him with kind and gentle expressions, but as these were of no avail, and even excited the King of Navarre to speak more angrily, the Queen at length changed her attitude, and told the King plainly that until the arrival of the most Christian King he must remain in his present position, which if he accepted with good will and cheerfully, he would be certain to receive from the most Christian King every consideration, whereas, if he did the contrary, he would fall into such bad odour that her Majesty would not answer for the consequences.

Paris, 31st July 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

602. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

News has been received of the most Christian King's departure from Venice; the Queen-Mother has determined upon meeting him at Lyons, a step which many people believe to be dangerous, because it appears to them impossible to convey the Princes thither without danger of their escaping, though others rely upon her ability to keep them in security. All the Ambassadors have expressed their desire to follow the Queen to Lyons.

Paris, 6th August 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

603. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

On Sunday last the Queen-Mother suddenly departed for Lyons; having summoned the Duke her son and the King of Navarre, she entered one of her coaches with the Cardinal of Bourbon, and set out on her road to Lyons. It is understood that the King had persuaded the Queen-Mother to take this course, which she is now certainly believed to have followed on account of the jealousy which has possessed her, lest she should not have the same power under the government of the present King which she had exercised during the time of the late King, and because she has been informed that various representations were made to his Majesty in Italy to persuade him to exclude her from any share in the government, in order to give satisfaction to the people and establish peace within his kingdom; and, in conformity with these reports, it would appear that the King her son, without awaiting her Majesty's advice, had, on arriving at Lyons, issued several orders for an agreement concerning the affairs of Languedoc and Dauphiny. It is said that the Chancellor was at first opposed to her Majesty's

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journey, but on hearing of these orders he recommended her to go thither as speedily as possible.

Paris, 15th August 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

604. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Queen arrived in this city last evening. She continues to keep close watch over Monsieur and the King of Navarre, although they have enjoyed greater liberty than formerly, and, indeed, they would have been in a still better position, had it not been discovered that an individual had been sent from the Count Palatine offering 8,000 horse for an armed intervention within this kingdom, and it is said that this matter was brought to the Queen's notice by the Prince of Condé. Nevertheless these Princes have attended a ball and supper given by some Lucchese merchants at Lyons, and it is reported that if the Queen should remain here, they will proceed to meet the King on the frontiers.

Lyons, 28th August 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

605. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Queen-Mother is showing marked and unwonted kindness to the Duke of Alençon, and leaves him almost his entire liberty, and daily the Duke and the King go about the city without any guard and at their pleasure, so that with the convenience of these two rivers and of the many boats which are upon them, they might easily have escaped, and without difficulty, because there is a very strong castle upon the Rhone, eight leagues distant from hence, which is held by the Huguenots, and they might have fled thither; but perhaps considering that the King is fully armed, and that they themselves are without money and without hope of obtaining any, they have deemed it more prudent to remain quiet.

Lyons, 3rd September 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

606. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

On this day the most Christian King entered this city accompanied by the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Alençon, and the King of Navarre, who had met him at the Pont de Beauvoisin.

Lyons, 6th September 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

607. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

It seems that his Majesty, by the advice of the Queen-Mother alone, and against the advice of the Chancellor, has given the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre entire liberty. The King

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of Navarre goes out hunting every day accompanied by his usual attendants; but on the other hand it is observed that a watch is kept over the Duke, and that his attendants have been changed, which shows they are not too sure of him; and I have also heard that the Queen-Mother is in great fear of her life, and keeps daily about her person some brave knights in whom she has entire confidence.

A few days since a gentlemen, accredited by the Queen of England, arrived here, and he has asserted openly that the ministers of King Philip in Flanders are daily expected to come to terms; and from what I have heard this gentleman is endeavouring to prove to these Majesties the evil consequences which must ensue to their kingdom if such an agreement should be carried out, because then all the Huguenots who are now occupied in the wars in foreign parts, having no longer any employment, would certainly return and act against France; and he also endeavoured to persuade these Majesties to combine with his Queen to defeat the negotiations, and rather keep up the fire in the house of others, than to see it in their own. All these ideas of the Queen of England are the result of the great jealousy which has possessed her on account of the armaments which are being prepared in Spain to proceed to Flanders; but nevertheless she contrives to the utmost that the Catholic King should be harassed by others so that he should have no time to think of her, because she well knows that she has given him such grave cause of offence, that, whenever he is not hindered by other considerations, he would have good reason to turn his thoughts towards her.

Lyons, 17th September 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

608. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

An Ambassador from England has arrived to-day at this Court; he is a very distinguished person, and has come to congratulate his Majesty upon succeeding to the kingdom, and also to ascertain whether his Majesty will continue to observe the league and confederation with his Queen, according to the precedent of the late King. The Ambassador has come with about fifty horses, and he will be lodged and entertained at the expense of his Majesty, because this is the custom also in England with regard to Ambassadors Extraordinary there from this Crown.

Lyons, 29th October 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

609. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I have lately been to visit the Ambassador-Extraordinary from England; his name is Lord North (*Nort*), and after speaking a few words of the affection which his Queen bore to our Republic, he proceeded to ask me the purport of the league which had been contracted in Italy against those persons who professed the new religion. I

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answered that I was not aware that a league of any description had been contracted in Italy, and that I did not believe it to be the fact. He replied, "In our country it is said publicly that when this King [of France] was in Italy, the Pope, together with the greater part of the Princes of that country, urged the King to take up arms against persons professing the new religion, and offered him money and men for their destruction. Now, if this be true, you may be well assured that all the Protestants and others also (alluding to his own Queen) will have recourse to arms, and will form another league, and they will not wait until any forces can come forth from Italy to do them injury, but they will anticipate the attempt, and will attack vigorously all those who are seeking to do them harm." I answered that I knew nothing of this matter, and that I certainly did not believe that any league had been formed.

The Ambassador replied at some length, and endeavoured to persuade me that it would be injurious to your Serenity if the King of France should desire to subdue the Huguenots by war; and urged amongst many other reasons that while the individual forces of the Christian Powers were being wasted by wars between themselves an opportunity was being given to the Turk to aggrandise himself almost hourly. I answered him very briefly upon every point, but I concurred with his opinion that the discord amongst Christians was the cause of much evil, and that we should pray God that one day all might unite together with one sole will. He further said, "Then the Signory has not offered either men or money to this King to make war?"

I replied that when his Majesty of France was at Venice I was residing at his Court in France, and that consequently I could not know what had taken place between your Serenity and his Majesty, but that knowing the condition of the Republic after the war with the Turks, wherein the Republic had spent fourteen millions in gold and wasted its people, I should congratulate myself greatly if the Republic could so speedily recover its strength as to be able to offer money and men to other Powers, but I believed and was sure that the King, knowing the need of your Serenity, would never have sought their aid. The Ambassador rejoined that "the French themselves say it is so." I replied that they might say what they pleased, but I did not believe that your Serenity was in a position either to lend money or to furnish men to other powers, because you required all for your own purposes.

Our conversation was very long, and comprised many questions and answers, but the above contains what has appeared to me worthy of your Serenity's notice. I also heard that this Ambassador, having approached his Majesty in order to induce him to make peace with those who profess the new religion, had received for answer that his Majesty did not desire anything save peace, and that perceiving that the Huguenots wished to be his obedient vassals, he therefore had used all his endeavours to win them over, his object being to possess his kingdom in peace, because if he had been inclined to war he would not have refused the offers made to him in Italy of money and of men, which resources would

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never fail him whenever he thought fit to reduce disaffected people to obedience by force of arms; and from these expressions I think it probable that the English Ambassador was led to suspect the existence of the league which he mentioned.

This Ambassador has shown himself extremely active in these affairs; but he does all he can to create a belief that an union between his Queen and this King would be extremely difficult, and with the object of feeding the Huguenots with hopes that they would have the Queen on their side.

Lyons, 2nd November 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

610. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Notwithstanding the strength of the Huguenots and the increasing distrust which the King entertained of the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre, the Ambassador of England resident here has informed me for a certainty that the leading Huguenots have shown themselves but little satisfied with the union which the Prince of Condé has made with the Marshal Damville, and that the Prince has approached the King to ascertain whether he could possibly obtain terms of peace, fearing lest he should do worse if he went to war.

Lyons, 26th November 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

611. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

A few days ago a Scotchman, who was continually transacting business in the house with the English Ambassador, was arrested, and he is said to be the Ambassador's spy in the pay of the Queen of England, and frequently employed in carrying to and fro advices from Germany to the Prince of Condé, and to the sons of d'Andelot; it is also said that this man, without being put to torture of any kind, has confessed all he knew, and also the hopes of the Prince of Condé, as well as the promises of assistance which had been made by the Bernese and Genevese to their co-religionists here; from this confession it has been ascertained that great trouble is in store for this kingdom at the beginning of next year. It appears that their Majesties have been so well satisfied with their prisoner, that they have not only set him at liberty, but have sent him to Germany as a spy on their part. From the same man much information has been obtained concerning the Queen of England, and in particular that she has hopes of being able to borrow money to raise troops, a course which she says she is greatly persuaded to take by all her people; and this the Ambassador resident here does not deny, although many believe that he speaks to this effect in order to hold his Majesty in closer relations with his Queen, and to obtain some advantage in the articles for the league, which the Ambassador gives out that the Queen will not

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negotiate unless the King sends a representative expressly to England to demand it. The Ambassador also puts forward that the King has restored the fortresses of Piedmont to the Duke of Savoy, which he ought not to have done without restoring Calais to the Queen of England.

Lyons, 10th December 1574.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

612. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The most Christian King has expressed his determination to wage war all his life rather than grant the four demands of the Huguenots, or to convoke the States of the kingdom; but he has made flattering offers to the Prince of Condé. Notwithstanding these professions it would appear that his Majesty has another object in view, because it is said that he has sent the Secretary Pinard to England to persuade the Queen not to give assistance to the Huguenots, and that his Majesty also intends to negotiate with the friends of Damville.

Lyons, 29th December 1574.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

613. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

It has been lately heard by letters from Rouen, that the people of Rochelle have captured two vessels, one is said to be Venetian, and called "Federica"; however, I have no advice myself, nor any certain information, but the English Ambassador resident here [Dale] has offered with many expressions of affection towards your Serenity to recover to the owners a portion of their property, which will be landed in England, where it is said that the people of La Rochelle are in the habit of sending their booty, and particularly wines; he has also promised to write to his Queen, and intimates that if the owners will give powers to anyone in England, they may recover something.

Lyons, 7th January 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

614. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Secretary Pinard, who is said to have been sent by his Majesty to England, has gone to Sweden to see the sister of the King of Sweden, who is said to be very beautiful, and he is to bring

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back her portrait, and will negotiate the marriage, if she turns out as handsome as she is said to be.

Lyons, 22nd January 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

615. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

It is said that his Majesty will decide the question of his marriage at Rheims; but if the alliance with Sweden, to which he is little inclined on account of the question of religion, does not take place, it is believed that he will choose a daughter of Monsieur de Vaudemont, a brother of the Duke of Lorraine, who was father of the reigning Duke. She is a most beautiful girl, and his Majesty gives out that he wishes for a handsome wife.

Lyons, 24th January 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

616. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

His Majesty has decided to take for wife the daughter of Monsieur de Vaudemont, whose name is Louise de Lorraine.

His Majesty has this day entered this city.

Rheims, 12th February 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25. Deliberazioni Senato.

617. Communication by Zuanne Falier, Marc' Antonio, Zuanne Mocenigo, and Alvise Foscari to the Venetian Senate.

We have to acquaint you with what befell us on going to England to visit the Court there.

After remaining three days in London we went to Windsor, where the Queen was then residing, and on being conducted to the palace were introduced into what is called the presence chamber, and at the hour when her Majesty was to pass through on her way to chapel. The apartment was very crowded, and the nobility assembled there greeted us most cordially with every mark of honour. After a short interval the Queen made her appearance, and on our presenting ourselves her Majesty said, in our own language, "Are you Venetian noblemen?" Falier, as the senior of our party, and as previously arranged amongst ourselves, answered, "Yes, most Serene Queen; we, your Majesty's servants, came to France with our Ambassador the Lord Zuanne Michiel, and having heard from his Excellency, who was for a long while Ambassador in this kingdom, as also from our citizens, and from men of other nations, of the grandeur and nobility of this realm, and the beauty of the country, and above all the renown of your Majesty, bruited as it is in all quarters, it seemed to us most inexcusable, being so near as France is to these parts, not come to see the country and this Court at the same time. We were likewise encouraged so to do by our Ambassador Michiel, and therefore pay our respects to your Majesty in his Excellency's name also, and consider it a great favour to have been admitted into your Majesty's presence and company.

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We would kiss your hands for this boon, and also for the many acts of courtesy we have received from your ministers and from all your subjects in general, and request to be considered your most humble servants." After adding a few other words to this effect we one by one kissed hands.

The Queen listened to us graciously, and said, "I thank you for the trouble taken in coming here," adding, "Well, what think you of the sights?" We made answer, "Most excellent, most Serene Queen, our expectations, although great, have been far surpassed." To this she rejoined, "If what you have seen pleased you, you now see the worst, to wit, the mistress;" and she thereupon moved on towards the chapel where she remained about twenty minutes until the service there ended. This service consisted, first of all, of certain Psalms chanted in English by a double chorus of some thirty singers. A single voice next chanted the Epistle; after this another voice chanted the Gospel, and then all voices together chanted the Belief.

This concluded the service, and we with the rest then returned into the presence chamber to see the Queen once more, and pay her due homage as she passed. On approaching us her Majesty inquired, "How fares the noble Michiel?" We made answer, "Very well, may it please your Majesty." "Salute him," said she, "in my name, and thank him both for this present favour and for many others which he did me, when accredited here to Queen Mary;" adding, "Although at that time I (speaking of herself), was then only a poor Princess, I received many marks of honour and esteem from your Republic, yet since I became Queen I have been held in small account, and this neglect continues, but we must have patience." To this we made answer that the Signory bore as much good will towards the English Crown, and especially towards her Majesty, as to any other sovereign soever; and that should an opportunity occur her Majesty would be convinced of this by facts. "I shall live in hope, then," said she, as she moved onwards; and the Lord High Treasurer Cecil then came, and by order, as he told us, from the Queen took us to dine with him and the whole Privy Council, eight in number, all most distinguished noblemen, with whom we discussed a variety of subjects.

They spoke of naval affairs, and of the daily news, and above all of the wrong done to England, and of the small account in which the most Serene Queen was held by the Republic through our not having an Ambassador at the Court. They said that the friendship and good understanding between the two countries had always been extreme. After they had expatiated on this point to the utmost, almost all of them speaking our Italian tongue, or at least all understanding it, we endeavoured to convince them of the vast esteem in which the Queen and all their Lordships, as well as the entire kingdom, were held at Venice, and vowed that when any Englishmen arrived there they met with very good greeting and every mark of respect.

We were told that the Queen intended giving us an entertainment to which ladies were to be invited, but possibly from inability to assemble them of quality and in number to her liking, or the

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requisite number of courtiers, we received instead a message from an Italian, a Bolognese, whose acquaintance we made on arriving in London, and who had become our friend; he is one of the grooms of the Queen's privy chamber, and enjoys extreme favour with her Majesty on account of his being an excellent musician. This individual told us that the Queen, having seen us in our riding gear, which showed that we were in great haste to mount post, was therefore loth to detain us; and then speaking as of himself the groom said to us, "Fail not, my Lords, to repeat the Queen's words, and do your best to further her Majesty's wishes, as it will greatly benefit your Signory."

On the morrow this same groom returned to London to take leave of us, knowing that we were on the eve of departure, and said he had told the Queen about our intention of making such representations as we understood were desired by her; and that her Majesty answered him saying, "They will not produce any effect, for when the noble Michiel was at the Imperial Court he told my chamberlain, who was Ambassador there, that he would do the like, yet nothing came of it." The said groom then added, "Assuredly, gentlemen, not only should sovereigns themselves be held in account, but also their very words likewise."

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25. Deliberazioni Senato.

619. Proposed Embassy from Venice to England.

Motion made in the Council of the Senate of Venice, by five Sages of the Council, two Sages for the mainland, and one Sage for the orders: That as it had been heard through several channels, and especially by letters from our Ambassador resident with the most Christian King, and by the writing now read, that the wish of the Queen of England was to have an Ambassador resident with her in ordinary, in the name of our Signory, as customary during the reigns of her predecessors; and as the ancient friendship of our Republic with the English Crown required this, and her Majesty's constant goodwill towards our State entitling her to the grant of this satisfaction:

It was therefore proposed that by scrutiny of this Council an Ambassador of ours be elected to reside with said Queen; he to have for his expenses one hundred and sixty golden ducats per month, of which he is not to be bound to give any account, and five hundred golden ducats besides as bounty; he fulfilling the embassy during two whole years, before any appointment of his successor. Moreover, that be there given him three hundred ducats of six "lire" and four "soldi" each for the purchase of horses, housings, and coffers; the two couriers who accompany him, to receive twenty ducats each, he himself being bound to keep eleven horses, including those of the secretary and his servant; the said secretary to receive a bounty of one hundred ducats according to the tenor of the Act passed A.D. 1561, Sept. 23.

This Ambassador to be elected from any place or office soever, nor is he to refuse, under all the penalties contained in the Act of 1536, passed against those who decline embassies to crowned

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heads; and he is to depart when this Council shall think fit, and with such commission as it may approve.

Amendment proposed by one Sage of the Council, three Sages for the mainland, and three Sages for the orders; that the present question be adjourned.

For the original motion, ayes forty-four, and noes one hundred and thirty-one. So the noes had it.

[*Italian.*]

March 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

619. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The day before yesterday his Majesty sent Monsieur de La Châtre to England to reply to the mission which the Queen of England sent to his Majesty by Lord North, and to endeavour to renew negotiations for peace, and to prevent, if in time, the Queen from giving assistance in money to the rebels, who are believed to have received the sum which I mentioned on the 17th of last month, because Monsieur de Meru, the brother of the Marshal de Montmorency who had gone to England on account of this negotiation, had not yet left that kingdom. An English gentleman, whose name is the Earl of Oxford, has arrived in this city; he is a young man of about twenty or twenty-two years of age. It is said that he fled from England on account of his inclination to the Catholic religion; but having returned he received great favour from the Queen, who gave him full licence to travel and see the world, when she ascertained that he had resolved to depart under any circumstances.

Paris, 12th March 1575.

[*Italian.*]

March 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

620. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The deputies from the Huguenots have at last expressed their willingness to attend their Majesties; but they have deferred their arrival in order to tranquillize their Majesties by the hope of peace, and by this expedient they will endeavour to obtain money in England.

Paris, 12th March 1575.

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

621. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

I have heard for certain that Monsieur de La Châtre, who has been sent to England, has been ordered to make some suggestions to the Queen with respect to her marriage with the Duke of Alençon, and although this report is difficult of credence, I have felt it my duty to notice it, because the English Ambassador resident here is my authority. The King continues to go stag hunting, and to tilt at the ring; but the Duke his brother, as is universally remarked by the Court, abstains from these exercises, and continues hourly more and more to show his dissatisfaction.

Paris, 24th March 1575.

[*Italian.*]

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March 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

622. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Yesterday a secretary who is in the employ of Mons. de Meru, who is the brother of Montmorency, and who has just arrived from England, was brought here as a prisoner. He was arrested a few days ago at Boulogne, in Picardy, and was on his way to join the Marshal Damville. He was taken before the King, who hoped to learn from him many particulars concerning the ideas and designs of his Majesty's enemies; but when he was removed from the King's presence to be conducted to a place of security, by some means unknown, he contrived to escape, and it is believed that he did so with the connivance of some of those who had him in custody. The gates of the city were immediately closed, and search was made for him with great care, through all the houses, but he was not found. To-day, by order of his Majesty, a native of Picardy was arrested, and an attempt was made to arrest with him one of his companions, who was believed to have some understanding with the fugitive secretary; but, after the former was taken, the latter disappeared. It is reported that his Majesty has been warned that some conspiracy of importance has been formed in Picardy, and that it is directed by the persons whom it has been desired to seize, and also by the secretary of Meru. It is believed that the Duke of Alençon, with the approval of the Queen of England, is concerned in this affair, and that his disagreement with the Queen-Mother gave rise to his acting thus.

Paris, 27th March 1575.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

623. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Their Majesties have thanked me for a representation which by chance I was able to make to the Ambassador of the Queen of England resident here. He came to visit me about six days ago, and said he was greatly grieved to hear that these Majesties blamed his Queen for lending money and shewing favour to the Huguenots, he asserting that the report to this effect was untrue, though it was quite possible her Majesty might ultimately act thus. I answered that it was not right to believe everything that was said, because it might easily turn out that neither the King nor the Queen entertained these views, nor had ever spoken thus, but that some malicious person was going about reporting words he had invented in order to create hatred and ill-will between all their Majesties. I further said that I believed it to be certain, as he had asserted, that his Queen would take no part in the dissensions in France, and I also thought, according to my feeble judgment, that she had decided rightly, seeing it was greatly displeasing to all kings and princes that the populace should rise and take up arms against their lords and natural rulers, such examples having, indeed, most evil consequences; and besides, as he alleged, since the Queen had, to her great honour and glory, always professed to keep her word, it was

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desirable that her practices should be in conformity with her professions, and that he (the Ambassador), who was a most able man, should rather put forward that which was good than seek to alienate the minds of these potentates from one another. The Ambassador appeared to me to take what I had said to him in good part, and thanked me cordially. It seems that the Ambassador subsequently went to their Majesties, and desired to explain and apologise for some misrepresentation which he was believed to have made to his Queen; and this result has so pleased the Queen-Mother, she believing that through my intervention a rupture which they feared had been avoided, that their Majesties have deigned to thank me in most ample terms, saying that this was the fruit of the love and goodwill which your Serenity bore to this crown. I answered to the effect that all my action with the English Ambassador proceeded from my desire to execute the commands of your Serenity.

Paris, 8th April 1575.

[*Italian.*]

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

624. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Mons. de La Châtre, who was sent to England by these Majesties, returned two days ago, as I have heard, without bringing back any decision upon the points which he had to negotiate, because with regard to the renewal of the confederation it seems that the Queen of England had taken great offence that this King (of France), when he succeeded to his kingdom, did not accept and swear to the articles agreed to by the late King, but delayed doing so; and the Queen of England would appear to infer that this delay had proceeded from a hostile disposition towards herself, and that the King, being subsequently in difficulties, had resolved to procure her friendship. And because she cannot reasonably refuse to entertain the King's proposals, seeing that the articles for peace agreed to during the life of King Charles provided that in the event of the death of one of the contracting parties, that party's successor should be allowed the space of one year to accept or refuse the conditions of peace, the other party being bound by the articles to continue in friendship in the event of the former accepting these articles; the Queen has now insisted that when these articles were first agreed to, the King of France was at peace with all his vassals, and had by the edict of January conceded to the Huguenots the free exercise of their religion and solemnly sworn to the articles accepted by their confederation, and therefore at the present time he is bound to observe all that had been promised. As Mons. de La Châtre, notwithstanding his many representations and arguments, was not able to obtain any other reply, it is manifest that the mind of the Queen is entirely in favour of giving assistance to the rebels, and consequently these Majesties the more greatly desire the conclusion of the peace which is now being negotiated. I have also heard that Mons. de La Châtre having, according to his instructions, informed the Queen of the marriage of the King, she laughingly answered that she knew this to be the first paragraph in the last will and testament

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which the Cardinal of Lorraine left behind him ; and with regard to the marriage of the Duke of Alençon it would appear that the Queen spoke very saucily (*salsamente*). Nevertheless their Majesties will do all they can to appease her, because a good understanding with her is of great importance to them.

Paris, 21st April 1575.

[*Italian.*]

June 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

625. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

We hear from England that the Queen has discovered a conspiracy organised against her by the Queen of Scotland, who had suborned a physician to poison her (the Queen of England). This physician has been imprisoned, and is said to have confessed everything ; but on the other hand I have heard that these accusations are merely inventions for the purpose of refusing, for an apparently reasonable cause, the leave which has been promised to the Queen of Scotland to visit certain baths for a cure, and also as a pretext to indict the Queen of Scotland for a capital offence ; or, if this were not done, then to obtain credit for great clemency, and thus to follow the course which the Queen of England has so long taken, of keeping the Queen of Scotland a prisoner without ever even seeing her.

The Lord who is coming from England to bring the Order of the Garter to the King, and to offer congratulations upon the King's marriage, has not yet arrived. It is said that the individual appointed had fallen ill, and that another Lord would be sent in his stead.

Paris, 1st June 1575.

[*Italian.*]

June 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

626. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

When the deputies of the Huguenots left the Court to communicate to their principals the result of their negociations, and the concessions which his Majesty was prepared to give, the English Ambassador immediately dispatched a gentleman to his Queen, to acquaint her with all particulars, and her Majesty, on receiving this information, forthwith sent two couriers to proceed with the utmost speed, the one to the Prince of Condé and the other to the Marshal Damville. Although it is not exactly known what was ordered to be done, nevertheless it is to be inferred from what the English Ambassador resident here has said, that the object was to persuade the above to accept peace on whatever conditions the most Christian King might offer ; because it appeared to the Queen that any conditions would tend to disseminate and increase the power of their religion throughout the kingdom ; but nevertheless the conclusion of peace is not more hoped for now than when I last wrote, and indeed the King has determined to send Mons. de Schomberg, one of his colonels of Roisters, to learn what the Prince of Condé was doing so far as regarded levies of cavalry and infantry to serve in this

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kingdom, and in case De Schomberg should find that such levies had been ordered, he was then to levy eight thousand soldiers for the service of his Majesty.

Paris, 7th June 1575.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

627. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

It is heard from England that Mons. de Meru had departed for Germany taking with him a secretary of the Queen's, and it is said that if the Queen perceives that the projects of the Prince of Condé are likely to result in war being made against France, she will then take steps to advance the ten thousand crowns which she has already promised; and that in order to secure to herself repayment, she has now sent her secretary with De Meru, desiring, before she pays the money, to have good security from the merchants for its restitution, and also a promise from the Huguenots, under the obligation of a large sum of money, that they will never make peace with their King without her consent. If she takes the course which is expected, this negotiation will be accomplished.

Paris, 12th July 1575.

[*Italian.*]

July 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

628. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

During an entertainment given at the Palace on the occasion of the marriage, and in the presence of the King and the Queen mother, a report was current that Monsieur d'Alençon had fled, and their Majesties became so alarmed, that the Queen Mother arose and proceeded to the apartments of her son; and, having found him there, she led him to the apartment where the entertainment was being held, in order to contradict the rumour which had been spread; notwithstanding this, the Duke's lute-player and poet have been arrested and sent in a coach as prisoners to the Forest of Vincennes. These proceedings led to a belief that the prospects of Monsieur are changing for the worse.

Paris, 18th July 1575.

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

629. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

It is suspected that the Huguenot deputies cannot come to any terms with regard to peace on account of a secret engagement into which they have entered with the Queen of England and with some of the Princes of Germany, not to accept any condition for peace without their consent; but, notwithstanding, it is asserted on all sides that the Huguenots will come to that conclusion which a favourable commencement has indicated. Mons. de Schomberg, one of the captains of his Majesty's Roisters, writes from Germany that the Prince de Condé will, in the course of a few days, have raised

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eight thousand cavalry, and had already spent for this purpose thirty thousand crowns, and that on the tenth of next month these troops would be on the frontiers of this kingdom; and it appears that this arrangement was made after the journey of the Secretary of the Queen of England and Mons. de Meru to Germany. This report leads to the belief that the Queen had accommodated the rebels with the money which she had so long promised them, that they might do their utmost so that this crown should continue to bear the afflictions of an intestine war; the Queen of England herself being persuaded that were peace to ensue, she might be troubled by the French with regard to the affairs of Scotland. In like manner the Spaniards are apprehensive concerning the affairs of Genoa. Thus it is seen that the Ambassadors here resident from Spain and England are both under different pretexts endeavouring by all means in their power to hinder peace being made, and, under these circumstances, those persons who most earnestly desire peace greatly fear it will not be accomplished.

A few days ago a circumstance happened of a dangerous tendency, but of less importance than might be believed, namely, that while the Duke of Alençon was playing at tennis and facing the King of Navarre, the Duke, while serving the ball, struck the King on the head with the handle of his racket; if he had struck with the racket itself he might have killed him, but luckily the hurt is not of much importance, although, having come from the hand of Monsieur, with whom the King is not on good terms, the result is more thought of for the latter cause than for any other.

Paris, 27th July 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

630. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The news which Mons. de Schomberg wrote hither concerning the levy of Roisters in Germany by the Prince of Condé is contradicted, and advices have been received that on the tenth of last month the Prince had left Basle without having raised any large number of men, and that he despaired of doing so for lack of money and on account of the extravagant demands which were made upon him by the colonels and captains. Nevertheless, he has gone to Strasburg to ascertain the utmost offer which he can make.

Paris, 2nd August 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

631. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The retainers of the Duke of Alençon, who had been taken to Vincennes as prisoners, have been put to torture there, but they do not appear to have made any confession, and the accusation against them is that they had endeavoured to prejudice Monsieur against the King; but nevertheless Monsieur has never shown any act of disloyalty against his Majesty, and, in fact, his Majesty and Monsieur would appear to be upon very good terms, and the latter

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takes part in the entertainments which have been commanded by the King to be given by the nobles of his court in turn every Monday and Thursday, the cost on each occasion varying from five hundred to a thousand crowns.

Rumour is current throughout the Court that the Queen of England intends to send Lord Robert to bring the Order of the Garter and the Queen's congratulations on the occasion of his Majesty's marriage. If this be true, it is considered a matter of no small importance here that so distinguished a person should have been sent upon such a mission, and, therefore, some persons believe that he has come to negotiate the marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Alençon, while others believe that his object is the liberation of Montmorency.

The harvest in France is generally good, though the price of bread has not fallen, but the corn is not yet stacked. This condition of things renders war more doubtful, because any foreign army entering France might suffer from famine. Therefore, should no foreign troops appear, the true cause will be that they have not found sufficient funds for their support, and also, perhaps, because the Queen of England, on account of fresh disturbances which have arisen in Ireland, is compelled to attend to the tranquillization of that country, and does not therefore wish to advance any of her own money abroad.

Paris, 9th August 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

632. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

A gentleman belonging to the Marshal Damville has come hither to ask a prolongation of the safe conduct for the deputies from the Huguenots.

Paris, 30th August 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

633. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Letters were received yesterday from the Duke de Guise confirming to their Majesties that Roisters of the number of two thousand five hundred had crossed the Rhine, and were accompanied by many French horsemen. Many people maintain that these soldiers will not enter France, but are on their march to Flanders to join the Prince of Orange.

Paris, 7th September 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

634. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I wrote recently that the English Ambassador resident [Dr. Dale] had told me that these Majesties had instructed Mons. de Mauvissière, who had proceeded to England as their Ambassador in ordinary, to bring before the Queen the question of her marriage

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with Monsieur the Duke of Alençon; but the facts are exactly the contrary, because the origin of this negotiation came from England and not from hence. A few days ago, when an English gentleman [Sir Henry Cobham] who has been named Ambassador from the Queen of England to Spain, came to this Court on his way, he and the English Ambassador in ordinary waited upon their Majesties, who together gave them audience. After compliments had been exchanged, the Ambassador resident said that his Queen had been so importuned by the nobles and lords of her kingdom to marry that in order to give them satisfaction she had determined so to do; and although it was not proper that a woman should ask any man to be her husband, yet the first whom she would seek would be Monsieur the Duke of Alençon, and with that intent Lord Robert would be prepared to come; but in the meanwhile she had commanded him (the resident Ambassador) to make this communication to their Majesties in like manner as she had commanded the Ambassador about to proceed to Spain to make a similar communication to the Catholic King, in order that if her wish were not carried into effect, everyone might know that the failure was no fault of hers.

The King answered in a few words thanking the Queen for the goodwill which she showed to the crown of France, and to his brother; and said, so far as he was concerned, the connexion would be dear to him, and that upon his part he would do all he could to assist it, and to aggrandize his brother, so that it might be clearly known that he would not fail to marry him to her Majesty.

The Queen-Mother then, entering into fuller details, said that this opportunity would be most acceptable to her, because she hoped that if this alliance were accomplished the Queen would no longer render assistance to those who were rebels to this Crown, as she was now doing; and the Queen-Mother took the opportunity of making a gentle remonstrance, asserting to the Ambassador that she knew for certain that fifty thousand crowns had been paid from England to the Huguenots, and that the latter had received bills of exchange for a like sum from the fair of Frankfort. This allegation was neither denied nor admitted by the Ambassador, who replied that he personally knew nothing of such a transaction, but was certain that if their Majesties had commanded their Ambassador resident in England to speak with the Queen upon the subject, their Majesties would receive satisfaction.

With reference to the marriage itself, the Queen-Mother said that before they could entertain any negotiation it would be necessary to ascertain the intentions and the will of the Duke, her son, because he was of an age when her authority over him had ceased, and he was perfectly competent to decide for himself; and that their Majesties having taken advice had determined that a person in the confidence of Monsieur should go to him on their part to give him an account of all these proceedings, and to obtain his real opinion.

This having been done through the medium of one of Monsieur's gentlemen, a very discreet person, the gentleman brought back an

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answer that Monsieur was sure that the communication made to him had been commanded by the King, because he knew that the gentleman would not have dared to speak of a matter so important without the order of the King his brother and the Queen-Mother; nevertheless, Monsieur instructed the gentleman to tell their Majesties that he would always willingly do whatever was agreeable to them, but that if he were to follow his own inclination he desired they should know that, being aware that the Queen of England was advanced in years so that she could scarcely hope to have children, he could not of his free will or to his satisfaction become her husband unless, in the event of her dying childless, he were to succeed to the throne; because otherwise, if she were soon to die, he would have to return to France as a simple Prince, and he therefore preferred to remain as he was, rather than to accept a greater state to return to a less.

The gentleman then rejoined that to ask what was not in the power of the Queen of England to grant, was practically to put an end to the negotiation for the marriage, and that his Highness ought to rest content with being crowned King, and to put himself into the best position attainable, because then he might obtain the rest by his sword. His Highness answered that he could not accept this suggestion because, when justice was wanting, God never favoured the sword, and that he adhered to what he had fully resolved; and then, without waiting for the gentleman to make any report, he went himself to speak with their Majesties, and expressed himself to the same effect, so that the negotiation is now considered to be at an end, to the great satisfaction of the King, who is assured by the answer of Monsieur that no stratagem was hidden underneath these proposals, for it was believed to be the intention of the English to remove the King's brother from the King's side, in order to make use of him to trouble this kingdom.

I have not hesitated to give all the above particulars to your Serenity, because they have been communicated to me by an individual who was privy to all that took place, and thus the real intentions and objects of all parties interested can be surmised.

Last night three individuals were arrested in the court of the Louvre, where his Majesty resides. One by name Mons. de Remy is a principal person in the service of the Duke of Alençon, and the other two are his followers. The cause of this arrest is said to be a report which was made to his Majesty, and which was to the effect that De Remy was about to leave the Court to take possession of two landed properties in Normandy, and when he went in person to ask leave from his Majesty, his Majesty granted it, but sent a Captain of the Guard to arrest him before he left the courtyard. Last night an active search was made to find some persons whose names are not known, and in consequence the gates have been closed until two hours before noon, and again at the third or fourth hour of the night (about 10 p.m.). Moreover, the Duke of Alençon not being visible in his apartments, it was believed that he had taken to flight on account of the arrest of his servants and for other reasons which were

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apparent, and a report to this effect having been made to the Queen-Mother who was in bed, she immediately arose and proceeded in person to seek her son, and found him in the chamber of the Queen of Navarre; and this affair has led to the conclusion that the arrest of Mons. de Remy was made upon the ground that he had an understanding with Monsieur to effect his Highness's escape.

This evening the King has intimated to the Ambassadors from England and Florence, who are lodged in the Faubourg of St. Germain, that they are to find lodgings within the city for their greater security. I have already removed thither on account of the rumours which were current, and thus your Serenity will realise the dangers which beset this unfortunate country. The cause of this order is clearly understood to be on account of the English Ambassador, who their Majesties are assured is endeavouring to effect the escape of the Duke of Alençon, and therefore, to put an end to the facility which the Ambassador possesses for this purpose by residing in an open district where he can receive in his own house by night anyone he pleases without hindrance, their Majesties, under the pretext of insuring his greater safety, have decided to make him reside within the city, where it would be more easy to ascertain who enter his house by day, and by reason of the guards who are constantly on patrol, it would be impossible that any persons should visit him by night without being seen and recognised. The King is assured on all sides that the sole object of his brother is to escape, and his Majesty cannot be diverted from this idea; and further it is known by letters which have been intercepted that the coming of the Roisters who are expected is solely to aid the Duke's flight. It is believed for certain that Mons. de Remy, who is detained as prisoner, was about to seize a place called Mantes and a bridge over the Seine, in order to keep a passage free for the arrival of these troops. Moreover it is necessary for his Majesty, unless he desire to live in unceasing disquiet, to assure himself of the person of his brother, for otherwise his kingdom would be thrown into greater confusion than now afflicts it, and his own life placed in manifest peril.

Paris, 11th September 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

635. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

His Majesty has ascertained upon indisputable evidence that it is the positive intention of the Duke of Alençon to escape from the Court, and that his plans are so well laid, that even if they be not discovered, it is considered certain that his object will be attained. This matter has been fully discussed by the King, the Queen-Mother, the Chancellor, and Mons. de Morvilliers. The Queen-Mother has remonstrated in very gentle terms with the Duke, but he has answered her that although he is apparently in the enjoyment of his liberty, yet that his virtual imprisonment is intolerable to him; subsequently, however, the Duke made a confession of his fault,

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and a reconciliation was brought about. The King of Navarre has consented to take back Mademoiselle de Turigni, one of his wife's maids, whose dismissal had so irritated his wife that she would no longer sleep with him.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, the King continues to use every effort to discover the intentions and ideas of his brother, and shows great indignation against all persons who had given the Duke bad advice; and the other night the King caused to be seized, in the very chamber of the Duke, a Captain Cecoto, who has been put in prison with the others, and an indictment is being formulated against them all, in order to ascertain the truth, and to punish them if they be found guilty.

The English Ambassador would appear to be implicat ed in this business, and he, as a public official residing in the Faubourg St. Germain, opposite the palace of their Majesties, and only separated therefrom by the river (which, on account of the late drought, is now very low), was conveniently at hand to take charge of the person of Monsieur the Duke, who therefore meditated crossing the river on a good horse, and entering the house of the above-mentioned Ambassador, with whom he had already arranged to have ready a provision of horses and attendants, so as to give him the opportunity to escape to a place where he might join the band who had assembled to bring him away. His Majesty, therefore, in order to obviate any similar disorders which might happen, ordered all the Ambassadors to return and reside within the city for their greater safety; and although his Majesty's sole object was to remove the English Ambassador from the above place, he was obliged, in order to give colour to his proceedings, to make the order general. The Ambassador from Florence, who was the only Ambassador, except the Ambassador from England, who resided without the city, to show his readiness and a good example, came within the walls the day after he received the order; but the English Ambassador delays as much as he can, and it is not known whether he will ultimately obey his Majesty's order, though everybody says that he must do so now that this design of the Duke's has been discovered.

Paris, 15th September 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

636. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Yesterday the event took place, which has constantly been dreaded, and which may be considered to be the total ruin of this unfortunate and ill-starred kingdom, namely, that Monsieur the Duke of Alençon escaped from the Court in the following manner.

On the 15th September at 3 p.m. Monsieur went to ask leave of the Queen to go for two or three hours into the city for his pleasure, and having easily obtained this permission, he entered his coach, and proceeded to the house of a President or Councillor of Paris, where he was accustomed to go for his private amusements; and having alighted there, he left his coach at the door in the public street, so

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that it might be seen by everyone, and understood that he was in that house, but he quitted the house on the other side accompanied by only one gentleman, and entered another coach belonging to the wife of Vomini, the musician, who is in his service, and who is now in prison at Vincennes. He then, together with the above-named gentleman, went out of Paris by the gate of St. Jacques, without anyone having looked into the coach; and he drove until he met fifteen horse, which were waiting for him, and having mounted, took flight with all speed in the direction of Conflans, where he baited the horses, and would appear to have remained for the rest of the night. On the road he was met by two archers of the King's guard, by whom he was recognised, so lest they should give intelligence of his flight, he ordered two harquebuse shots to be fired at them, whereby one of them was killed on the spot, but the other suffered no injury except the loss of his horse, which was wounded; however he was able, although somewhat late, to arrive here to give the news to their Majesties.

A greater misfortune than this affair could not have happened to the King at the present time, and it is the more serious because his Majesty was warned three or four days previously from many quarters that the escape of Monsieur had been arranged and provided for on the 15th September, exactly as it took place, so the same result has now happened as in the case of the prophecies of Cassandra before the capture of Troy, who although she predicted the truth was never believed by any one. It is said that Monsieur left on the table of his cabinet a letter addressed to the King, entreating his Majesty not to fear his departure, because he would always be his Majesty's affectionate brother and servant, and most ready to give whatever he had, and even his own life, for his Majesty's service, but that his object was, through an understanding which he had with the Prince of Orange, to teach the King of Spain that he was a man capable of playing his own part in this world; but whether this report be true or not, I am unable to say. It is reported that the Queen of Navarre had intended to have departed with Monsieur, and that she was not only acquainted with all his ideas, but was the authoress of the whole proceeding, on account of her anger for having been unable to retain Mlle. di Torigni about her person.

Paris, 16th September 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

637. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Signory.

A few days ago an Ambassador [Sir Henry Cobham] from the Queen of England arrived at this Court. It is not possible to discover with any certainty the object of his mission, but it is believed that it is to confirm more positively the arrangement which has been made with the Comendador Mayor concerning commerce. Some persons say that it is to treat the marriage between one of the Infantas and the future King of England, who is now the King of Scotland, a boy of nine years of age, and whom the Queen of

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England intends shortly to bring to her Court, to educate as her son and successor; and this report obtains greater credence than that of a marriage between the Queen and Don John [of Austria], which other persons talk about. Princes are wont to avail themselves of matrimonial negotiations in many ways, but the Queen of England, who is accustomed to befool the world with negotiations for her own marriage, will have to treat here with a master thoroughly versed in the same art if she designs to do the same thing with respect to the King of Scotland, her successor.

Madrid, 6th November 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

638. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

On Saturday last the illustrious Ambassador Michiel departed hence, and previously, according to custom, his Majesty presented him with certain pieces of wrought silver, and also presented the two secretaries, Surian and Franceschi, each with a chain of gold. His Excellency will make his voyage in this inclement season with some inconvenience, having regard to the numerous retinue which will accompany him, amongst whom are the two gentlemen, Pietro Grimani and Pietro Duodo, both of whom have been indisposed. I also believe that within a few days four of these gentlemen, namely, Zuanne Falier, Marc' Antonio Mocenigo, Zuanne Mocenigo, and Alvise Foscari, who have been to visit England and to see that country, will return thence, and will join the Ambassador before he arrives at Lyons.

Paris, 14th November 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

639. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The hope which was entertained of converting the truce into peace has failed, for I have heard that when the Queen Mother made a proposal to this effect to his Majesty he immediately left the chamber, and when he was called back by the Queen and besought by her to aid the conclusion of this peace, answered that he could not think of doing so since Monsieur had become bound to the Queen of England and the Count Palatine, without whose consent the peace could not be made; and thus the negotiation is at an end.

Paris, 22nd November 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

640. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Signory.

The Ambassador from England has departed from hence. His speedy dismissal imports that his negotiations were not of great importance. He was well received by the King and greatly honoured, being presented with a chain of the value of a thousand crowns, so that it is believed his mission is simply one of compliment.

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Although the Nuncio, in the interests of religion, has promoted the Ambassador's dismissal by exhorting the King to send him away speedily, and by procuring the act of his Majesty to that effect, the Ambassador would nevertheless appear to have mentioned the project of a marriage between the King of Scotland and one of the Infantas, but only in the course of conversation with the King's ministers.

The Nuncio has also told me that he had suggested to the King to endeavour with the aid of the Pope to get the King of Scotland into his hands, both for the advantage of the Queen of Scotland herself and for the benefit of those kingdoms, and so that the boy, who has to inherit so great a State, should be brought up in the Catholic faith; and thus, through his means, there might be hope, after the death of the Queen of England, to bring back once more those kingdoms to the true religion, a result which would not be difficult, because the Lords of Scotland, who are now the King's Governors, would surrender him in consideration of a sufficient sum of money, which is the mode whereby the Queen of England expects to obtain possession of the King's person.

If the plan suggested by the Nuncio could be carried out, it would not only serve the good purpose which is anticipated, but would also set free the King of Scotland from the peril of his life, because, from what has been stated here by persons of authority, the Queen of England is believed to have a secret intention as soon as she gets the King into her hands to put him to death together with his mother, in order to assure the succession of that Crown to a natural daughter of her own, and to unite the kingdom of Scotland to that of England.

This evil intention of the Queen's is promoted by the interested advice of Cecil (*Ciciglia*), her Secretary and principal favourite, he having allied himself to a personage of the kingdom, who pretends to have an interest in the succession, and who hopes by means of the marriage of the Queen's daughter, or in some other way, to advance his pretension; all which things appear very probable.

It will be well to keep secret what the Nuncio told me as above concerning the King of Scotland, the matter being of such importance.

Madrid, 30th November 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

641. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Huguenots have rejected the truce, which is especially distasteful to them, on account of the Queen of England, who endeavours as much as she can to disturb the peace and quiet of this kingdom, hoping to remain in peace herself so long as disorders here are continuous and protracted.

Paris, 30th November 1575.

Encloses copy of the truce agreed upon between the Queen Mother and Monsieur.

[*Italian.*]

1575.
Dec. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

642. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, late Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Left Paris on the 12th November, but on account of the health of his invalid companion, did not reach Lyons until the 4th inst. Intends only to remain there for the time necessary to recruit, and hopes that before then the four gentlemen of his company who had determined to go from Paris to England will return; he had indeed hoped to have found them here, and had brought with him their servants, horses, and baggage.

Lyons, 5th December 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

643. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, late Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Before the dispatch of my last-mentioned letter, which with this will travel by way of Turin, the four gentlemen who went to England have arrived here by post all safe, and thus my departure hence will take place sooner, and within the next two days. These gentlemen have brought news of the publication in Paris of the truce dating from the 28th ultimo, but the Governor here has not only not yet had orders to publish the truce, but has not yet received any advice for its publication.

Lyons, 8th December 1575.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

644. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to SIGNORY.

Yesterday and to-day it is reported that the Queen Mother and Monsieur the Duke, with the consent of the King, have sent Mons. de La Mothe [Fénelon], and with him Mons. de La Porte, to England, but the cause of their going is not known, though the Spaniards suspect that it is to influence the Queen to their detriment, while others believe that it is to induce her to act in unison with this Crown by giving substantial aid, as well as the words of promise which she utters, and as she is also bound to do by the articles of peace agreed between her and this Crown, and also perhaps to justify Monsieur with regard to the negotiation for the truce, but nevertheless not without suspicion of some understanding with regard to the affairs of Flanders, which is believed almost hourly more and more to exist, because there is at this Court an emissary from the Prince of Orange, who is frequently in conference with his Majesty and his principal ministers; and a similar emissary is about the person of Monsieur, inviting him by large offers to engage in that undertaking.

Paris, 19th December 1575.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

645. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I have received your letters of the 20th ultimo, and note your displeasure concerning the privilege granted by the Queen of England to Acerbo Velutelli, a merchant of Lucca, and your instructions to me to confer with the English Ambassador here resident [Dale]. I have this day visited him, and, after compliments, opened the question of the privilege, when I found him thoroughly informed on the subject, and most ready to meet my views. He has promised me to write to-day or to-morrow in such terms as he deems best to effect my object, and he intends to send an agent to England in order that any delay may not prejudice any ship now on the voyage; suggesting to me to advise all persons interested to assure themselves against loss in the event of their vessels arriving in England before the privilege was revoked. Being a doctor of high repute, and learned in the laws of navigation and commerce, and understanding thoroughly the precautions which should be taken, he says that as the privilege is unjust in itself, and highly prejudicial, both to the interests of his own country, and to those of the subjects of your Serenity, he hopes, by the intervention of the Republic, that it will be easily revoked by the Queen.

I will not fail to write to England to the agents of the parties interested, according to their request, all that the Ambassador has said to me on the subject, but I cannot conceal from your Serenity that although the Ambassador has given me great hopes that the privilege will be revoked, yet he has intimated to me that for this purpose your Serenity ought to send an Ambassador to his Queen, who shows an earnest desire to that effect, as indeed she has herself with her own words to some extent openly complained to the gentlemen who came to this Court with the late Ambassador Michiel, and who went to England to visit that kingdom, and as your Serenity will have heard either from themselves, or from the noble Michiel.

Moreover, the Ambassador continued to urge that his Queen was much grieved to perceive that since she had been Queen, no Ambassador, either ordinary or extraordinary, had been accredited to her by the Republic, with whom she had intimate relations, both by reasons of commerce, and by the continuous friendship which had always existed between her country and your Serenity, especially as you had sent Ambassadors to all sovereigns who had ruled her kingdom, except to her. Then, speaking for himself, the Ambassador said that he was well assured that when an Ambassador was sent by your Serenity you would more easily obtain your desire than in any other way, and would moreover ensure the goodwill of the Queen and the whole kingdom, and renew that friendship which appears now to be almost annihilated.

I did not think fit to argue, or to make any answer, but leave the question to your Serenity to decide, but would beseech you to take the course the most likely to effect the revocation of the privilege,

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assuring you that you will not have cause to regret a step in that direction.

I will not fail to keep the matter alive, and to give you advice of any answer I may receive.

Paris, 13th January 1576.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

646. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

For the last few days his Majesty has taken his pleasure by retiring into a small apartment which has no window, and where in order to see, candles must be burnt all day, and to this apartment his Majesty summons four or five youths of this city who follow the profession of poets and light literature, and to meet these people his Majesty invites the Duke of Nevers, the Grand Prior, Mons. de Biragues, Mons. de Souré, the Queen of Navarre, his sister, Madame de Nevers, and the Maréchale de Retz, all of whom profess to delight in poetry. When they are thus assembled his Majesty orders one of these youths to speak in praise of one of the virtues, exalting it above all the others, and as soon as he has concluded his reasoning each person in turn argues against the proposal which has been made. His Majesty consumes many hours in this exercise, to the small satisfaction of the Queen Mother and everybody else who would desire to see, in times so calamitous, his Majesty attending to his urgent affairs, and not to amusements which, however praiseworthy at other times, are now, from the necessity of the case, condemned by all, seeing that the King for this cause fails to be present at his Council, and there to discuss matters which are of the greatest importance, and which, having regard to his own position and that of his kingdom, can easily be imagined to require attention.

Paris, 3rd February 1576.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

647. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Queen Mother on her way back from Poitiers to Paris was stopped by news that on the day of the Innocents, Monsieur the Duke of Alençon, when going to bed, Mons. de Fore and Mons. de Simier being present, asked, according to the French fashion, that his wine might be brought him, and when he was served by a valet de chambre, and had drank to his satisfaction, he gave the rest to de Fore and de Simier, and de Fore, whilst drinking, exclaimed, "What a bitter wine this is," adding, "We are surely poisoned;" and then with great noise he called for remedies to bring up the wine, and acquainted Monsieur. While these remedies were being administered the valet was seized, and with threats ordered to tell the whole truth, but as the poor man remained always firm, asserting his innocence and that he had made no mistake, and still less knew whether any others had done so, they compelled him to drink two glasses of the wine, which did him no harm whatever.

Paris, 10th January 1575–6.

[*Italian.*]

1576.
Jan. 25.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

648. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Advices have been received from England of the arrival there of the gentlemen who have been sent to the Queen by his Majesty and by Monsieur, and who have apparently been well received, but, nevertheless, the Queen plainly shows that if either a peace or a truce be made, she will require Monsieur's word for the restoration of Calais. We also hear that while these gentlemen were at the English Court the Queen received the news of the poison which was said to have been administered to Monsieur, and she took the opportunity of declining to negotiate further with them until she was certain of the truth of this report, and protested in strong terms against such modes of proceeding, which she condemned as inhuman and impious. News has also arrived that the Queen had confined these gentlemen to their lodgings, but her Ambassador resident here [Dr. Dale] has declared to me that this is untrue, although he states that the Queen has, for reasonable causes, refused to negotiate with these gentlemen until she has had further intelligence concerning the attempt to poison.

Paris, 25th January 1576.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6.
Original Letter, Venetian Archives.

649. Diogene Franceschini to Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France.

The letter of your Excellency, dated the 16th ult., has given to all of us who are faithful subjects of the Signory great hope that the mischievous license granted to Acerbo Velutelli, to the manifest prejudice of our nation and of the English people, will be revoked and annulled; and in order that your Excellency may know what has taken place, and that you may be informed what our wishes and desires are, we have judged it expedient to relate to you the facts of the case from the commencement.

When, in the month of November last, the privilege was accorded to Velutelli, he forthwith commenced proceedings against us by obtaining an order that currants and oils were not to be unloaded without his authority, and we therefore presented a petition to her Majesty's Council praying that, as heretofore, we might land our merchandise freely, and the authorities of the city of London likewise complained that this license and privilege was a violation of their laws and patents, and endeavoured to procure its withdrawal; and to ensure a hearing we attended the Council, who, after long debate, conceded that vessels now on the voyage should be exempted, but that no other vessels were to unload without the knowledge of the Council.

Seeing that the Earl of Leicester, one of the principal nobles of this realm, who is in great favour with the Queen and who had favoured the project and obtained the privilege, opposed our application, we were again compelled to represent the facts set forth in the petition, of which I enclose copy; and these being founded on reason, the Council adhered to their decision that the vessels were

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to be discharged as determined. And now the "Dolfina" and the "Barbara" having both been wrecked, the one on the coast of Galicia and the other near Cape Finisterre, we have nothing to add upon this first point except that the Earl of Leicester has brought us bad luck, for he was accustomed to express his wish that God might procure these vessels to be lost.

Upon the second point we pray your Excellency to exert yourself so that this license may not remain in force, and it would aid the result greatly if you would speak to the English Ambassador, who is so friendly to our nation, to write in strong terms to the Lord High Treasurer, who is favourable to our cause, asking him to speak with her Majesty for the public advantage; and we would request you to send the letter here to us, together with copies, so that we may know the contents and at the same time be enabled to write to the Earl of Leicester to propitiate him, and make him look upon our case with a favourable eye, and then all would go well, because, though at present both his Lordship and Mr. Walsingham are much opposed to us, everyone would be gratified if these noblemen could be appeased.

The city has presented and will repeat remonstrances, and next Sunday we shall all go to beseech her Majesty to grant the revocation of the patent, and the matter will be spoken of in Parliament; and, in order that you may have greater facilities for the negotiation, we on the day of the prorogation, together with the representatives of this nation, presented the letter of the Senate and of your Excellency to her Majesty, and made a brief speech in support of our commercial relations. Her Majesty most graciously listened to us, and said that she would never take any course which might prejudice the Republic of Venice. Since then we have had no further answer, as the Court has come to London this day for the opening of Parliament on Wednesday next. We have been greatly assisted in our difficulties by the authority and favour of a gentleman from the city of Urbino, namely, Signor Giulio Borgarussi, who has a son a doctor of laws in Venice.

This Signor Giulio is physician to her Majesty, and by virtue of his office belongs to her chamber, and is highly esteemed by all the Lords of the Court. He, moved by the justice of our cause, and being himself a man of great ability and courage, has supported our petition with so much efficacy and goodwill that we feel under great obligation to him and to his prudence, and therefore pray your Excellency to thank him most sincerely for the admirable representations which he has made to her Majesty and the Lords of the Council, and to the citizens, in favour of all of us and our Republic, and for the danger he has incurred of losing the favour of the Earl of Leicester by his conduct in this matter. I will add that whilst we have been combined together with other parties, we indulge in the hope that we have not done anything likely to prejudice our case, and if your Excellency would deign to give us your advice for the future, we shall do our best with the help of God to follow it.

Your most affectionate servant,

London, 6th February 1575–6. DIOGENE FRANCESCHINI.

[*Italian.*]

1576. Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

650. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Mons. de La Porte and Mons. de La Mothe Fénelon (*della Motta*), who were accredited by his Majesty and by Monsieur to the Queen of England, returned from England yesterday, and I hear that they have brought back an unfavourable reply, because, so far as the proposal for the marriage with Monsieur is concerned, the Queen answered that she would never take him so long as the affairs of this kingdom were in their present disordered state, and if she did make up her mind to marry, she would espouse the brother of the King of France and not one of the King's outlaws (as Monsieur was at present), as such a marriage would not be in accordance with her dignity. But first, however, she demanded that peace should be made, and then she would willingly consider this proposition, and as the above named Ambassadors had acquainted her with the ready willingness of the King, and other particulars concerning the position of Monsieur, she said confidentially that to satisfy herself thoroughly upon all points she would send a gentleman to his Majesty and Monsieur the better to ascertain their views, and also to take part in negotiations for peace if it were necessary to do so. Consequently this gentleman is expected to arrive within two days from this date. His most Christian Majesty, however, believes that this gentleman will be sent rather for an evil purpose than otherwise, such, for instance, as to uphold the interests of the false religion rather than for any desire the Queen may have for peace, and still less for any purpose with regard to the above-mentioned marriage.

Contemporaneously with the arrival of the above-named gentleman from England, I have received the enclosed letters and documents, which I forward to your Serenity from the agent, De' Regazoni, who resides in London, and from these your Serenity will understand that what the English Ambassador resident here has lately told me concerning the privilege granted to Acerbo Velutelli turns out not to be true; nevertheless I immediately visited the Ambassador and showed him what had been written to me, and entreated him to do all that was asked by those letters. The Ambassador excused himself for having held out expectations which were not realised, upon the ground that he had acted upon what had been written to him and that his correspondent had mistaken the partial suspension of the privilege in favour of the ships which were upon the voyage for its total suspension; but the Ambassador nevertheless hoped that by the intercession of your Serenity that which had not yet been done would ultimately be accomplished, and he begs you to write to the Lord High Treasurer in the terms which have been suggested, and to send me the letters to forward them to the hands of our agents, so that they themselves may present them. The Ambassador further excused himself saying that he was not competent for this negociation, for it really might seem as if he must pick a quarrel with the Earl of Leicester; but he again yesterday informed me that if your Serenity would send a representative to England you would obtain all that was asked; and he more openly said that upon the arrival of the gentleman who is expected here within three days, and who is on familiar terms

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and a great favourite with the Earl of Leicester, I ought to make efficacious representations to him, which he, the Ambassador, would assist, in order to induce the Earl to desist from favouring the privilege, and that if I succeeded in doing this I might be well assured that the privilege would be immediately revoked. I will not fail to exert myself in this matter to the best of my ability, and to advise both your Serenity and the agents and parties in London of the result.

Paris, 22nd February 1576.

[*Italian.*]

March 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

651. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Huguenot deputies demand for Monsieur that his government of Picardy, in which province he does not consider himself safe, should be exchanged for Metz, Toulon, and Verdun, or as the French partisans of the Queen of England desire, for Normandy.

Paris, 8th March 1576.

[*Italian.*]

March 20. Original Letter, Venetian Archives.

652. Diogene Franceschini to Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of France.

I have deferred answering your letter of the 22nd ultimo, with the hope that I might be able to give you some good news concerning the license granted to Acerbo Velutelli, but notwithstanding all the diligence we have used, we have not been able to obtain any answer whatever to the letter which we presented publicly to the Queen's Majesty, in whose name the Secretary of State subsequently informed us that our case had been referred by her Majesty to her Council; and although we forthwith presented a copy of the petition herewith enclosed, to the Lords of the Council, and have been several times before them to hear their decision, we have been continually put off, and have faint hopes of being able to obtain any concession. This result proceeds from the great influence of the Earl of Leicester, who appears to have been the personage who favoured the demand for the privilege, and now endeavours to sustain it in every possible way, so that if favour should prevail over justice and reason, we have no course but to submit with good patience, although, if this privilege continue to exist, both the public and private interests of Venice will suffer damage of material importance. We know the course which you have taken with the English Ambassador, and your exertions in our favour, and although the English Ambassador has not yet been able to obtain such a result as is desired, fearing, probably, lest he might offend the Earl of Leicester, we tender you our grateful thanks for the assistance you have rendered in every possible way. As the Marquis of Winchester has returned, he will not fail to answer your letter, to which he has hitherto delayed to give a reply, believing that he might defer it to a more opportune occasion. We hear by the last letters from Venice, that there they indulged in some hope that the Signory would shortly

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accredit an Ambassador here, and if this decision be true and carried into effect, I believe it will be very well received and appreciated on this side, as an embassy from the Signory has been greatly desired by all parties, and may God speed the Signory to do what is best for their subjects.

Three days ago an "urcha" arrived here from Lisbon, laden with twenty-five butts of currants and about fifty butts of wines, consigned to one of our nation. The goods of both qualities were unloaded, and the currants were delivered without paying any impost, under an Order of the Council providing that vessels which were on the voyage might unload without being liable to further duties.

The Lombard vessels, which are shortly expected, will have the advantage of the same decree, but with regard to the other vessels laden with wool and other goods, which have lately sailed from Venice, if between that date and their arrival here the license of Velutelli be not revoked, the consignee will be compelled to send them to other destinations, which will result in an incredible loss. I, for my part, have never been able to arrive at any settlement, notwithstanding that I have been prepared to make any concessions which might not prejudice our case, nor have I permitted any others to do so; nevertheless your Excellency, of your own mature judgment, will advise us, and we will do our best to carry into effect your instructions.

London, 20th March 1575–6.

[*Italian.*]

April 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

653. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory

The Earl of Oxford, an English gentlemen, has arrived here. He has come from Venice, and, according to what has been said to me by the English Ambassador here resident [Dale], speaks in great praise of the numerous courtesies which he has received in that city; and he reports that on his departure from Venice your Serenity had already elected an Ambassador to be sent to his Queen, and the English Ambassador expressed the greatest satisfaction at the intelligence. I myself, not having received any information from your Serenity or from any of my correspondents, did not know what answer to give concerning this matter.

Paris, 3rd April 1576.

[*Italian.*]

April 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

654. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The gentleman who was expected from England, and who has been accredited by the Queen of England to induce his Majesty to conclude a peace as favourable as possible to the false religion, has arrived in Paris and has been courteously received. Contemporaneously with his arrival I have had delivered the enclosed letter which relates to the currant monopoly granted to Acerbo Velutelli. This letter is dated from London on the 28th March,

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and is signed by Diogene Franceschini, but I anticipate no favourable result, unless the Signory determine to send an Ambassador to England, as indeed all the English Lords, although privately, give me to understand.

Paris, 17th April 1576.

[*Italian.*]

May 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

655. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

A few days ago the Queen Mother sent here from Sens to seek Mr. Randolph (*Signor Randolfo*) who has come here in the name of the Queen of England, to induce their Majesties to make peace. Mr. Randolph departed on Wednesday last, and I am assured that he is charged to renew the project marriage of his Queen with Monsieur, because he has spoken to this effect to his Majesty, and has urged his Majesty to send him for this purpose to Monsieur; but nevertheless it is believed that this request is only an artifice, and that the object of his mission, although apparently to induce all parties to make a peace, has no other end in view except to disturb it, and I do not doubt that this is so from what he has said to me personally, because in conversing with me he said that the Huguenots were madmen to make this peace, as they had no security that any promise given to them would be kept. If peace be made, the Guises are determined to leave the Court.

Paris, 5th May 1576.

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

656. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The gentleman from the Queen of England, who went to see Monsieur, has returned to-day, and reports that at the camp they only awaited the money promised by her Majesty for the departure of Casimir thence, but that it was quite true that the King of Navarre had on his own account raised some difficulties which had not yet been arranged, and it was said that the Queen-Mother thought of going to visit him in order to settle the important points which remained still to be adjusted.

Paris, 8th May 1576.

[*Italian.*]

May 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

657. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

It being my duty to advise your Lordships of all things which come to my notice, if they affect the service or interest of the Republic, I now wish to report that two or three days ago there returned from England to this Court a Piacentine gentleman named Geronimo Scotto, who was formerly at Venice, and must be well-known to many of your Lordships, who have seen him do many games with cards, supposed to be marvellous, and by reason of which he finds the way open to treat familiarly with Kings and

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all great personages, as I understand he has also done very privately with the Queen of England during the time he has been at that Court.

This person has told me that while he was conversing with the Queen about Venetian matters, she said to him these precise words:

"I do not know what offence I have done to that Republic that they have never chosen to send an Ambassador to me alone of all those who have had the government of this kingdom, nor have they chosen to move in spite of the words which I have spoken on this subject; indeed, when they had finally decided to send one, they soon after repented; nor do I know the reason; but I shall hold them in the same account as they hold me, and I shall treat them in the same manner."

Although these words come through a person who may have added or omitted something, nevertheless, as he repeated them to me more than once, because I told him I did not believe that the Queen, who is esteemed to be judicious and prudent, would have said such words, she well knowing how much she was respected by the Republic, and as he affirmed that the words were uttered angrily, I would not fail to inform your Lordships, judging them to be worthy of great consideration.

Paris, 30th May 1576

[*Italian; partly in cipher.*]

June 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

658. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The day before yesterday the English Ambassador resident here came to see me, and told me that he had received letters from Mr. Randolph, desiring I should be informed that according to the promise which he had made me before his departure, he had to the best of his ability acquainted her Majesty with all that I had said to him concerning the privilege granted to Acerbo Velutelli, and how acceptable its revocation would be to the Signory, and that the Queen had answered with most gracious words, and with a demonstration of goodwill towards the Republic; whence it appears certain that if your Serenity would send an Ambassador to England the privilege would be immediately revoked. I thanked his Excellency for the good offices which he had thus performed, and said I ventured to hope that her Majesty, in order to revoke this privilege, would not require all the time that would be necessary to accredit an Ambassador, because, as the concession was not less hurtful to her subjects than to those of your Serenity, it was not expedient that a particular interest should continue to exist so long without benefit to any of the parties. The Ambassador answered me that notwithstanding that the privilege might not be revoked, yet he assured me that if any Venetian vessel should chance to arrive in England, it would not pay duty nor receive any annoyance on account of the privilege, but that to obtain this revocation the presence of an Ambassador was necessary; and he

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endeavoured to prove to me by many reasons which I have already written, that your Serenity should do this. I on my part endeavoured to avoid this conclusion as much as I could, believing this to be your Serenity's wish, because if you had thought fit to send an Ambassador here you would have already done so; and although our countrymen resident in England have written me that they have offered your Serenity to pay all the Ambassador's expenses, nevertheless I have not failed to advise you of all that has taken place.

Paris, 19th June 1576.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Original Letter, Venetian Archives.

659. Queen Elizabeth to Alvise Mocenigo, Doge of Venice.

During the last few months she has received so much benefit from the skill of D. Cæsar Scacco, physician, that she has thought it fitting to signify the fact to his Serenity. As she will have need of his skill for a month or two longer, she asks that his stay in England may not be prejudicial to his affairs in Italy, but rather that for her sake he may have the Doge's favour, and letters of recommendation, if necessary, for obtaining honours at Chioggia, where he usually resides.

Dated at her Palace of Greenwich, 7th July 1576, in the 18th year of her reign.

Signed by the Queen at the foot.

[*Latin.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

660. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

A report has been lately in circulation that the Queen of England is dead, but the news is not believed because it does not come from an authentic source, and moreover the English Ambassador is much annoyed at these reports, and has affirmed to me that the Queen is in excellent health, and ails nothing; but as the rumour is public I mention it, knowing that news from here reaches Venice.

Paris, 12th July 1576.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

661. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

This day the English Ambassador [Dale] has told me he had news from London that a Venetian vessel was expected in England laden with goods comprised within the privilege granted to Acerbo Velutelli; and the Ambassador, showing great affection towards your Serenity, said it would be well to advise the consignees of the cargo in London not to make any payments whatever, because he was sure that the Queen would never cause them to lose their property, but that if they consented to pay at the present time they might greatly prejudice their case, for while as it now seemed to him easy enough to extinguish the privilege, it would become more difficult hereafter; and he also said that it would be advantageous if your Serenity

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would give some satisfaction to the Queen, because when this was done both the existing demand and all others would be conceded to our nation with every facility and readiness. I thanked him for his friendly suggestion, and as he had to forward his letters immediately, I wrote to the merchants as he had suggested to me with regard to their payments, but leaving them at liberty to do whatever they thought best, because it is not my business to advise a course which might turn out to be injurious, and still less to prejudice the position of our nation in any way.

Paris, 26th August 1576.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

662. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Certain individuals sent by the States of Flanders to the King have arrived here; they are ordered to give his Majesty an account of the causes which have led the States to take up arms against the Spaniards, and I am told that other envoys have been sent to Rome and to your Serenity for a similar purpose.

Paris, 3rd November 1576.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

663. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Spanish Ambassador having heard that Mons. de Fontpertuis, accompanied by two deputies from the States of Flanders, had returned from Brussels, with an offer to cede territory to the King or to Monsieur, if they would take the States under their protection, made a lengthened and violent complaint to his Majesty on the subject. The future seems very doubtful, but it is said that the King of Navarre gives out very plainly that if his Majesty or Monsieur think fit to lose this opportunity, he will not by any means do so, and, on the other hand, the States of Flanders threaten that they will approach the Queen of England if they find themselves abandoned by this Crown.

San Dye, 13th December 1576.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

664. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

An English gentleman [Sir Thomas Smith ?] has arrived here who is on his way to Spain, whither he has been sent by his Queen; it is said he will reside at that Court if he finds himself well treated and well received, otherwise he will use endeavours to induce the King of Spain to make peace in every possible way with his vassals in Flanders, and to concede to them the free exercise of their religion. He went to-day to attend an audience with her Majesty; to-morrow he will depart by post for his voyage; he has been to see me and held very courteous language, and I will not fail to return his visit. With regard to the question of the privilege to be conceded to

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Acerbo Velutelli, I am obliged to tell your Serenity that if you do not choose to take steps to please the Queen, the negotiation will go forward, and when once the privilege has been established it will be useless to think of obtaining its revocation. Your Serenity knows best what ought to be done, nevertheless I am unable to express any different opinion than the above with regard to this matter.

San Dye, 19th December 1576.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

665. Giovanni Francesco Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Spanish Ambassador has told me that he knew for certain that it had been determined in the Council to dismiss the Baron d'Aubigny, because neither the Council nor their Majesties nor Monsieur would receive his overtures. The Baron d'Aubigny, after he had been dismissed by the King, came to this village to seek the English Ambassador [Sir Amyas Paulet], and after a lengthened interview departed by post to Brussels. This event has caused everybody, and especially those who are most interested, to suspect that as the Baron d'Aubigny has lost all hope of obtaining assistance from hence, he intends to have recourse to the Queen of England or at all events, to make their Majesties and the Ministers of the King of Spain suspect that this is his intention, in order to induce either the former to come to a better conclusion, or the latter to ameliorate the conditions of their agreement.

San Dye, 29th December 1576.

[*Italian.*]

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1577. Jan. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

666. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Signory.

An Ambassador has lately arrived here from England, who, besides expressing the good will of the Queen towards the King, has renewed on her part an offer of cooperation for the pacification of Flanders, and has procured the release of some Englishmen who had been detained in this country by the Inquisition. His Majesty sent to fetch the Ambassador from his house, and has declared his intention of dismissing him very shortly, having appointed the council of the Inquisition to meet this very day, when his Majesty intends to be present, to discuss this affair, which has been misunderstood by some of the councillors, but in which his Majesty takes much interest, in order that he may give full satisfaction to the Queen.

Madrid, 18th January 1577.

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

667. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador who lately arrived at this Court, after having testified in general terms to the good-will borne by his Queen to his Majesty, said in particular that her Majesty had intimated to the States of Flanders that if they called foreign princes to their assistance and violated their allegiance to his Majesty, she would be the first to take up arms against them, and treat them as disturbers of the commonwealth, and in such case would place all her forces at his Majesty's disposal; but as his Majesty's good friend and sister she desired to give him freely her advice as to quelling this insurrection, and this was to make open war against the French, who, if compelled to attend to the defence of their own affairs (*cose sue*), would have less power to perturb the affairs of other people. Her Majesty insisted that all the disturbance in Flanders was originally created and has since been fomented by the Duke of Alençon, whose object is to become master of that province, and her Majesty undertakes that she will ally herself with his Majesty as soon as he promises to declare this war, and thus rescue Flanders from the evil circumstances into which it has fallen.

His Majesty has received this Ambassador most honourably, and has assigned him excellent lodgings, and on his first audience his Majesty sent his majordomo with many principal knights and a number of halberdiers of the guard to accompany him from his residence; but, nevertheless, the substance of the negotiations is said to result in thanks being returned to the Queen for this demonstration of her affection towards his Majesty, and a promise to her of full communication on every opportunity; and as for the rest, his Majesty would take no new action without first informing the Queen, from whom he desired to have a like undertaking.

I have been to visit the Ambassador, and have found him to be a personage of great discretion, and he lives, to his great praise, most catholically. He has imparted to me, at some length, the great esteem in which her Majesty holds your Serenity, and her desire to see an Ambassador of yours at her Court, and she has shown her great satisfaction that I should have been the first of the Ambassadors here resident to visit hers, and receive him in my own house. The English Ambassador hopes soon to be dismisssed, and he professes to be well satisfied with his reception; and he says that on his return he is under an obligation to render an account to the Queen, his mistress, of the affection of your Serenity towards her, which is evidently desired by her Ministers.

The obsequies of the Emperor have been performed with great pomp in the presence of the Ambassadors of all the crowned heads, including the representative of your Serenity. But the English Ambassador, although a Catholic, and invited, did not attend, and his discretion was commended.

Madrid, 3rd February 1577.

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

668. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Again, last Sunday, the English Ambassador [Paulet] went to make a serious complaint to these Majesties, saying that his Queen marvelled at the decision which had been taken to extirpate the unfortunate professors of the reformed religion; and after many representations which had almost the form of threats, he said that his Queen, having always been their protectress, could not fail to assist them in such a way as was open to her without infringing the league which she had contracted with this Crown and which she desired, by all means, on her side, to maintain for the period prescribed. Notwithstanding all this, the King remained firm and constant in his purpose, and answered the Ambassador with very great magnanimity, saying that he was determined to die the least of the Kings in the world rather than to do anything against his conscience, with other words to the same effect, and confuting the Queen's arguments which were quoted by her Ambassador; so it is considered certain that his Majesty will take the field speedily, as he is very determined to join the army in person. Yesterday the English Ambassador told me that he had received news that an agreement had been made in Brussels without the States giving the hostages which Don John had demanded, and that his Highness had gone to Louvain to swear to the articles, but the Spanish Ambassador here resident has no intelligence upon the subject.

Blois, 7th February 1576–7.

[*Italian.*]

April 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

669. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

A gentleman sent by the Queen of Scotland has arrived at the Court, under the pretext of coming to consult with physicians about her Majesty's serious indisposition, as indeed they say that her life is in great danger. Nevertheless, I have also heard that this proceeding is to move these Majesties to induce the Queen of England, if she will not release the Queen of Scotland as she ought to do, at least to change the Queen of Scotland's place of abode, and give her greater opportunities than she now possesses to effect her cure; but considering the current events relating to the expulsion of the Huguenots, any steps taken here will have but small effect in England, because there the English are so enraged on this account, that there is nothing they would leave undone to displease and injure this Crown.

Blois, 23rd April 1577.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

670. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MOROSINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Announces the arrival in Paris of his successor, Hieronimo Lippomano.

Paris, 11th May 1577.

[*Italian.*]

1577.
May 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

671. Giovanni Francesco Morosini and Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Signory.

Write their first joint dispatch.

Amboise, 24th May 1577.

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

672. Giovanni Francesco Morosini and Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Signory.

We have been in communication with a personage of high station and well informed, who assures us that Mons. de La Personne has been sent by Casimir to acquaint the Queen of England that it is not possible to make any levy of Roisters to act against this Kingdom unless two hundred thousand crowns be first provided for two payments of the levy; secondly, that when the Roisters pass the frontiers they must be met and assisted by the Huguenots of France; and, thirdly, that the Queen should simultaneously be prepared to make war against this King; Casimir asserting that without this assistance and these conditions he had no means of bringing the Roisters hither. It is, therefore, considered certain either that the Roisters will not come, or that their arrival on account of these difficulties will be indefinitely postponed.

Amboise, 27th May 1577.

[*Italian.*]

June 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

673. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

A week since my illustrious predecessor departed hence on his way home. Two days previously he received the usual Ambassador's present, namely a purse with a thousand gold crowns, presented by a gentleman who addressed to him the most flattering observations, which should be considered of greater value than the present itself.

Tours, 5th June 1577.

[*Italian.*]

June 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

674. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Yssoire has been captured by the King's forces, and it is intended to commence operations against Rochelle and the port of Brouage, but the difficulty which attends the execution of any plan unless it be quickly carried out is that the Queen of England, perceiving that while the affairs of this Kingdom are beginning to prosper, those of the Huguenots are in the worst possible state and verging upon ruin, has determined, although she is not by nature over liberal, to open her hand and give sixty thousand angels (which amount to a hundred thousand crowns) for the levy of Roisters, to persuade Casimir, the Marquis of Anspach, and the Landgrave of Hesse (*d'Ax*) to proceed to the destruction of this Kingdom; also to permit English infantry to the number of ten thousand to be sent, together

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with provisions, to the assistance of the inhabitants of Rochelle, in order that these latter may not make peace but carry on the war; to advise the Genevese to contribute the twenty-five thousand crowns which they have voted; and, finally, not content with the above, she is endeavouring by all means in her power to induce the King of Navarre to declare himself the chief of the Roisters, and to go to meet them when they arrive, and join them with all his adherents after they have entered this Kingdom, alleging that if this be not done the Roisters will not come. His Majesty therefore, having been assured by the Duke of Montpensier and by Biron that they had seen in the hands of the King of Navarre these promises of the Queen of England in writing, made a loud complaint to the Queen's Ambassador [Paulet], saying in short that the matter was so clear that it was impossible in any way to conceal it, and that if the Queen intended to observe the conditions stipulated by the convention for peace, it was not proper to violate them by these hostile operations; but if the Queen had changed her mind, she should at least say so openly, because his Majesty would then have to take a totally different course for the future.

The Ambassador then denied with an oath that he knew anything whatever to the discredit of his Queen. It is also reported that the Prince of Condé has sold a large quantity of salt that was in his possession for the price of forty thousand crowns sterling, and that he has offered this sum, together with his own person, for service against France.

Tours, 25th June 1577.

[*Italian.*]

July 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

675. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Marquis of Villeroy has returned from the King of Navarre, to whom he was sent concerning the negotiations for peace, but the King would appear now to be more difficult to deal with than heretofore, and to demand the free exercise of religion as an absolute condition, asserting that unless his Majesty of France decided quickly he (the King of Navarre) would be powerless to do anything. He is greatly excited about the exercise of this false religion, having regard to the assistance which is being offered on all sides, and to the rumours concerning the preparations of Roisters for the invasion of this kingdom. Thus with the reports of the coming of the Roisters and the aids from England and the Prince of Orange, the prospects of the King of Navarre are changed from fear and despair to hopes for the future, for he feels that the spirits of the Catholics are depressed, while those of the Huguenots and his own partisans are raised.

These Majesties have made a fresh complaint against the English Ambassador here, representing that he frequently sends letters and messages by post to the King of Navarre to induce him to continue the war; and although the Ambassador has denied the charge, he is nevertheless in very bad odour, and more especially

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because the policy of his Queen is daily shown to be more and more hostile to this Crown.

Poitiers, 11th July 1577.

[*Italian.*]

July 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

676. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Last night a courier arrived with news that a large armed galleon on its way from England to succour Rochelle, had miraculously foundered at sea, and to-day, when I waited on his Majesty to announce the death of the Doge Mocenigo, I found him well pleased. I congratulated him, and said that every good was to be hoped from these troubles, since it appeared that even the sea fought for him. His Majesty answered that "this was indeed good news, because the whole reliance of the enemy in those parts appeared to rest upon this galleon, *for this Queen of England behaves exceedingly ill towards me. On the one hand she promises by words to be my friend, and on the other she injures me as much as she can by open hostility, and one of these days she may possibly be sorry. She has also offered sixty thousand gold angels to the Roisters to enter this Kingdom, but her avarice has hitherto prevented her paying the money;*" and the King then continued, "but should these Germans come I am determined to go to fight them in person, together with the greater part of the nobility of France."

Poitiers, 22nd July 1577.

[*Italian; partly in cipher.*]

July 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

677. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

The Count di Montaguto has returned to the Escurial from the Court of the Emperor, and Escovedo, a secretary of Don John of Austria, has also come thither from Flanders to give account, as it is said, of the bad position of affairs there, and of the great peril which his Highness will run with regard to his dignity and life if he should remain in those parts, and to endeavour to obtain leave for his return, which his Highness greatly desires

Madrid, 31st July 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

678. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Although the Roisters, at the Diet which they lately held, separated without coming to any determination, because up to that time no money had arrived either from England or from other places, yet they nevertheless confirmed a convention, the articles of which, communicated to me from a trustworthy source, I have in substance enclosed herein. They will hold another Diet on the 1st September next for a final decision, the principal points for discussion being the question of money, and their desire to have a Prince of the blood to command them.

Poitiers, 4th August 1577.

[*Italian.*]

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679. Convention with the Roisters; copy, enclosed in the preceding.

That during the whole month of September 1577, Casimir, the Marquis of Anspach, and the Landgrave of Hesse, are all or some of them to be bound to come with 12,000 horse, besides such infantry as they may be able to muster, to France, to aid the King of Navarre and the other confederates, who have agreed to the terms undermentioned.

To furnish two payments for the levy, amounting to 200,000 crowns, together with chiefs and other officers; of which sum the Queen of England will contribute one moiety, and the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé the remainder.

That a Prince of the blood is to go to meet them with forces, and to accompany them on all occasions, both on their arrival and on their return.

That peace is not to be negotiated, nor made, without their knowledge and consent, while they shall be in the kingdom.

That the Queen of England is to show herself hostile to France, or at least to give assistance as if she were the open enemy of France.

That peace is not at any time to be concluded without ceding to the Empire the three cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, nor without paying to the Roisters their arrears, amounting to 4,000,000 francs.

At the same time the city of Calais is to be surrendered to the Queen of England, if she thinks fit to demand it.

The Prince of Orange promises to give assistance by sea to La Rochelle, or wherever required.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

680. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

A spy has been seized in the house of the High Chancellor. He had in his possession letters from La Rochelle, addressed to individuals at this Court, with the information that the Queen of England had invited the Prince of Condé to repair to her, and had promised to find means to convey him to the Prince of Orange, in order that he might then proceed to Germany to command and lead the Roisters to France. Advices have also been received that four English vessels have arrived at La Rochelle, having on board a powerful Lord, a strong force, and provisions; and it is rumoured that when these vessels return, Condé will accompany them; but other persons take a different view on account of the many debts which he had contracted in Germany when there, and which would make him fear arrest unless they were paid by the Queen of England, who has lately reviewed all the forces of her Kingdom, both horse and foot, her Ambassador alleging that as all France is in a state of war, and as Flanders may come into the same condition, his mistress had determined to be well provided at home against what might happen. It is also believed that another

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Ambassador from Don John of Austria has been to the Queen upon a mission similar to that which was sent to this Court.

Poitiers, 4th August 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

681. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

News has arrived that the King's fleet has completely defeated and routed the enemy at La Rochelle. Mons. de Lansac has informed me that his son, who is the captain of the King's ships in those seas, having received intelligence that the Prince of Condé had disembarked, left his ships at anchor within gunshot of La Rochelle, and attacked the Prince of Condé's ships with such vigour that he put them all to flight, sank the flagship and three other vessels, and captured the second in command. Four other vessels, with an armed force on board, and the remainder of the fleet to the number of twenty vessels, including the four English vessels which I have already mentioned, all went ashore. A gentleman has arrived from the spot bringing the flags which have been captured from the enemy and which the King has ordered to be placed in the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, in this city. The Queen of England, having learned the indignation of this King and the complaints which he has made against her, has instructed her Ambassador resident here [Paulet] to make most ample excuses, and to endeavour to induce these Majesties to make peace according to the terms set forth in the enclosed despatch, which is translated from the French, and which came into my hands by a very secret channel. I have deemed it very necessary that your Excellency should see the document since it concerns negotiations of State most important to this kingdom, the preservation of which I know that you earnestly desire. (See enclosure.)

I understand that the King has answered very seriously and prudently, saying that he well knew all that had hitherto been said and done, and it was useless to deny it, but if for the future the Queen of England desired to be his friend without seeking to sow discord, he would forget the past, but she must not say one thing and do another, because in fact there was nothing, however secret, that did not come to light, and any prince who under the pretence of friendship endeavoured to injure another, might reasonably expect to receive punishment both from God and man.

His Majesty desired to thank the Queen for her exhortations to peace, but said she should consider what she would do if her vassals and kinsfolk desired to cast off their allegiance to her and the crown from her head, and also what she had herself done under similar circumstances. The Queen-Mother then spoke to the Ambassador in a more haughty tone, saying that to deny matters which were evidently true was only to aggravate the crime, and that his Queen would repent her mode of proceeding; and she dismissed the Ambassador from her presence with disdain almost openly expressed.

Poitiers, 10th August 1577.

[*Italian.*]

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682. PROTEST of [SIR AMYAS PAULET] the AMBASSADOR from ENGLAND, made to the most Christian King; copy, enclosed in preceding.

Sire, the Queen my mistress has been informed by your Ambassador in England [Mauvissière], and by myself, of the dissatisfaction which your Majesty felt on hearing from many quarters that her Majesty is favouring the Huguenots, and that she had advanced sixty thousand angel ducats to the Germans to commence hostilities against this kingdom, and, in short, that she was fomenting in every possible way warlike operations and tumults in this and in other countries. Your Ambassador has further made two demands of the Queen: 1st, that she should not give faith too easily to all the representations which others make, but reserve only one ear to hear them; and, 2ndly, that she should give neither aid nor succour to those in France who profess the new religion, nor permit any of her subjects to do so, proceedings which the Ambassador declared to be repugnant to her honour, and to the good friendship which had been observed between both their Majesties.

And now, Sire, I am instructed by my mistress to inform you that she marvels greatly that your Majesty should give credence to the report published by her enemies, that she takes delight in and profits by the troubles of her neighbours, because if her advice had been listened to, the affairs both of France and Flanders would not now be in their present condition; and, truly, whoever will consider the small benefit which she has received by these disorders, and the opportunities which she has had of augmenting her own dominions, must confess that her Majesty has not allowed herself to be controlled either by prospect of gain or by ambition.

But if it should be urged that by the prolongation of these troubles she has sought to insure her own tranquillity, such an argument can have no foundation, because whoever might pretend to make a justifiable war against her would have but small reason, seeing that she governs an empire and is invested with a crown freely granted to her by the late King, her father. She does not demand the rights of others. She rules by justice. She maintains her subjects in peace. She fears no other princes. She trusts in God, who is the author of justice, and who will defend her against all evil-doers. In conclusion, she prays God that such other princes who may have given your Majesty this information, with the hope of acquiring riches and aggrandisement by your Majesty's losses, may not wish you greater evils than she does.

Now, if it should be reported that any vessels or people are proceeding from England to join the Prince of Condé, either at La Rochelle or any other port of France, your Majesty must learn that these persons are simply traders, who have loaded provisions and merchandise for the sake of profit; and if amongst them any soldiers should be found, the latter are foreigners and exiles, whom the Queen cannot prohibit from undertaking such a voyage. Nevertheless she affirms that she has not sent them, and that she is not about to furnish any sum of money to Germany for a levy of Roisters. And of these things your Majesty may be as certain as of anything which

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exists in this world; and her Majesty will assure you further that she will never do any act which may be contrary to her honour or the reciprocal friendship which exists between both parties. With reference to what your Ambassador has requested of her Majesty, that she would not easily give faith to what may be said to her, but always reserve an ear as requested, her Majesty has commanded me to tell you that she is by her own nature so much inclined to justice that she would never refuse justice to any person, however humble and of low estate, and certainly not therefore in a negotiation which is of such importance and which concerns a Prince who has continued for such a length of time in good friendship with her, and she hopes that your Majesty will respond and deign to do the like by her. And in order that your Majesty may fully understand the excellent will and disposition which impel her Majesty towards peace and tranquillity, she prays you to listen to what I have further to urge, and to give the same your mature consideration.

I hold a commission to tell you, in the name of the Queen, my mistress, that she was greatly displeased, as on previous occasions I have informed you, with the pernicious advice which your Estates held at Blois (*Bles*) gave to your Majesty to revoke the Edict for peace and to prohibit all exercises of religion except according to the Roman rite, because it clearly appears that this determination has raised a new war fraught with most dangerous consequences, especially considering the nature of war itself, the nature of civil war, the persons against whom this war has to be waged, and, finally, the present state of the kingdom of France. With regard to the first consideration it is plain that, while the result of war is uncertain, its evils, miseries, and calamities are more than certain; and the cost being so great, it follows that Princes who are wise and well advised will never take up arms unless from necessity or by force, just as anyone who is dangerously ill has recourse to medicine.

With regard to civil war, it is unnecessary to adduce reasons, because your Majesty can yourself bear witness by what has happened in your own kingdom during the last wars, and no one better than yourself can perceive the consequences on account of the great experience which you have had of these troubles. A sick person, having escaped the danger of disease, does not easily subject himself to a return of his former danger; for there is no constitution so robust which being subjected to continual maladies does not succumb at last. If, therefore, foreign wars be so pernicious, how much the more so are civil wars, and particularly those in your kingdom, where by the continual ruin which has followed them, mutual hatred has so increased that the combat is not only against the ruling Powers, but against all who live. We learn by experience that external diseases engender pain rather than injury, but internal diseases are for the most part dangerous and mortal.

To come to the third point, and to consider against whom your Majesty is levying war, your Majesty should be aware that it is an odious thing, and contrary to nature, that the head should do

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violence to the members, when its duty is to preserve and defend them in every way, and the office in charge of a good Prince is to preserve and maintain his subjects and not to ruin and destroy them, especially when this cannot be done without endangering those whom he most values; and you, Sire, should recollect that the greatest reputation and grandeur of a Prince consist in his kingdom being populous. There may be nothing more useful or more satisfactory in foreign wars than victory, but in civil war victory itself results in grief and discontent.

With regard to the last consideration, which concerns the Estates of the kingdom of France, your Majesty's Ambassador has said that the principal cause which moved the Estates to demand a revocation of the Edict was the sight of the extreme poverty and misery to which your kingdom had been reduced by the continuation of the civil war, but it would seem a ridiculous proposal to remedy old grievances by finding a new occasion to make new wars, rather than to preserve peace and remove all causes for war, and particularly in this kingdom, which is in the position which I have represented. The Estates cited, as an example, the Queen of England and her kingdom, wishing to infer that because there is in England only one religion all the inhabitants live together in tranquillity, but to understand the true scope of this argument the circumstances must be considered. It is true that no one in England has demanded nor devised another religion, and I can affirm to your Majesty that if the Queen had granted to her subjects the exercise of another religion, she would not have failed to do what was becoming, from the great desire she has to maintain her subjects in peace and tranquillity, and because she is most religiously observant of her promises.

It was said that the Estates had met to consider the disorders of this kingdom, which has been so long afflicted, and it was hoped that their deliberations might tend to this end, but as the contrary has happened, we are obliged to believe that your Majesty has nominated these Estates rather for private than for general purposes, and because they would appear to have been moved and governed by private considerations only. It was thought that after the loss of the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour it would be unnecessary to speak about religion any longer in France; but experience has shown that it is not one battle which gives entire supremacy, nor can the events be forgotten which followed the death of the Admiral and of the nobles who were massacred in Paris; and if foreign examples are to have any effect, your Majesty should recall the present position of the Low Countries, where from the continuation of civil wars matters are reduced to such extremity that the King of Spain has to depend upon the devotion of his subjects whether he is to remain their master or not.

Consider, Sire, I beseech you, that you have to deal with the first personages of your kingdom, who are greatly esteemed and united together by necessity, which is the true bond of concord, so that victory against them is not so certain as human probability might suggest. Thus you may consider and be sure that whoever may

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give you these counsels and advice, whether Pope or Prince, foreigner or subject, he thinks more of the private advantage to be derived from these wars than what your Majesty may obtain by fortune.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

683. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The capture of Brouage is considered to have been of great consequence, and in particular because it is believed that the Huguenots were treating to surrender it to the Queen of England with all the salt which has been collected there for the last three years, as security for the money which the Queen of England is advancing for the engagement of the Roisters; and it is therefore hoped that the journey of the Prince of Condé to England, and from thence to Germany, and the coming of the Roisters themselves, may consequently be hindered. Six hundred soldiers and two hundred wounded came out of Brouage, in addition to five hundred others who died in its defence. When the Brouage garrison arrived at La Rochelle they had great difficulty in obtaining admission, because they had surrendered sooner than they ought to have done, for if they had held out only two days longer they would have been relieved by the Prince of Condé. The Rochellese, therefore, in order to make an example, decided to decimate them, and consequently one chosen by lot out of every ten was put to death.

Poitiers, 30th August 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

684. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Advices have been received from England that the principal Lords of the kingdom desire urgently that the Queen should consider, in her Council, the question of the succession, but the Queen has not hitherto given her consent, saying that she will not yet name her successor, because the sun is adored more readily when it rises than when it sets; and it is believed that if she adheres to this determination some great risings may take place which will no doubt be fomented from other sources.

Poitiers, 31st August 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

685. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

A fleet of English, Norman, and Scotch vessels, to the number of forty, lately arrived in the neighbourhood of La Rochelle, to carry provisions thither and load on the return voyage with salt at the Island of Ré (*Res*). When M. de Lansac, the younger, heard this intelligence he sent to reconnoitre, and finding that the vessels belonged either to the enemy or to the insurgents, he attacked them vigor-

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ously, when a large number surrendered. Although this capture has been effected before the conclusion of peace, it is believed that the vessels and provisions will have to be released, in order not to throw difficulties in the way of peace and to give some satisfaction to the Huguenots at the outset.

Poitiers, 20th September 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

686. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador has put great pressure upon his Majesty to release the English vessels which were lately taken by de Lansac, asserting that they were the property of private merchants and manned by ordinary seamen, and had no object except to load salt. Some hope has been given to the Ambassador of compliance with his demands, but first what has to be alleged on the other side will have to be heard.

Poitiers, 1st October 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

687. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

All the thoughts of his Majesty are turned to the affairs of Flanders, and no other business is considered; but what makes matters worse is that a few days ago the President of the royal Council died, and as the Duke of Alva and nearly all the other councillors are indisposed, the Council has not been called together.

Here, although peace in Flanders is desired, it is nevertheless greatly feared that war will have to be made. If the States are to conclude peace with his Majesty, Don John will have to be removed from the government, and it is said that the Duchess of Parma, who is much beloved in Flanders, will be sent thither; but if war ensues, I am informed that, after much discussion, Don John will remain, although his Highness in every way shows a great desire to return. Escovedo, his secretary, has been sent forward, and new loans of money are daily made in Augsburg and Paris.

Madrid, 6th October 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

688. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

The King desires peace with Flanders at any price, and although by reason of the relations which exist between Don John and the States, there is but little hope of it, nevertheless, while his Majesty has ordered Don John to do his utmost for peace, he has at any rate lately remitted two hundred thousand crowns by way of Paris in the event of hostilities being found unavoidable.

Madrid, 19th October 1577.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

689. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

The condition of affairs of Flanders is daily growing worse, and since the news arrived of the retirement of Don John, and of the attempt made by the States to seize Namur, while they were negotiating for an agreement between the Germans, the Walloons, and Mons. de Ciampani, and a new confederation between the Queen of England and themselves, it is held for certain that war must ensue.

Madrid, 30th October 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

690. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador resident here has obtained the release of the English ships taken by de Lansac, which is the more agreeable to the Ambassador, as he suspected that several of them had taken ammunition and victuals to Rochelle, not knowing that the place was already in the hands of the King of France.

Paris, 5th November 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

691. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

It is reported that the Archduke Matthias had entered Flanders at the request of the States. The ministers deny this, but it is nevertheless known that the King is at the present time in very dejected condition, and most averse to transacting business with any one, and that the Queen and the Princes show the greatest sorrow and melancholy, and this makes everybody believe that the news lately received is true.

Madrid, 10th November 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

692. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

The news that the Archduke Matthias had entered Flanders at the request of the States has greatly angered the whole of this Court, and I am told that his Majesty, who exhibits great composure of mind in all his actions, has on this occasion flown into a most violent passion, because the Emperor's Ambassador at this Court, after having declared that his Imperial Majesty had had no share in the Archduke's proceedings, had announced that the Emperor had made vain efforts to recall him.

Madrid, 18th November 1577.

[*Italian.*]

1577.
Dec. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

693. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Ambassador L'Aubespine has returned from England, having obtained the release of all the French ships. He says that Queen Elizabeth will send hither a principal gentleman with her Order of the Garter for his most Christian Majesty, should he be content to accept it and observe the articles of peace between one kingdom and the other.

Paris, 7th December 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

694. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Signory.

His Majesty has accredited Don Bernardino de Mendoza as his Ambassador to the Queen of England, and to request her not to assist the Prince of Orange and the States which are now in rebellion, and also, as some think, to induce the Queen to mediate for peace.

Madrid, 16th December 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

695. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Advices have been received from England that two Ambassadors were there, one from Don John and the other from the States. The latter was much favoured and esteemed by the Queen, but the former is very ill looked on, because he has strongly urged the Queen not to encourage the rebels of Flanders, saying that the King of Spain does not make war to extirpate the inhabitants and annul their privileges, which he desires to uphold, but solely to preserve what reasonably belongs to them, and also his authority in those parts, but if the Queen act otherwise, then she cannot hope to remain on good friendship with the King his Lord; and as she does not fail to give good words to his Majesty, so on the other hand she does not keep faith by giving money to the King's enemies, and permitting many soldiers in secret to go to their assistance.

Paris, 20th December 1577.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

696. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen of England has dismissed the two Ambassadors (from Flanders), and provided them with two ships for their passage. She gave to the Ambassador from Don John, who was the first to depart, some silver cups, worth five hundred crowns; and to the

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Ambassador from the States, a chain of the value of one thousand crowns. It is reported that the Queen, having ascertained that French troops had gone to Flanders in aid of the Catholic King, had promised the States to permit English troops not exceeding six thousand in number to proceed to Flanders for their service; and she will also lend them one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, when she receives security for repayment, and therefore a Lucchese, a secretary of the Prince of Orange, remains at her Court, for the conclusion both of this loan, as also for the negotiation of the marriage, by means of the Queen, of the Prince's daughter with the Prince of Condé; but as the Prince of Condé on previous occasions had endeavoured to obtain the Princess of Navarre for wife, and almost concluded the marriage, it is believed that he is still not without hope of accomplishing it, in which case the former proposal would be broken off. Nevertheless the Prince of Condé does not cease to favour the Prince of Orange, and has embarked two thousand French harquebusiers at La Rochelle, and sent them to Flanders, and he continues to muster more men, and will shortly have ready another thousand, all good soldiers and veterans. According to the last advices the Catholic King had applied to England for a passport for an Ambassador whom he desires to send to the Queen to induce her if possible not to favour the rebels in Flanders, and to keep him as far as possible well-informed, but here it is believed that the King's advances will bear very little fruit, because the Queen feeds herself and lives in safety upon the losses and misfortunes of others.

Paris, 6th January 1578.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

697. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

By the last advices Don John was lodged eight leagues from Brussels. In a skirmish with the enemy, his Highness, while crossing the Meuse with the army, encountered great danger from a harquebus shot, which struck his cloak but without peril to his life. An Ambassador from the Queen of England had come to his Highness in answer to the Ambassador sent to her, but I hear that he subsequently passed to the States, serving them as a spy, and told them to arm themselves thoroughly, because Don John did not by any means desire peace; and although many of the Flemish Lords incline to quiet and to some agreement, yet should the Prince of Orange not consent, it will be difficult to effect such a result, as the Prince has placed his confidential captains and governors in all the towns.

The States do not fail to show the world that they would wish for peace, though after their own fashion, and they have again written to all the Princes of Christendom to intercede with his Catholic Majesty to that effect.

Paris, 1st February 1578.

[*Italian.*]

1578.
Feb. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

698. Alberto Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Signory.

Besides Don Bernardino de Mendoza, who is accredited to the Court of England, and who is to leave in a few days hence, the King has sent Don Francisco de Erasso to the King of Sweden, and the King of Denmark, to give an account of the state of affairs in Flanders, and to seek the goodwill of those Kings. The gentleman from England [Thomas Wilkes] is about to leave with a courteous communication, which has referred him concerning the negotiation of peace in Flanders to Don John, and concerning the liberation of prisoners to what will be said by Don Bernardino de Mendoza, and he was presented by his Majesty with a collar of the value of four hundred crowns.

Madrid, 2nd February 1578.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

699. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Secretary Gassot has returned hither from Spain, where he says he was well received. He brings the portraits of the two Princesses, with some hope of the marriage of the second one, who is now only eleven years old, to the Duke of Alençon.

For the rest, the King of Spain returns endless thanks to these Majesties for the goodwill they have shewn to preserve the peace, and especially for the promise not to allow any assistance to go from France in favour of the rebels in Flanders.

Paris, 7th February 1578.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

700. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

It is reported that the Queen of England, after having learned the victory of Don John, had permitted many persons to go to the assistance of the States, and has intimated to the States that she will not fail them in any way.

Paris, 19th February 1578.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

701. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen of England would appear to be under some apprehension, as she has sent troops to the principal ports of the kingdom, and is fitting out several ships, owing to a suspicion that an English Duke, an outlaw, who left Rome lately, has some understanding there; and the Ambassador resident here [Paulet] says that if the Duke visits England he will surely leave his head in that country.

Paris, 25th February 1578.

[*Italian.*]

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March 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

702. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Queen of England continues to arm more actively than ever; she has fitted out twenty-five good ships, and it is believed that she will accept the proposal of the States of Flanders, who offer her three fortresses with their harbours, namely, Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Nieuport, on condition that she declares herself in their favour, and affords them all assistance, especially by advancing three hundred thousand crowns, with which proposal the Ambassador who went to Flanders has returned to his Queen for her final desision.

The Ambassador from the King Catholic, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, appointed to England, has arrived here. He is to do his utmost to induce the Queen not to give any assistance to these rebels, but it is feared that his journey will have been undertaken in vain.

The Queen has sent an Englishman of rank to Scotland to gain, by promises and great presents, the governors of the Scottish King, who has now entered his thirteenth year, so that he may be sent to her; and if she be unable to obtain him by negotiation and donations she is determined to obtain him forthwith by force of arms, and it is feared that if she have him in her hands, as she has his mother, she may one day put them both to death. It is said that she is the more inclined to this purpose because she knows that the Prince of Scotland is dealt with clandestinely by Spain and France to become their ally.

Paris, 5th March 1578.

[*Italian.*]

March 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

703. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

The most certain news is that his Majesty desires peace, and is waiting the return of Mons. de Selles.

Madrid, 9th March 1578.

[*Italian.*]

March 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

704. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

In returning from a chase of deer and stags in the forest of Vincennes, which has been held by order of the King, his Majesty, amongst other familiar and confidential communications, told me that notwithstanding many evil representations which had lately been made by persons to Monsieur, his Highness had written his Majesty a most loving letter, which he prayed him to preserve as a witness of his Highness's goodwill not to take any action against the Crown. His Majesty also said that the Queen of England was one of those who desired to take advantage of this opportunity, and, after her manner, had immediately sent to offer all her aid and power to Monsieur, but that one day God would punish her for all her evil deeds, since she was injuring the whole

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of Christendom at one and the same time. His Majesty further said: "The Queen is now negotiating to obtain possession of several Flemish ports and fortresses, and is also representing to the King of Spain that by such means she would recover those places from his rebels, but if she succeeded she would in that case obtain a foothold in the Low Countries, and I may add in my country likewise, since Calais is only four miles distant from Gravelines; and as the three ports which have been offered to her admit only vessels of light draught, she has demanded at the same time the fortress of Flushing, where there is a large harbour, but this question is being delayed because the Prince of Orange has refused his consent." His Majesty also related to me the mode in which the Queen keeps prisoner the unfortunate Queen of Scotland, who is now confined much more closely than hitherto, without women or men servants, and with miserable food and apparel, a matter for great compassion and commiseration; and that the Queen is also endeavouring to obtain possession of the Prince of Scotland, in order to put him to death with his mother, but she will only obtain him by agreement, for the apprehensions which she has both at home and abroad forbid her to think of a recourse to arms.

Paris, 16th March 1578.

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

705. ALBERTO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

It is reported that Mons. de Selles has been detained by the States, and the hope for peace having from this cause cooled down, it has been decided to give sixty reals to each soldier who is willing to go to Flanders to serve his Highness, and up to the present time about two thousand infantry have been sent forward.

Madrid, 24th March 1578.

[*Italian.*]

April 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

706. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

We have heard from Flanders that the governor of Gravelines, at the instigation of Don John, and by the favour of the most Christian King's governor of Calais, has declared for the King of Spain, and holds the castle in his name, a result which is the more satisfactory because it has impeded the intentions of England, as Gravelines was one of the places which was about to be surrendered.

Paris, 13th April 1578.

[*Italian.*]

April 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

707. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The news having arrived of the firm resolutions formed by the Scots to provide for the safety of their Prince's person and the government of Scotland, it has been determined to send to Eng-

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land Geronimo Gondi, as Ambassador Extraordinary, to endeavour to obtain the release of the unfortunate Queen of Scotland, who until now has undergone a long penance for her fickleness, and that at least she should be treated as becomes her royal state, and also to obtain permission to speak to her.

Besides this, he is charged in secret, knowing that the Queen of England would not wish the French to put foot in Flanders, to request her to break off all negotiations with the Duke of Alençon, and to assure her that these Majesties are very determined to preserve peace in France, and also not to make any stir abroad elsewhere.

Paris, 13th April 1578.

[*Italian.*]

April 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

708. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Spanish Ambassador, writes from England that the Queen had determined to send another Ambassador to Don John, to induce him to suspend hostilities, until she could forward a despatch to the King Catholic, whereby she hoped to conclude peace and adjust the disturbances of Flanders, for otherwise she could not do less than assist the States; but that he (Don Bernardino) had answered her freely that his Majesty would not do this, as it would give time to the Flemings to replace an army in the field and provision the fortresses, and he (Don Bernardino) exhorted the Queen of England not to favour those rebels against a King who was so much her friend; but the Queen had dismissed him (Don Bernardino), while she still retained at her Court the Ambassadors from the States and Casimir with great favour.

Paris, 25th April 1578.

[*Italian.*]

May 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

709. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Mons. de La Chapelle (*Sciapella*) has returned from Angers, and reports that Monsieur has promised to go to Flanders whenever the Flemings decide to give up to him two additional places, namely, Cambrai and Arras, and he was waiting the return of La Roche for the final answer, which is to the effect that the States are willing not only to give up these two places, but also promise to make the Duke master of the country, and to pay the people who are to accompany him, and who they say will be followed by Casimir and the other Princes of Germany who are Huguenots; but the greatest hope which we have here is that the Flemings by negotiating the peace in this way are merely endeavouring to avail themselves of a pretext to improve their condition; and in addition to this, we hear from England by letter of the 25th ultimo, written by the Ambassador Gondi, that the Queen has positively promised to impede this negotiation and also to give the States an additional hundred thousand crowns, and to allow her subjects to enter their service, provided that they do not call

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Frenchmen to their assistance. The King does not fail to use every mode to dissuade Monsieur from this enterprise. Although it is true that Monsieur appears to be somewhat irresolute in the matter, many think it a lesser evil that he should go to Flanders than make some disturbance in this Kingdom. Don Juan de Vargas, who represents the Catholic King in this Court, and also Don Alonso de Soto Mayor, who has been sent hither by Don John of Austria, have had important communications with these Majesties, and have been hitherto satisfied; but they greatly distrust Monsieur, whom they know to be very angry with Spain, because he has been unable to obtain for wife one of the Spanish Princesses; and indeed the Spanish Ministers know the hostility against them of Bussy, who governs Monsieur absolutely, and is a youth who, while he has nothing to lose, is so hairbrained that if he had, as it is said, a world in his hand, he would cast it to the ground to break it in pieces.

A circumstance happened the day before yesterday which though evil in itself may tend to great good, namely, that six principal gentlemen, who are favourites of the King and no friends to Monsieur, fought a duel about women; on one side three were killed, one fled, and the other two were roughly handled, and particularly Mons. de Quelus (*Chelu*), who was the principal in the affair, and who, having received eighteen wounds, is not expected to live; and as these gentlemen are now out of the way, it is thought that the anger of Monsieur, which was very violent against them, may subside. I hear that the Queen-Mother has determined to go and see Monsieur, who is now arming for Flanders, where a suspension of arms for twenty days between Don John and the States is said to have taken place by order of the Catholic King.

Paris, 1st May 1578.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

710. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The King has just said to me, laughingly, that the Queen of England, in order the more effectually to break off this negotiation, had given the Flemings to understand, besides her other offers, that Monsieur would surely take for wife a daughter of the King of Spain, and would then forthwith declare in favour of Spain and against them, and that thus they were nourishing a serpent in their bosom.

Paris, 11th May 1578.

[*Italian.*]

May 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

711. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Signor Hieronimo Gondi has returned from England. He tells me that at the commencement of his embassy he was greatly suspected and disliked, but that in the second audience he obtained all the information which he required, and the desired results, and

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also permission to speak subsequently with the Queen of Scotland, who now enjoys greater liberty, and is allowed to go into the gardens and in the boats of the castle where she is detained, and has had her ladies and servants restored to her. This has been done because she had disproved the genuineness of the letters which she was alleged to have written to the Pope and to the King of Spain, and whereby she was said to have promised, when liberated, to marry Don John of Austria, and to make him King of Scotland and England; and, finally, she has appealed to the courts to decide that she shall no longer be bound to produce these letters and to be put to death, or declared incapable to succeed to the Crown and kept a perpetual prisoner in the Tower of London.

The Queen of England has used her utmost endeavours with the States to induce the States and the Prince of Orange not to accept Monsieur, the brother of this King, [as ruler] in Flanders, but it is very well understood that although she does not desire to see the French in the Low Countries, yet she is pleased at seeing them make a move in that direction, because her object is to foment greater distrust and even war, if possible, between the French and the Spaniards, for she greatly fears the Kings of those countries when they are at peace.

Paris, 20th May 1578.

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

712. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The day before yesterday a gentleman arrived from Monsieur, who was then resident fifty leagues from Paris, urging the King not to interfere with his prospects of aggrandisement. A Cabinet Council was consequently held at the house of Marshal Montmorency, who was ill of the gout, when it was decided that it was not expedient either to assist Monsieur or to oppose him openly, but to do all that was possible to throw difficulties in his way by negotiation and diplomatic action. Hopes of a successful result are increased by the vigorous action of the Queen of England. A gentleman accredited by her Majesty arrived here yesterday and had an audience of these Majesties to-day, whom he has informed on the part of his mistress that if ever Monsieur should go to Flanders she could not support him, as she was resolved to assist the King of Spain by every means in her power, and that he was instructed to inform the Prince of Orange and the States to this effect, and was about to proceed to Monsieur to inform him likewise. The King and the Queen-Mother answered that so far as they were concerned, they were doing everything they could to impede Monsieur, and could not do more because the whole blame lay with the Flemings. Two gentlemen have arrived from the States to ascertain whether the King approved of his brother going to their assistance, and whether his Majesty would also assist him; but his Majesty, having heard the proposals, has given these gentlemen to understand, without receiving them personally, that he does

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not intend to interfere in this affair because he desires that Monsieur should live in tranquillity; and the gentlemen then immediately departed, and it is believed that the project has greatly cooled down.

Paris, 27th May 1578.

[*Italian.*]

June 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

713. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

It is considered certain that the expedition of Monsieur to Flanders has become less probable.

Mons. de Quelus (*Chelu*), having survived several days after being seriously wounded, as I have written, has passed to a better life, to the great sorrow of the King, who was attached to him because he was his faithful servant, and very unfriendly to Monsieur, and the open enemy of Bussy d'Amboise.

Paris, 2nd June 1578.

[*Italian.*]

June 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

714. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The King and Queen have left for Chantilly, having informed the Ambassadors that if any event of importance should occur during their absence the Ambassadors, unless advised to the contrary by Signor Hieronimo Gondi, must await their Majesties' return to this city, which will take place in a few days; and this step has been taken in order that the Ambassadors from England and Spain may not follow their Majesties.

It now appears, as everyone expected would be the case, that the representations which have been made here and in Flanders by the Queen of England have not availed to prevent Monsieur from proceeding to Flanders, nor the States themselves from withdrawing the proposals which they had held out to him; indeed, almost the contrary has happened, because his Highness and the Flemings are highly indignant, being moved by the loss of Philippeville, and from having heard of the great preparations for levies which are being made in Italy and Germany to oppose them, and also because the Queen of England has suspended the payment of the letters of exchange for the sum of three thousand crowns which she was about to lend to the States; so that Monsieur is the more confirmed in his intention to undertake this expedition, and especially because lately the General Count de Lalain has assured him that he is awaited under the conditions first offered. Monsieur is angry on account of the defeat of his own people, when thirty French soldiers were taken prisoners and were all hanged by the command of Don John.

Monsieur has therefore obtained permission from the King to do what he pleases, subject to the condition which has been hitherto refused to him, namely, that the Flemings would certainly perform the promises made by them. Meanwhile, Mons. de L'Aubespine has

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been despatched to Rome to entreat the Pope to persuade the Catholic King to come to an understanding with France, and to give one of his daughters in marriage to Monsieur, with a dowry of those parts of the Low Countries which formerly recognised the authority of his Crown, and to demonstrate to his Catholic Majesty that this was the only mode of terminating their differences and completely defeating their common enemies. The Queen-Mother, to prevent any failure, has departed for the third time to see Monsieur at Alençon, where he is now residing.

Paris, 7th June 1578.

[*Italian.*]

June 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

715. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The King has remained for some time at Gaillon, hoping that Monsieur would go to visit him there, and thus save the Queen-Mother the fatigue of a journey; but Monsieur being afraid of the King's authority, and bent on his projects, has declined a personal interview; so the Queen-Mother has been obliged to take the journey to see him, and to endeavour to prevent his entering Flanders in person and possibly fighting a battle with Don John, which might greatly embarrass France.

Letters from England, under date the 17th of this month, state that the Queen of England is raising troops in haste, and has armed thirty vessels, which have for some days been ready for sea, and it is said that she has done this to assist the States, provided they do not accept Monsieur.

Paris, 20th June 1578.

[*Italian.*]

June 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

716. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Signor Hieronimo Gondi came to visit me yesterday; he told me very confidentially that while the Queen of England was doing everything in her power to prevent the States from accepting Monsieur, on the other hand she was holding favourable language to his Highness, and professing her intention of lending him money, if he would act with her assent and by her advice; but this statement is in exact contradiction to what a few days ago the English Ambassador Extraordinary said to the King, when he affirmed that he wished to treat himself with his Majesty's brother. Thus it is easy to see through the artifices of the Queen of England, who is now sending two other Ambassadors* with great parade to Flanders, and although they are said to have gone for negotiations of peace there, their mission is probably for the contrary purpose.

Paris, 20th June 1578.

[*Italian.*]

* Lord Cobham and Sir Francis Walsingham. *See* Calendar of Cecil MSS., II. 179.

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June 27.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

717. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Mondusset, formerly agent to this King in Flanders, has passed through on his way from Antwerp to see his Majesty, and he declares that the league between the Queen of England, the States of Flanders, and Casimir, for their common defence has been confirmed.

Paris, 27th June 1578.

[*Italian.*]

June 29.
Deliberazioni Senato Secreta.

718. COMMISSION issued by the SENATE of VENICE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Ambassador elect to France.

Considering the importance of the advices received concerning the disturbances in Flanders from our Ambassador in France, who has also communicated the determination of Monsieur, the brother of the most Christian King, to undertake in person, at the request of the States of Flanders, an expedition thither, from which project, for the sake of the common welfare, all Christian Princes ought to do their utmost to dissuade him: we, therefore, according to our ancient custom, being most desirous for the preservation of peace amongst the Princes of Christendom, have followed the pious and wise counsels of the Supreme Pontiff, who has sent Monsignor di Nazareth in haste to the Court of France, and have elected our noble Giovanni Michiel to be our Ambassador at the most Christian Court, with all reliance upon his ability and prudence, and we have ordered him to depart to-morrow and go post to France. He is to visit on the way the Duke of Savoy, to present the letters, which are his credentials, and to state the object of his journey. On arriving at the most Christian Court, he is to deliver this commission to our resident Ambassador, Lippomano, and to come to a thorough understanding with Monsignor di Nazareth, making such communications from time to time as he may deem advantageous, not only to forward the negotiations favourably, but to demonstrate that the Republic has proceeded according to ideas and actions which are in unison with those of his Holiness, and to the practice which the Republic has always followed on similar occasions, for the service of God and Christianity.

He is then to demand an audience of the most Christian King, when both our Ambassadors are to attend, and after presenting our letters of credence, and expressing our affection towards his Majesty and our desire for the prosperity of his country, he is to say that the moment his most Christian Majesty apprised us, through our Ambassador resident, of the departure of Monsieur from the Court, together with the endeavours which his Majesty had made to prevent Monsieur from having recourse to arms, we thought it expedient to send our Ambassador to beseech his Majesty to continue to follow the same course, and to do so the more strenuously the greater the inclination of Monsieur and the importunity of the Flemings might appear to be; for his Majesty, well knowing what result will most benefit his kingdom, ought not to allow its tranquillity and that of all Christendom to be rendered doubtful; we believing that as his

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Majesty's illustrious progenitors have exposed even their own lives for such a purpose, his Majesty will not only follow their example, but even surpass them.

Our Ambassador is then to visit the Queen-Mother and present our letters of credence, and after extolling her pious and religious exertions, to persuade her to do the best she can to procure the tranquillity of her son.

Having performed these functions, he is to inform their Majesties that he has our orders to proceed to Monsieur, and, after having presented our letters of credence to his Highness, to inform him that we, moved by our affection for the crown of France, in which his Highness has so great an interest, and also for all Christendom, have been induced to approach his Highness to request him to consider the perilous incidents and uncertain results of war, and the new disturbances which might arise in this Kingdom and in Christendom, and to beseech him affectionately on our part to consider well before he followed a course which it is far easier to commence than to abandon, and to add any observations of his own which he might think would have weight with his Highness and be suitable to the occasion.

He is also to visit at any time he may deem convenient the most Christian Queen, and also the King and Queen of Navarre if they be at the Court.

He is to have for his expenses one hundred and fifty ducats in gold each month without obligation to keep any account, and to receive one hundred ducats as a gift, for providing of necessaries, and also four hundred and fifty ducats for three months pay in advance. He is to be paid five hundred ducats on account of the expenses on the journey, exclusive of those for passes, boats, gates, couriers, postage of letters, and other extraordinary items, of which amounts he is to present a full and particular account on his return. He is to take with him a courier, for whom we have allowed twenty ducats for the whole period of the voyage.

Ayes, 183. Noes, 3. Neutral, 18.

[*Italian.*]

June 30. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta.

719. The SAGES of the COUNCIL and the SAGES for the TERRA FIRMA to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR resident in FRANCE.

The advices which you gave us by the letters of the 12th inst. to the effect that Monsieur d'Alençon was about to accept the proposals which had been made to him by the Flemings has made us mindful of the evils which from such a cause may arise to Christianity, the peace of which we have always had greatly at heart; and we have therefore determined to elect as Ambassador our well-beloved noble Giovanni Michiel, who was formerly well known to their Majesties and who has departed with the utmost despatch to their Court, there to make in our name such representations as he may deem suitable to a negotiation of this importance.

We, therefore, together with the Senate, command you to go to their Majesties, to announce the coming of this Ambassador,

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and to assure them of the great affection and respect which we bear to their Majesties and their Crown, and the desire for the greater prosperity of the Kingdom which has induced us to come to a decision which we hope will be agreeable and acceptable to them.

Ayes, 200. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

720. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The King returned to Paris on the 3rd inst., and proceeded the same day to St. Maur. His Majesty is more convinced than ever of the enmity entertained towards him by Bussy and other favourites of Monsieur; and by the advice of his own intimate friends, though contrary to the opinion of the Queen-Mother, and seeing that he could not rely on the promises of the States of Flanders, he has written with his own hand to his brother to the effect that as the latter had disregarded his Majesty's advice and warnings, he might be sure that he would surely cause any soldiers who entered this war in his name to be cut to pieces. His Majesty despatched Villeroy with these letters, with orders to use the utmost speed in going and returning.

The suspicions of his Majesty have been increased by information which has been brought by a secretary who had quitted Casimir in disgust, and who delivered to his Majesty intercepted letters written by the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, requesting Casimir to invade France and join his forces to theirs, and suggesting that by his assistance they might seize many cities and even whole provinces.

It is also heard that Condé has put eight hundred infantry into La Rochelle.

Paris, 5th July 1578.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

721. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

This day his Majesty issued a proclamation that no person is to enter any military service except that of his Majesty under pain of death and confiscation of his property.

The English Ambassador [Paulet] has declared to me that the League between his Queen and the Flemings is not yet concluded, although it is being seriously negotiated, but the difficulty consists in the surrender of fortresses as security for a loan of money.

It is reported that the Catholic King has doubled the guards on the frontiers of the King of Navarre, and that the Marshal Damville has gone in person to those parts to provide for what is necessary.

Paris, 7th July 1578.

[*Italian.*]

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July 9.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

722. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

About midnight last night a gentleman arrived with letters addressed by Monsieur to the King, whereby Monsieur informed his Majesty that having given his word as a Prince to the States not to fail them, he had on the morning of the 8th passed the river between Mantes and Verneuil, and proceeded to Folleville, in the Province of Rosières, four leagues distant only from the frontiers in Picardy, and that he intended from thence, either with the whole or part of his force, to enter into Flanders.

His Majesty and the Council are in a state of great doubt and irresolution, not having hitherto decided what it is best to do, because to prevent by force the adherents of his Highness from joining him would be an abandonment of his own brother, and an inducement to him to act with Casimir to the detriment of this Kingdom, as indeed he did on a previous occasion; on the other hand, to favour and assist him would be to bring about a certain war with Spain.

The Spanish Ministers, having regard to the King's proclamations and promises that he would prevent Monsieur's expedition and arrest his captains and soldiers, believed this expedition to be impossible, or at least extremely difficult, but they are now full of wonder and quite stupefied, and hardly believe that to be true which they can feel with their own hands.

Paris, 9th July 1578.

[*Italian.*]

July 15.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

723. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Governor of Dorland, on the frontiers of this kingdom, writes that on the 9th instant Monsieur slept at Castel Usei, two leagues from thence, and that he was about to set out attended by a few horse only to pass into Flanders and enter Mons, where he is awaited by the Count de Lalain, as indeed Monsieur had himself written to the King that he had done on the 11th instant, to the great joy of that city.

Monsignor di Nazareth has returned from thence, not having been able to speak with his Highness, who, although he knew of the coming of the Nuncio and that he was to arrive at Verneuil that very day, left at an early hour, saying that he preferred to go away without seeing the Nuncio rather than refuse him any request preferred in the name of his Holiness. At the same time his Highness despatched a gentleman as his Ambassador to England to acquaint the Queen with the resolution which he had taken, and to say that whatever might be his estate and fortune he would always show himself her good friend and neighbour; and this gentleman is also commissioned to do everything that he can to prevent the conclusion of the league which the Queen is negotiating with the Flemings.

Paris, 15th July 1578.

[*Italian.*]

1578.
July 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

724. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Monsieur, not being satisfied with the account which he had given to his Majesty concerning his entry into Mons, has since sent by Mons. de la Fusiera, one of his gentlemen, to his Majesty with further communications.

Up to the present time the King would appear to be doing all in his power to frustrate the policy of his brother.

Mons. de la Fusiera came the day before yesterday to see me in the name of his Highness, and after saying that his Highness chose to be styled "Protector," and not "Defender," he informed me that the Ambassadors from England, who are now at Brussels, had given his Highness an almost certain hope that the league would not be concluded without his Highness being included.

The day before yesterday the English Ambassador came to see me, and told me that he had had an answer from his mistress, and that she had given orders in all the ports and places within her dominions that the goods taken from the vessel "Mos" (*sic*) should, as I requested, be detained, and that her principal Secretary should have the care of them. He then added many kindly expressions concerning the great desire which his Queen had to serve your Serenity, and said it was a serious matter that while all other Princes and Kings had accredited Ambassadors in her country, the Signory of Venice alone was not in that position, and thus their mutual friendship and commercial relations were allowed to be impaired.

I endeavoured, as I have previously done, to make him understand that your Serenity held his mistress and her noble nation in great esteem, and used other general words to change the conversation; but his Excellency requested me to write to your Excellencies that his Queen would take it as the greatest possible favour to have an Ambassador from Venice, and that you might commence by sending an Ambassador Extraordinary to represent you, a course which he alleged was frequently done in cases of Princes of less importance than herself.

Paris, 16th July 1578.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

725. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador Extraordinary in France, to the SIGNORY.

Reports that he arrived on the 17th and had his first audience with King Henry III., when he was accompanied by his colleague.

Paris, 20th July 1578.

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

726. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador Extraordinary in France, to the SIGNORY.

Reports that he quitted Paris on the 22nd and arrived at Mons on the 24th, and had audience on the 27th with Monsieur immediately after his Highness had dined.

Mons, 27th July 1578.

[*Italian.*]

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July 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

727. Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador Extraordinary in France, to the Signory.

An English gentleman has arrived here, to whom the name of Ambassador is given, although he has been merely sent by the two Ambassadors of the Queen of England who are now resident at Antwerp.

He is commissioned to visit his Highness, and probably in the name of the Queen of England. This gentleman will be the first official whom his Highness has received since he has been here, and he is to return in the course of two days.

Mons, 27th July 1578.

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

728. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

A gentleman who arrived in Paris last night, and who had quitted the army in Flanders on the 26th, told me confidentially that even if the French remained perfectly quiet, the affairs in Flanders were in such a state that unless the King of Spain made up his mind to grant a general pardon to the people there and give them their entire liberty, there was no hope of arriving at any successful conclusion. The Ambassadors from England have left the States in order to meet Don John and to treat an agreement with him, and they will come here before they return to England. Their Majesties are greatly displeased on hearing that Monsieur has printed his book, which justifies all his proceedings, both past and present, and which is disrespectful in some particulars to the King and Queen-Mother, and even more so towards the Spaniards; and indeed Mons. de Bellièvre has done his utmost to prevent the book being published. Three brothers of the Cardinal Rambouillet have been named as Ambassadors to Spain and England, in order to assure their Majesties of Spain and England that no assistance will be given to Monsieur.

Paris, 28th July 1578.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

729. Giovanni Michiel and Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The King appointed us an audience last Thursday, when I, Giovanni Michiel, gave a full account of the negotiation which I had carried on with Monsieur.

The three brothers de Rambouillet, who have been accredited respectively as Ambassadors to the Emperor, to Spain, and to England, and also the Abbé Biragues, who has been accredited to Rome, have all departed on their missions. The Marshal de Montmorency, who is ill with the gout, has informed us that he had seen mer-

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chants' letters from Antwerp dated the 7th instant, stating that several engagements have taken place wherein many Spaniards had been killed by the prowess of the French and English who have taken part with the Flemings, but we have had no confirmation of this news.

Paris, 10th August 1578.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

730. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The news of the death of Don John has been confirmed by a courier who has passed through Paris express for Spain, in order to inform his Majesty there.

Paris, 11th October 1578.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

731. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Mons. de Bellievre came yesterday to see me in the name of his most Christian Majesty.

He told me, after paying the usual compliments, that if he had had any good news to communicate he would have imparted it gladly, but that it was unnecessary to speak of things which were the reverse. He then proceeded to commiserate the misfortunes of the most Christian King, and the difficulties and suspicions which exist within the Kingdom, and which are caused not so much by the Huguenots as by the discontent of the nobles and the people, and the dangers from without, especially from Casimir. Then he added that Monsieur still continued his enterprise, but that he was ill-pleased and dissatisfied with the conduct of the States, who had neither given him territory nor united with him in arms, and did not, in short, perform what they had both promised and written, notwithstanding that his Highness had endeavoured to give them every satisfaction by having on his own part both accepted and subscribed to the League between the States, the Queen of England, and the other Princes named therein, although his Highness had at first led the King to believe that he would not do so.

Mons. de Bellievre spoke to me at length on this question, vituperating the League greatly, not only on account of the welfare of this Kingdom, but of that of all Christendom; and he further said that neither the King nor any other person acquainted with affairs of state could approve of the inclination of his Highness to marry the Queen of England, but that when he had resolved so to do, his most Christian Majesty had no alternative but to give his consent and so satisfy his brother, because it was his Majesty's desire to keep united and upon good terms with him. I then said, in order to ascertain whether there was any foundation for this marriage, that hitherto I had been unable to persuade myself that it could be accomplished; but his Excellency answered that

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matters were in a much more forward state than was generally believed, and that Mons. de Simier was about to proceed to England in the name of Monsieur in order to conclude the articles with the Queen; and he added, "It is quite true that it is not the first time that this woman, even when she was younger, has broken off negotiations with other persons which might have been considered concluded; and even if this proposed marriage were solemnised, Monsieur could not say that he was married, because he would have an old woman of forty-five years of age without any hope of children; nor could he even say that he was a free man, because he would be in the power of a nation most suspicious and the natural enemy of the French; and there were besides a thousand other objections, which I can leave you to ponder."

I have related all the communications which have been made to me by the principal and confidential minister of this King, in order that you may have full information.

Paris, 19th October 1578.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

732. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

After the acquisition of Binche Monsieur returned to Mons on account of the plague which had broken out, and even amongst his soldiers, who had been infected by some Roisters of the States, who were present at the expedition against Binche, so that many soldiers had disbanded and left the Camp. It is therefore said that at the end of this third month (*sic*) his Highness will return to Soissons, a strong place on the frontiers of Picardy, and attend during this interval to the negotiation of his marriage with the Queen of England; and as I have procured the principal articles which de Simier has concluded with the Queen, I send them to your Excellencies, and it will be well to keep them secret, for I know that the Duke of Alençon does not wish them to be published at the present time as it is possible that they may be altered in some particulars.

While closing this despatch I have heard that the Lords of Flanders who had mutinied in favour of the Catholic religion, and against the Prince of Orange, have entered the province of Hainault with twenty-four companies of infantry, and a strong force of cavalry, and have sought Monsieur to become their protector; but his Highness answered them that he has promised and sworn to protect and defend them all generally, and not a part of them only. They say that Count de Lalain in particular is greatly dissatisfied with this reply, and, in short, affairs are all in confusion amongst the Flemings themselves; and the Prince of Orange is in a state of great perplexity, more especially as the Queen of England has informed him that as she will always favour in general the Low Countries when united together, so, when civil discord exists amongst them, she will not interfere in the least, and this decision will prove their ruin.

Paris, 20th October 1578.

[*Italian.*]

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733. SUMMARY of the PRINCIPAL ARTICLES for the Marriage between the Queen of England and the Duke of Alençon.

1. That the marriage be performed according to the rites of the religion of the Queen.

2. That Monsieur may hear low mass privately in his cabinet, without permitting any Englishman to enter.

3. The proclamations, edicts, and orders of every description whatever to be always published in the name of the King and Queen together.

4. That no Frenchman is to have any rank whatever in the Kingdom, nor even at the Court, unless the Queen and Council permit.

5. It being undesirable that a marriage should take place without an interview between the parties for their mutual satisfaction, Monsieur will agree to visit England when the Queen gives him a passport signed by her own hand that he will be honoured, served, and well treated in every particular.

6. That Monsieur is to have for the expenses of his Court annually ———— crowns. For the rest, his Highness will be content not to interfere at all, either with the public revenues, or with any other matters which concern the Kingdom, without the express will of the Queen and of the Council, or of Parliament, should it be requisite.

7. Monsieur will be satisfied to come solely with his own household and guard without other troops, in order not to render the people suspicious.

8. The Queen promises to summon Parliament next March, and treat with them to consent that if Monsieur should survive her Majesty, he should remain King during his life, and while he resides in England.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

734. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Monsieur has lately sent to give an account to the King of the progress of the negotiation of his marriage, and how he had accredited De Simier to England for this affair. De Simier went yesterday to kiss his Majesty's hand, and told him that his master had well considered this negotiation, and had found it very desirable both on account of his own greatness, and also for the interests of this Crown, from which he hoped not only to ward off the dangers which arose from the continual hostility of England, but to reconcile the Queen and keep her always friendly, and in short he expected to unite another kingdom to this; and that his master promised also to be a good and loving brother and neighbour, not doubting for a moment the disposition and will of the Queen of England, because as she was now threatened from many quarters, she would by means of this marriage secure herself greatly, and particularly from the Spaniards, who would not desire to quarrel with England and France united.

Monsieur, therefore, with the utmost affection besought his Majesty to approve his determination and to assist him, because when the negotiation was completed, as he hoped it would be, his

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Highness could then proceed to England with all grandeur and dignity, as became a son of France.

When the King became aware of this resolution, being certain that the more he endeavoured to impede it the more he would accelerate its conclusion, he answered that he was satisfied with whatever pleased his brother, and that when the whole affair was arranged his Majesty would not fail to give it his countenance and assistance in order that Monsieur might comport himself worthily. But since Monsieur declined to accept the advice which his Majesty himself, in a similar case, had accepted, namely, not to attend to such a convention (*partito*) and to break off the treaty, his Majesty begged Monsieur, at all events, not to decide to proceed to England until he had obtained the assent of Parliament to accept him as their King whenever he took their Queen for wife.

In the meanwhile his most Christian Majesty has sent a confidential person to the Ambassador who represented him in England, to inform him of many particulars, and to instruct him to be most circumspect, in order to understand the whole negotiation, because in truth here all principal persons believed it to be an artifice on the part of the Queen, and of the greatest consequence in any event.

Monsieur has retired to a palace outside Mons on account of the plague which rages violently in the city, and the inhabitants of the city are beginning to be very ill disposed towards him.

In Flanders affairs continue to tend towards confusion; the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Guelderland, and Utrecht have separated themselves from the other provinces, declaring that they intend to govern themselves and to live in liberty, though under the advice and favour, nevertheless, of the Prince of Orange, at whose persuasion the provinces have come to this determination, as, indeed, the provinces of Hainault and Artois have done, though with another object, because these latter provinces desire to live catholically and are satisfied to remain in obedience to the King of Spain, provided that they preserve all their privileges.

The city of Ghent would appear also to have a tendency to separate itself from the others, and a part of the inhabitants have appealed for protection to Casimir, who is within the city with a large force of his own people, and is extremely dissatisfied with the States because they have not paid him.

Nothing for the moment is heard of the Count de Lalain and the other lords who have risen against the Prince of Orange, except that they are endeavouring to increase their power in the province of Hainault.

Paris, 26th October 1578.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

735. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Monsieur still remains in Flanders attending to the repair and fortification of Binche, Soignies, and Maubeuge, places which he has taken, because he could not obtain any others from the States, a

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result which he probably laments, for he shows himself more than ever dissatisfied, and one day he was so greatly angered that he was about to hang his gentleman Mondusset, who was the first person that induced him, by holding out hopes, to proceed to the Low Countries in the way he did.

It is said that when he saw the dissatisfaction and other demonstrations made by the inhabitants of Mons against his Frenchmen, he did everything in his power to reassure them and to remove any suspicions from their minds, and that in this attempt he would appear to have partly succeeded, for he has returned, though with few attendants, to the town (*terra*) of Mons, saying that he desired to place himself in their hands with every mark of confidence; but it is still believed that finally he will be compelled to return to France on account of the small security and great indignities under which he now lives in those parts.

De Simier, whom he has destined as his Ambassador to England, still remains here, and is endeavouring to obtain a large quantity of jewels upon the security of forests, lands, and other property of his master, both for gifts and as pledges to be presented to the Queen, who has given it to be understood that when she has full value she will lend him to the extent of 50,000 angel crowns, to provide for and satisfy claims in Flanders and also for the expenses of the voyage which he proposes to make to her Kingdom; but this Ambassador (De Simier) will not depart before the return of a gentleman who is daily expected and who is sent by his Highness to the Queen-Mother to give her particulars concerning this marriage, and because he wishes to obtain her authority with the King, to dispose him to give his assistance promptly on this occasion, and to permit him to retire into the fortress of Soissons, on the frontiers of Picardy, in case of need.

Meanwhile he has sent a portrait of his exact size and stature to the Queen of England, as she has sent him hers, and she has also summoned the Parliament of England for the 1st of January, two months before the usual time; and it is certain that Monsieur will await, according to the advice of the King, his brother, the decision of Parliament with regard to the conditions of the proposed marriage.

It is reported from Flanders that St. Omer, a fortress of great importance, near the seas of England, has returned to its obedience to Spain through the negotiations of the Prince of Parma with the governor; also that Arras and Douay have both driven out the Huguenots, and have announced their intention of living catholically; and that the army of the States is in close proximity to that of the Prince of Parma.

The Lords who had risen in favour of the Catholic religion have elected for their chief the Count of Egmont (*Agamon*) and have enlisted soldiers, and they have endeavoured to establish themselves in the province of Artois; and although they have declared against the Spaniards with the intent of driving them from the country, this division and enmity towards the Prince of Orange will be of great service to the affairs of the Catholic King.

Paris, 6th November 1578.

[*Italian.*]

1578.
Nov. 21.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

736. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Some gentlemen have arrived here from Monsieur, who state that his Highness is at Mons, and begins day by day to perceive more and more the small results which he has effected in those parts, but nevertheless he continues to treat with the States as well as he is able, and is also aspiring to accomplish the marriage with the Queen of England, and does not wish to return to France before a decision on the subject is arrived at; but upon this point no certain conjecture can be formed, because Simier, the Ambassador destined by Monsieur for England, still remains here, and he, together with other ministers of his Highness, are constantly examining jewels, but without making any purchases. Simier has told me that he will not depart hence until the return of the gentleman who was sent to the Queen-Mother, and who has not yet appeared. Letters from the Catholic camp in the Low Countries state that the Prince of Parma had advanced against the forces of the States, but as these latter had retired into fortresses and garrisoned places, the Prince had sent his army to winter in the province of Luxemburg. Therefore it is believed that until the spring nothing of importance will be done, and no good results can be hoped for except by negotiation and treating for a peace, which the King of Spain greatly desires, and which the States also, who are exhausted and wearied by such vast expenditure, would willingly accept. All parties consider peace advantageous, except the Prince of Orange, who has enriched himself and who feeds upon these tumults, and he is opposed to it and raises many difficulties to prevent its accomplishment, especially by uniting with Casimir, the people of Ghent, and other Huguenots, who depend upon them, and they have appointed the Viscount of Ghent as their chief, to take measures to resist the Count de Lalain and other chief persons, who, with the support of the provinces of Hainault and Artois, have taken up arms against the Prince of Orange. The latter, it is said, were about to be assisted by many Frenchmen who had been dismissed by Monsieur, and it is also reported that these provinces and Catholic chiefs intended to declare Monsieur their chief and protector; and it would appear his Highness was much inclined to accept this proposal, so great was his dissatisfaction with the others. Thus it will be seen that whereas at first the war was between the Catholics and the rebels, now a third party has been formed, and possibly there may be others, especially on account of a rupture between the Roisters and the inhabitants of Codret, a place belonging to the Huguenot faction which is wealthy and well provided, and which was suddenly and pitilessly sacked by the Roisters.

Paris, 21st November 1578.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21.
Esposizioni Principi.

737. PROTEST by the POPE against the mission of an Ambassador from Venice to England.

The Reverend Nuncio of the Pope came into the most Excellent College, and after having referred to certain particular matters spoke to this effect:

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"Most Serene Prince,—Until last week I had it in charge to perform an office with your Serenity in the name of our Lord [the Pope], but I feel very much comforted and greatly rejoice that the occasion for doing so has been taken away, owing to the purpose or rather the information which has been communicated to me. Yet I will not now refrain from making these few remarks to your Serenity, rather to express the pleasure which I feel on this account, than because there is any need for them. I allude to the [proposed] mission by you of an Ambassador to England, who his Holiness can never persuade himself will be sent by this most Serene Republic; for although she is placed among the waters, it may well be said that she is the city of the Gospel which is set upon the hill, and from which all the world ought to take the rule and example of true religion. And this I say for many most important reasons and causes, which, being well known to your Serenity and to all your most excellent Lordships, and as your Ambassador in Rome has written to you on the subject, I shall pass over in silence, and also because from what I hear it is needless to repeat them."

The Doge replied that he did not know who could have advised his Holiness of any such proposal, because no negotiations had been opened, and that he lamented and marvelled that a report should have gone abroad which was not true, but he nevertheless pointed out that there were resident in England Ambassadors from the Kings of France, Spain, and Portugal.

The Nuncio rejoined that his Serenity ought not to feel aggrieved, because what he had said was merely his own conjecture founded upon a rumour current in the city, and from his earnest desire that the matter should go no further; but that this most religious Republic ought not to be compared with France, because by the grace of God the Republic was governed after a fashion very different from France; and he declined to enter further into particulars or to refer to the Kings of Spain and Portugal, further than to observe that although these potentates had been accustomed to keep Ambassadors in England, it would be more becoming to remove them rather than add to their number, and that this Republic, which was a very mirror of religion, and in which his Holiness confided, ought not to come to any such decision.

The Doge replied that as this negotiation was not on foot he could say no more; and the Sages added that the negotiation had not even been spoken of, but that if for reasons of state it was judged expedient to accredit an Ambassador, the Nuncio might feel assured that his wisdom would be satisfied with their mode of proceeding.

The Nuncio then withdrew.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

738. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

With the return of Roche Brun, who was sent by Monsieur to the Queen-Mother, we hear that her Majesty will consent to the marriage of Monsieur, her son, provided it be concluded upon liberal

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terms; so she prays the King to assist his brother with money, and all things necessary for his need; but no signs are visible of the hoped for satisfactory conclusion, although on the day after to-morrow Simier is to depart for England. Monsieur was still at Bossut on account of the plague which continued at Mons and at other places, but he does not fail to pursue the negotiation of the desired end of his thoughts and designs, as will be evident by the enclosed document, approved by the States of Flanders and submitted to his Ambassador Pruneo.

Paris, 5th December 1578.

[*Italian.*]

739. Reply made by the Deputies of the States General to the mission of Mons. de Pruneo, Councillor and Grand Chamberlain to Monsieur the Duke of Alençon; copy, enclosed in the preceding Despatch.

First, that if his Highness shall act with the States to quell the disputes between the people of Ghent and the Walloons, withdrawing the French troops, and maintaining those of one and the other religion by a bond of union for the public repose, the said Deputies bind themselves, within a month after his Highness shall have declared his intention, that they will advise the States General to the following effect, namely:

That if before the first of next March, the said treaty of peace can be well and truly stipulated with the King of Spain, they will solemnly proclaim his Highness the author and primary cause, through God, of this peace and consequently of the welfare and public repose.

And, as such, they will solemnly and perpetually acknowledge him and his heirs male by legitimate marriage, so that the glory of this heroic benefit may be immortalised through his posterity, and will erect a bronze statue in the most conspicuous places of Antwerp and Brussels, and send yearly on a certain day to be proclaimed at Antwerp, or in any other place where his Highness may be, a solemn embassy of two ecclesiastics, two noblemen, and two deputies from the towns, to demonstrate the obligation which all this territory owes to him; in testimony of which they will offer his Highness a gold crown (*sic*) made of olive branches, adorned, and accompanied by some presents, worth one hundred thousand livres of Artois, for him and his male successors as aforesaid.

Dated 23rd November 1578.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

740. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

De Simier has lately departed for England accompanied by sixty gentlemen, and has taken with him many jewels as gifts to the Queen and the chief Lords and Ladies of the Court.

The result of his negotiation is now being awaited.

Paris, 12th December 1578.

[*Italian.*]

1578.
Dec. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

741. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

When Monsieur heard of the offers made in writing by the States, of "crowns" and "statues," in lieu of giving him cities as security for his expenses, as had been promised, and that the States only proposed to pay him with vain empty illusions, and as he is only bound by his own words, he sent word back immediately to make them understand that he was greatly dissatisfied with their decision, and would not accept it, and that they should take good heed of the mode in which they treated a son and brother of the King of France; so it seems that they are now considering what other compensation they can make his Highness, who is still in the neighbourhood of Mons.

An English gentleman arrived here yesterday from Antwerp. He reports that although the Prince of Orange had come to Ghent to quell the disturbances there, he had not yet been able to effect any good, because, while the States and the principal persons of the town demanded that the destroyed churches should be rebuilt, and all the sermons of the Huguenots and other sects should be silenced, the Prince, with the assent of the majority of the people of Ghent, maintained the contrary, so that the situation still remained in its original confusion.

Paris, 19th December 1578.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1579.

1579.
Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

742. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Ambassador of Monsieur had arrived in England, and was well received and honoured by the Queen, whose desire concerning her marriage will be soon known.

Paris, 11th January 1578–9.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

743. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

On the 8th instant, De Simier was accorded a very gracious audience by the Queen of England, who answered him in substance that she had not fully persuaded herself whether Monsieur sought to marry her to be King, or for her mental and personal qualifications, and that, therefore, he must be content to cross the sea and visit her, when he would be satisfied and gratified in every respect.

Paris, 15th January 1578–9.

[*Italian.*]

1579. Jan. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

744. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The States of Flanders, imagining that to obtain a treaty of peace, the Spaniards would agree to any convention however derogatory and disadvantageous, have raised difficulties upon every point, but considering the resolution of Artois and the other separate Provinces, and the want of understanding with the Prince of Orange and Casimir, who both remain at Ghent for the protection of the people, and also that the Prince of Parma had refused a suspension of hostilities, upon the ground that as the Catholic King had referred this negotiation to the Emperor, he could make no concession without a commission from the Emperor in person, the States sent M. de La Noue immediately to Monsieur while he was in a state of great discontent at Condé and on the point of entering France with the aid and at the solicitation of his most Christian Majesty, and gave him to understand that the States would consign three fortresses to him, namely, Ath, Mechlin, and Enghien (*Angen*) as security, until they could more effectually acquit their debt; and should peace not be concluded with Spain, they promised him to observe all that Spain had promised by the first and second agreements with them, and even more likewise; so his Highness, having formed fresh hopes, went to Ath with the intention of proceeding to Mechlin to see the end of this negotiation, which very greatly displeases the King, and the more so because by a letter which his Highness has written to M. de Villeroy, his Highness would seem but ill satisfied with all that has been done hitherto.

Paris, 23rd January 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 23. Copy. Venetian Archives.

745. LETTER from MAUVISSIÈRE, French Ambassador in England; copy, enclosed in Lippomano's Despatch of 13th February 1579.

I charged the bearer of these letters, addressed to his Majesty, to relate the reception and favours which Mons. de Simier had met with from the Queen of England and all her Court, and the hope that his voyage would not be useless for the service of his master, and on my part I do not fail to avail myself of all the means I possess according to the command of the King, to obtain a good and honourable termination to this negotiation, which has already lasted so long a time, and which, as appears now, either will be accomplished or be never spoken of more, and the persons who are most interested in it do not fail to show their desire, and to make every loving demonstration in its favour, so that according to all outward signs the affair might be held to be concluded, and, indeed, nothing is spoken of but this marriage, which God grant may take place for the welfare and happiness of these two kingdoms.

Mons. de Simier, together with a large retinue, is lodging with me, and he will not yet depart, because he desires to await his master, in order that if the marriage should take place he may remain as a hostage for what was promised.

London, 23rd January 1579.

[*Italian.*]

1579.
Jan. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

746. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

I hear, on good authority that the Queen of England, suspecting that peace may shortly be made in Flanders and that the King of Spain will be at liberty to act on the offensive against her, is endeavouring to ingratiate herself with France by showing favour to Monsieur, and endeavouring to unite him with the Prince of Orange, and also with the King of Navarre, two of whose gentlemen have lately arrived in England.

Paris, 30th January 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

747. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Monsieur, being greatly dissatisfied with the States-General, has re-entered France near Peronne, and is now said to be about to proceed to England upon the invitation of the Queen.

Advices from London state that Casimir had arrived there from Ghent in the disguise of a merchant, and had been well received and extraordinarily honoured at the Court. It is further reported that, under pretext of obtaining payment for himself and his Roisters, he is also negotiating a league and providing means whereby Monsieur may, without causing suspicion, proceed to England.

Paris, 1st February 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

748. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The reason why Monsieur left Flanders so suddenly was that while he was waiting at Condé, at the request of the States-General, and hoping to receive some compensation for the expenses he had incurred, the States, at the persuasion of the Prince of Orange, proposed to assign him the three cities of Ath, Enghien, and Mechlin, but upon condition that he was only to enter these places with his household and ten soldiers at a time, together with other restrictions, which were communicated to him. Perceiving that he had been manifestly deceived and without waiting for further affronts and indignities, he mounted his horse and entered France, accompanied by about two hundred gentlemen, and proceeded directly to his patrimony, the Duchy of Alençon, where he has arrived without either writing or sending to the King, with whom he is much dissatisfied, because his Majesty has not favoured his ideas, and has attributed evil intentions to him.

It is also heard that Monsieur gives ear to those who persuade him to become the head and protector of all who are oppressed by France and dissatisfied with the government, and especially the inhabitants of Britany, and that Monsieur is still continuing the negotiations of marriage and other understandings with England; so his Majesty, by the advice of the Council, has sent Mons. de La Chapelle to point out to Monsieur the trouble and dissatisfaction

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which he has given to this Crown and to all the sovereigns of Christendom, and the many indignities which, as a son of France, he has personally suffered by his ill-advised expedition to Flanders, and on the other hand the advantage and grandeur which must result to France from peace and union between the brothers; and further to dissuade him from a voyage to England, whose Queen keeps this negotiation for marriage alive merely to sow discord in Christendom and to retain her subjects' allegiance, in the hope of having an heir, as she had done heretofore with several Kings and Princes to avoid the opportunity of any rising when she was requested to declare her successor to the Crown, a demand which was still being made.

In conclusion Mons. de La Chapelle was to remind the Duke that although it had been in his power to go to Flanders, and return thence, he must beware lest it might not perhaps be so easy for him to return from England when he desired to do so. Although Mauvissière, the Ambassador resident in England, has written very hopefully concerning the marriage, as appears by a letter which he has addressed to a principal person at this Court and of which I enclose a copy; nevertheless, for the reasons which I have given, and from the ambition which the Queen has by her nature to govern absolutely without any partner, it is believed that no decision will be come to, and particularly because the chief favourites of Monsieur himself are opposed to the marriage, for while they are now almost masters, and procure many things to be done by their advice, they are held in very little esteem and consideration in England, and may perhaps be even dismissed from the Court.

It is believed that Casimir was sent to England by the Prince of Orange to induce the Queen to render great assistance both in money and in men to the States of Flanders, and to arrange further new agreements between her, the States, the Kings of Denmark and Navarre, and other Princes of Germany, and also to make a new attempt to include Monsieur, brother of this King, and to intimate to the Queen that if she did not faithfully assist the Low Countries they would certainly again fall into the hands of the Spaniards.

When the Prince of Orange learned the proceedings of Monsieur he went to Antwerp, where he called the States together to provide for their interests, and the States have decided not to put a large army into the field at first, but rather to form what is called a flying camp, and to thoroughly provision all their fortresses, and thus remain on the defensive.

Paris, 13th February 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

749. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Marchaumont, who resides at this Court as the agent to represent Monsieur, arrived here yesterday and went to join Monsieur the moment that he heard of his Highness' return from Flanders. Monsieur has through his means apprised the King that he arrived in his Majesty's dominions with the idea of proceeding to England as

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soon as the Queen should decide to conclude the marriage treaty, which appears now to be her intention.

I understand that Monsieur, for his personal security on his voyage, has demanded four English gentlemen as hostages, in order that if he should desire to return to France the English might not interpose any impediment. He has sought an advance of 500,000 crowns from the King to put himself into an effective position, and has made a request for another half million of gold to be contributed by his own states for the like purpose.

Casimir had returned from England to the States in Flanders, having obtained from the Queen large promises for the preparations for their armies, but as to how and when these promises will be carried out into effect no certain opinion can be formed.

Paris, 18th February 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

750. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The nobility of Lower Normandy having fallen under the displeasure of the King for having denied his rights, and put to death certain treasurers and receivers, and for having burnt the public registers and alphabets, here called "tickets," and being assured that the King, when he is able, will not leave such wickedness unpunished, they would appear to have had recourse to and have demanded Monsieur d'Anjou as the chief and conservator of their privileges. This is a kind of rebellion, although they colour it their own way, and hence his Highness, inspired by his thoughts about England which still continue, and by these new proposals which have been made to him, and being deprived of the advice of his mother, might yield to evil temptations which might become the cause of a serious insurrection in this kingdom; but if the arrival of her Majesty should be in time, and she anticipated his design, it is to be hoped that the determination of her son will be more prudent, and tend more to the preservation and union of this kingdom, and that the opposite counsels will not have pre-eminence.

The return of Mons. de La Chapelle, who has been sent by the King to his Highness, is awaited, when all the particulars of the intentions and dispositions of the latter will become known.

Under date of the 18th instant, the French Ambassador in England and Don Bernardin de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador there, write that the arrangements for the arrival of Monsieur continue, and that every security has been given for his voyage; nevertheless, on this side no preparations have been made indicating his departure, and I understand upon good authority that the King has answered Marchaumont, the agent of his Highness, who had asked for the 500,000 crowns, that he has no means of advancing this money, and has apologised with fair words.

Letters dated the 18th February from the camp of the Prince of Parma, who is now before Maestricht, state that six troops of Roisters, escorting money for the relief of the place, have been routed and maltreated by the Spaniards.

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Casimir was expected hourly in Antwerp on his return from England, from whence he departed loaded with presents and honours bestowed upon him by the city of London and other places in that kingdom, and especially by the Queen, who has given him the Order of the Garter, and three armed vessels in order that he may return with safety.

Paris, 27th February 1579.

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

751. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Mons. de La Chapelle, who was sent by the King to Monsieur to Alençon, has returned, and everybody is awaiting his report, in order to judge with certainty the secret designs of his Highness, who was, on the other hand, so thoroughly advised of all affairs and deliberations here, that before La Chapelle had stated the purport of his mission, he was fully aware of it, and his answer, although apparently improvised, was nevertheless maturely considered before it was given. In the first place, he replied that, knowing himself to be a man, and a son of so great a King, he desired, so far as he could, to follow the footsteps of his ancestors, and hence when an occasion arose which might lead to glory and reputation he would never fail to embrace it. In the second place, he said that as he had promised in the past, so he would assure his Majesty in the future, that he would never take action against him, but he was thoroughly resolved not to live at ease. In the third place, he said that he desired to avail himself of every means, and especially by this marriage with England, to augment not only the reputation of his own individual person, but the consolidation and greatness of the Crown of France, but he promised nevertheless not to cross the sea until every stipulation had been made; and he concluded his answer with favourable words and signs of great love for the common advantage and grandeur not only of this kingdom but also of his Majesty in particular.

Concerning the negotiation with England, there is no one who will venture to speak with certainty about it. Mons. de Mauvissière, the brother of the French Ambassador resident at that Court, has arrived from thence, and since Cavaliere Bertone, sent by the other Ambassador, De Simier, has also come. These gentlemen report that the preparations which are being made in England for the arrival of his Highness are very great, and that besides the passports which have been sent and the promises of hostages, it would seem that the Queen at first would offer to Monsieur as a gift the Duchy of Lancaster, which is worth 40,000 crowns a year. It is believed that Monsieur, before he sets out on his journey, desires to see the absolute conclusion and result of the negotiation, not only on the part of the Queen, but also of the principal lords, and of the Parliament which has been held in that kingdom during the last month, and which, if it does not impede, may protract this affair for some time.

Paris, 10th March 1579.

[*Italian.*]

1579.
March 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

752. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

When Bellievre visited Monsieur, he made such representations that his Highness resolved to declare to the world that he had never been evilly disposed towards his brother. On Saturday last Monsieur took post without anyone knowing, and having taken with him two gentlemen only, namely, La Fin and Chavalon (*sic*), and one servant, he arrived yesterday at the second hour of the night (8.30 p.m.). He proceeded immediately to his Majesty, and they slept in the same bed. In the morning they appeared in public together, to the greater delight of everybody, because the arrival of his Highness was unexpected.

Paris, 20th March 1579.

[*Italian.*]

March 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

753. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Monsieur has returned to Alençon, and immediately upon his arrival sent Mons. de La Fin hither, who, as the original author and in a great measure the cause of the interviews and reconciliation between the brothers, has obtained the government of Turenne and 6,000 francs annual pension. He gave an account to his Majesty of the good health in which he left his Highness, who has solicited the exaction of 100,000 francs in addition to the money which was brought to him by Bellievre for his needs, and this sum he seeks to obtain under the pretext of preparing for his voyage to England, which, however, so far as can be understood from a long conversation between the Ambassador from England with the other Ambassadors yesterday, when we were all at an audience, would become more difficult every day from the impediments which were being raised on the side of the Queen; she contenting herself rather with the rumour and semblance than with the conclusion of the marriage; nevertheless Monsieur, although as I believe, more from ostentation than from any certain hope of that it will come to pass, speaks much on the subject. His own adherents on the days when he was here went about saying that as they could perceive no other marriage more suitable to his grandeur as heir and only brother to the King, and they hoped it would come to pass, since by that means he would be able to carry into effect his most lofty designs.

The English Ambassador has told me that he has perceived the best possible disposition on the part of Monsieur towards his Queen, but that he does not think that Monsieur will make up his mind to cross the sea until he has spoken with the Queen his mother, who does not seem likely to return hither for two or three months, and the Ambassador added that during this space of time many new things may happen.

The coffin of Don John of Austria of blessed memory has arrived here on its way to Spain.

Paris, 28th March 1579.

[*Italian.*]

1579.
April 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

754. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The King has sent La Fin, who also bears a commission from Monsieur, to acquaint the Queen-Mother, who was to be at Narbonne on the first of April, and also the King of Navarre, with his reconciliation with his brother; and his Majesty further requested the Queen-Mother to use her influence with Monsieur not to come to any decision with regard to his journey to England until her return hither, so that she might *vivâ voce* state her opinion without reserve and explain to him the many dangers and inconveniences which might result from this voyage, since it was understood from England that all the articles had been agreed upon, and that nothing remained but the arrival of his Highness in those parts, as reported by Rochetaille, who had been sent from thence by the Ambassador, De Simier, to Monsieur.

His Majesty has been informed that Monsieur had departed from Alençon and was proceeding slowly towards Evreux, and visiting all his estates to raise money, and that he would then return to Paris, but before his entry there he desired three things: first, to enter with his guard to the palace as his Majesty was accustomed to do when the late King Charles was alive; second, that Bussi, De Simier, and Bacqueville should be created of the Privy Council in like manner as had been done by La Fin; and the third condition was that he should be paid in cash the 100,000 crowns which his Majesty had given him in two payments. Although these are most important demands, nevertheless the King has so great a desire to satisfy his brother and to unite him completely with himself, the tranquillity of the kingdom depending upon it, that he will promptly concede them and everything else as well.

Paris, 6th April 1579.

[*Italian.*]

April 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

755. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Demands his recall, and encloses a medical certificate of ill-health.*

Paris, 10th April 1579.

[*Italian.*]

April 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

756. Alvise Vedova, Venetian Secretary to the Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Announces the severe illness of the Ambassador, and states that the physicians have hopes of his recovery.

Paris, 19th April 1579.

[*Italian.*]

* The medical certificate in Latin is preserved.

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April 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

757. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

On Sunday, after dinner, Monsieur entered this city, and was met by the King at a distance of one league, outside the gates.

Paris, 30th April 1579.

[*Italian.*]

May 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

758. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The rumours which are in circulation concerning the levies of troops which the Catholic King is raising in Italy and Spain, to act against the Portuguese, should they not acknowledge him as their Prince, give rise to great discussions in this Court; and I hear that the Queen of England has sent an Ambassador to offer the Catholic King every kind of assistance, whether of soldiers, armed vessels, or money, in the event of his being attacked by other princes, and says that she will spare nothing in order that the King of Spain may obtain the object which he seeks.

Monsieur lives upon such loving terms with the King that he gives great consolation to all right thinking persons. His Majesty also endeavours to please his brother in every possible respect, and Monsieur likewise professes to be content with whatever pleases the King; and although rumours are daily in circulation concerning the discords of the favourites of both parties, hitherto nothing has occurred to interrupt the good understanding between the princes.

Upon the arrival of the Queen-Mother many affairs of great importance will be decided. It is said that she will not arrive here till the end of next month, as according to latest advices she was now on the road hither from Narbonne by way of Avignon.

Paris, 20th May 1579.

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

759. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Although the Court is now absent and it is therefore difficult to learn secret negotiations, nevertheless I have heard upon good authority that the day before the departure of his Majesty from Dolenville a gentleman arrived from the Queen of England. He brought to Monsieur the marriage articles which had been agreed upon, and proposed that his Highness should as soon as possible proceed to England, where he would be honoured and served by her Majesty and the whole of the kingdom; and the gentleman also begged Monsieur not to lend an ear to those who would make evil representations to him, and instil into his mind false suspicions.

The Queen herself has written the above in substance with her own hand to Monsieur, and also to the King, saying that they should keep her letters by them as a witness of her goodwill, which she assured them they would discover every day to be better and more sincere. An appropriate answer was given to the gentleman

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in loving terms, saying in conclusion that when the Queen-Mother arrived his Highness would set out for England. For this purpose they will send in advance a suitable personage, Mons. de Lansac the elder, to settle the time and all other particulars not yet agreed upon; and a messenger is being despatched to the Queen-Mother to send forward Mons. de Lansac, who is now with her Majesty. Monsieur has also said to a person who is in his confidence that he is married, and that he is satisfied with having consulted the Queen his mother, and that she had written that she would accompany him to England. The English gentleman has returned with the articles signed, as it is said, by both the brothers, and, as I am informed, the same in substance with those which I have already sent to your Serenity.

Paris, 27th May 1579.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

760. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Monsieur has heard from his Ambassador, de Simier, that the Queen of England and her Council, seeing that the coming of Monsieur to her kingdom was deferred on account of the absence of the Queen-Mother, had prorogued until August next the assembling of the Parliament of their States-General, for considering the question of the coronation of Monsieur, which has to be decided by the general Parliament; and Monsieur has written to the Queen, and has despatched Mons. de Mauvissière to assure her, so far as I can understand, of his good intentions. The English Ambassador [Paulet] has confirmed to me that although owing to the absence of the Queen-Mother and to some other trifling impediments, the voyage of Monsieur has been deferred, nevertheless, I might be certain that his Highness had no greater desire than to be with the Queen as soon as possible, and immediately after the arrival of the Queen-Mother, without whose advice he could not and ought not to act, he would carry his intention into effect; and the Ambassador added the friendly words which are usual on such occasions.

Monsieur has also for this purpose obtained from the King one-fourth part of the money which had been assigned for the men-at-arms and which amounts to 100,000 crowns, and this sum is to be paid in addition to the other advances which have been made to him.

Nevertheless opinions vary concerning this negotiation on account of the many difficulties which must arise eventually, as your Serenity will perceive by the enclosed reasons for and against the marriage which have been compiled by persons of influence and which have been read and most carefully considered in the Privy Council of the King; and I am of opinion that this document should be held as strictly confidential.

Paris, 6th June 1579.

[*Italian.*]

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761. Paper relating to the PROPOSED MARRIAGE between QUEEN ELIZABETH and the DUKE OF ALENÇON, enclosed in the foregoing Despatch.

Whether a marriage between Monsieur, the brother of the most Catholic King, and the Queen of England is advantageous and honourable for his Highness, or not.

A. 1. It is always advantageous and honourable to be a king, and especially when the event is brought about by means of a marriage and the will of the people, and not by force of arms.

B. 1. No one can be styled a king when he is not yet crowned, and the Queen of England is the party who desires to rule, as appears by the articles agreed upon.

A. 2. If King Philip, son of Charles V., considered it advisable to marry the sister of the Queen, is it not now desirable that the brother of the King of France should marry the Queen herself?

B. 2. The example of the King of Spain aptly proved the evil counsels which directed his marriage, since he not only failed to acquire the kingdom, as he was led to believe he would do, but seeing that he could effect no good, and could not gain the hearts of the English, who are most hostile by their nature to foreigners, he departed before the death of his wife, who was at the time younger in years than the present Queen, of the Catholic religion, and fondly attached to her husband.

A. 3. The present Queen is not of such an age but that she might hope to have children, and if this happened Monsieur would surely acquire a kingdom, but if this hope failed, honourable means would be found whereby he might confirm himself King or release himself altogether.

B. 3. It is impossible to hope for posterity from a woman of the Queen's age, and of so poor and shattered a constitution as hers, and everyone can clearly perceive what the position of the Kingdom of France would be should the Royal House of Valois become extinct.

A. 4. Seeing that many are of opinion that the Queen will be short lived, Monsieur, by setting at liberty the Queen of Scotland who has legitimate pretensions to England, might confirm himself King with a certain hope of posterity.

B. 4. At the death of the present Queen, Monsieur would find himself in great difficulties, and in manifest danger of being made prisoner by a nation which would demand Calais, Boulogne, and other more important places, which they pretend France ought to surrender, a demand which has hitherto not been made.

A. 5. Monsieur will take with him to England persons of prudence and peace, who will, together with his Highness, gain the good opinion of the great men and of those who govern the realm.

B. 5. It is impossible that the French can ever be acceptable to the English, who habitually consider them their natural enemies; and it is certain that shortly his Majesty will have to dismiss from the kingdom all his most dear and true friends, after the example of the King of Spain, who was never able to appoint any one of his own people to the Council.

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A. 6. The Queen of England ought greatly to desire the marriage, because she will thereby assure herself against the evil designs which the King of Spain meditates against her; she will satisfy her people if she unites with France and forgets past injuries, and England and France who are suspicious of the great power of the King of Spain, especially if he should become King of Portugal, can take measures to weaken it and easily effect their object.

B. 6. The tranquil disposition of the King of Spain and his inclination for peace do not give any cause for suspicion against him, and as his power is on the wane it will doubtless become weakened and divided of its own accord.

A. 7. The Queen possesses large treasure whereby she can easily assist her husband, and thus he could most effectually accomplish his most desired and secret designs to their fullest extent.

B. 7. The Queen has never given money either to the Flemings or to the Huguenots of France without taking security from them, and has always advanced smaller sums than was supposed, for she is by nature very covetous. It is not, therefore, credible that she will give her substance to a spirited youth who is desirous of glory and who might spend it with small profit to her, when she has sufficiently secured herself from her enemies by means of a marriage with his Highness and without making any further stir in Christendom.

A. 8. Although the parties each profess a different religion the Duke of Alençon with his household will live Catholically, and may also possibly obtain grace from God to win over by prudence and address many others in the kingdom, and also strengthen the great number of Catholics living there.

B. 8. Under the circumstances which are apparent it does not seem proper that a Prince so Catholic and Christian should take for wife a woman of another religion, and of mental and corporeal qualifications very contrary to those of her consort and his dignity, and the hope of gaining these souls is a project not less impossible than perilous.

A. 9. Although this marriage might displease the Pope, yet political considerations frequently permit things to be done which, although at first prohibited and esteemed injurious, have ultimately proved useful and laudable, and this affair, for the reasons above mentioned, might also prove of advantage to the service of the Apostolic See.

B. 9. It will greatly offend the Pope, who will not grant a dispensation nor consent in any way to this marriage, considering that the Queen of England is excommunicated and cut off from the Roman Catholic Church.

A. 10. With the consent of the Queen, the sister of the reigning Queen of France, the daughter of Lorraine, might easily be married to the King of Scotland, who is now thirteen years of age, and thus the old relationships and alliances with that country would be confirmed.

B. 10. The Queen of England wishes to have Scotland in her own power, so it is improbable that either she or her Council would con-

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sent to this alliance, the forces of Scotland heretofore, when united with those of France, having been but too injurious to her.

Now, passing over other and more secret considerations, the conclusion is that Monsieur would be King without a kingdom and without power; married, it may be said, without a wife or hope of posterity; a prisoner at liberty, and in the hand of enemies of the House of France, and with the impending danger that as it will be easy for him to go to an island, so it might be very difficult for him to return thence. Nevertheless as many things are hidden in the breasts of Princes which do not appear externally, and as their hearts are in the hand of God, even should the marriage take place, it may be for the service of Christendom, and for holy purposes which we as yet do not perceive.

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

762. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Letters from the Queen-Mother, dated the 2nd inst., have arrived from Tarascon, stating that she had determined to go to Marseilles in order to arrange more effectually the affairs of Provence, and that the Marshal Damville was there with her. It is therefore thought that her Majesty will not return to the Court for two months to come.

Paris, 13th June 1579.

[*Italian.*]

July 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

763. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Within the last few days two couriers have passed through Paris, and with them a gentleman who has been sent from the Queen of England to Geneva and to Casimir, but it is not known what communications they bear

The Ambassador of the Queen resident here [Paulet], being confined to his bed with gout, has intimated to Monsieur that he has matter of importance to communicate if Monsieur would condescend to send a confidential gentleman to him, and consequently Monsieur the night before last went in person to visit the Ambassador, and to confer with him.

The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, together with their adherents, have summoned a general and numerous Diet in Montauban, where it is said that the agents from England, the Prince of Orange, Casimir, and the Marshal de Bellegarde will be present.

Nevertheless the King of Navarre has written and affirmed to the most Christian King, as has been confirmed to me by the Ambassador of England, who seems well informed, that no movements will be made in this kingdom, nor any aid given to the Marshal de Bellegarde, because it is believed that he has some agreement with the Spaniards; but my informant tells me that the

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above-mentioned parties will assemble in order to give complete effect to the peace which has been agreed upon with the Queen-Mother, to restore the places which belong to the King, and also to come to an understanding with England whether any assistance is to be given to the States of Flanders.

Here there is an unsettled feeling lest some new movement might take place.

Paris, 2nd July 1579.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

764. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The report continues that the Court will go to Lyons, at the request of the Queen-Mother, but as money will be required it is supposed that this voyage cannot be taken before the end of August, although the Duke of Anjou promotes it, and he greatly desires to see the Queen forthwith in order to obtain the rank of Lieutenant-General and to proceed to England, as he announced his intention of doing. His Highness has purchased jewels and ordered handsome liveries for his entire household. It is also said that the Queen of England has sent him bills of exchange for one hundred thousand crowns.

Paris, 7th July 1579.

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

765. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

His Majesty told me to day that Monsieur was more than ever determined to go to England, and that he had written to the Queen of England he would be with her before the end of September; that meanwhile his Majesty thought of going to the Queen-Mother at Lyons after the middle of August to consider the whole affair, and that he had received letters from the King of Navarre, promising tranquillity and the restitution of the fortresses as had been agreed; but his Majesty added he suspected that the facts would be contrary to the professions, for he was not pleased with the great meeting of Huguenots which had been held with the agents of divers princes who were their friends and disaffected to this Crown, and in particular Orange and Casimir.

Paris, 28th July 1578.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

766. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

On Saturday evening last, the English Ambassador, having conferred at great length and in secret with Monsieur, the latter, on Sunday, about midnight, after the conclusion of the dancing which is customary at Court, accompanied the King to his apartments; and the Queen only being present, he most affectionately and with humble expressions demanded leave from their Majesties to go to

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England, alleging that he could no longer delay his departure, as he perceived that the Queen-Mother would not arrive speedily and that the Court was not about to leave Paris. The King, as I am assured, replied that he desired to repeat what he had said previously; namely, that he would never approve such a proposal as this marriage, replete with so many difficulties and dangers, and particularly because there was no certainty of the intention of the Queen of England and her subjects that the marriage would be accomplished; and, indeed, if it ever did take place, it was sure to produce no issue. His Majesty then referred to the danger from pirates when crossing the sea and even greater perils after arriving in the island; and his Majesty finally, protesting and calling the Queen as witness, declared that he would hold himself excused before God and the world for all the evils and shame which might ensue.

Monsieur replied that he had fully considered the whole question and was quite determined to go, and he prayed his Majesty not to thwart his prospects of greatness. He said that besides the passport which he had with him, he was sure of the mind of the Queen, and that to show the more confidence in her he intended to go privately as a visitor, leaving his whole household here, and to decide subsequently whether to order them cross the sea to him or return in person himself, as he expected to do speedily.

Both their Majesties then replied to Monsieur, and urged amongst other considerations that the Queen of England had given assurances to the Queen of Scotland, and then had put her in prison while she still detains her.

At length they all agreed to speak together again the next morning; so early yesterday they went, unattended, in a coach to the house of the physician Miron, where they dined in private, and no other particulars are known. Towards evening the King went to St. Germain, and Monsieur, with seven servants and one gentleman, Mons. Drou, left postwise for Picardy, Monsieur having, however, endeavoured to make every one believe that he was going to see his mother, and saying that he should return here in twenty days, and this story is believed by many. The King evinces great regret for this perilous resolution of his brother, but gave him sixty thousand crowns and a handsome diamond as a mark of love when they parted; and these are all the particulars I have been able to learn hitherto.

The Diet of the Huguenots at Montauban seems determined not to restore the fortresses, saying they resemble a sick man who when vomiting his food gives clear sign that he is dying, but if he retain it, and has appetite for taking more, he makes sure of life; so if they were to give up the fortresses they might be sure also speedily to lose life.

The journey of his Majesty to Lyons is abandoned, principally on account of this voyage of Monsieur, for it is not thought opportune now to quit this neighbourhood.

Paris, 3rd August 1579.

[*Italian.*]

1579. Aug. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

767. The Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the Signory.

An Ambassador [William Waad ?] from the Queen of England has arrived here. He was sent by her to Portugal, on a complimentary mission; and because in coming from the island of England to Lisbon he suffered much fatigue, he intends on his return to make the voyage by land. He has seen the King, to whom he presented credential letters from his Queen; and he has also visited this Queen. He has been dismissed in great haste, so as not to give him the opportunity to make a long stay in this kingdom, for he is not well looked upon, both because he is a very great heretic, and because he happened to arrive at the Court soon after the receipt of advices that some English ships had attacked the fleet which was coming from India, and taken a vessel which carried more than six hundred thousand crowns. This Ambassador has not been visited here by anybody, and to-day is to depart upon his return to England.

Madrid, 12th August 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

768. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Having endeavoured to ascertain all the particulars of the sudden departure of Monsieur for England, and knowing that very lately he had settled to make this voyage at the end of September, alleging that he desired first to see the Queen-Mother, I learned on good authority that the Queen of England had written to his Highness very urgent letters replete with affection, and these letters, as the English Ambassador has told me, are to the effect that the Queen thanked Monsieur greatly for having at length fixed the time for crossing the Channel so that they might see each other and discuss many affairs in order to effect the marriage, if, after the interview, they were mutually satisfied. The Queen knew that Monsieur had always shown himself firm and resolute in this negotiation, notwithstanding that almost all the Christian Princes had dissuaded him from it, as she was well assured, though she felt ever grateful to this King (of France), who had given Monsieur leave; but as she desired that no ill-will and discontent should ever exist between these two Crowns, she prayed Monsieur to come to England with the firm resolution that, even if the marriage between them should not take place, either because she seemed too old in years in his eyes, or from any other cause, he was not on this account to remain dissatisfied, because she, on her part, promised to remain content whatever event might happen, although she was fully convinced that after seeing each other the marriage would be concluded; and should his Highness approve the proposal which she had communicated to him through his Ambassador de Simier to go to her privately forthwith, and in the form of a visit, she would be greatly satisfied, provided he sent only two days before to a castle called Vilchesti [Winchelsea ?] on the sea to receive, obey, and honour him with every mark of love and confidence.

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Monsieur accepted the offer thus made to him, believing it to be to his advantage both to speed the negotiation and to obviate expense and other inconveniences, as, for instance, if the project of marriage failed, he could always say he had been simply to visit the Queen, and having found they were unsuited to one another they would continue better friends together than if he had gone in state and had been obliged to return without effecting any result; so at length Monsieur, having obtained leave of the King, departed the next day, having sent forward a messenger to the Queen of England with orders to have ready at Boulogne an armed ship, in which he is said to have sailed on Sunday, the 9th August, and to have arrived the same evening in England, but up to the present time no letters have been received from him.

The result is anxiously awaited because it has been reported that several English Lords do not approve the decision of the Queen, who made a proposal to her great Council of State (*nel suo consiglio maggiore di stato*), whether she ought to marry Monsieur upon the conditions which had been agreed to, when out of twenty-one members present eleven were with the Queen, and of opinion that the marriage should be approved, but the other ten openly asserted the contrary, so that the question was resolved in the affirmative by two votes only (*sic*). But subsequently the Earl of Leicester, and some other Lords, having thrown themselves at the feet of the Queen, praying her not to intermarry with French blood, the natural enemy of her Crown, or at least that those articles should be further considered; the Ambassador de Simier, who was in possession of the conditions sealed and signed by the Council, was communicated with, and requested to return the same in order that they might be further considered to satisfy some Lords of the realm; but de Simier went to the Queen and complained loudly that difficulties were sought to be interposed with regard to questions which had been already debated and settled, and that no alteration should be made. The Ambassador then wrote the whole account to Monsieur, informing him that if he wished to effectuate this marriage he must immediately set out for England, and this advice had the more accelerated his departure.

These articles are the same which I have already forwarded to your Serenity, except that all proclamations throughout the kingdom are to be promulgated in the name both of the King and the Queen, and that the marriage is to be solemnized according to the rites of the Church of England.

Meanwhile advices, under date 3rd inst., have been received from England that the Queen had armed several vessels to carry four thousand soldiers, under the apprehension that Ireland might rebel against her, and because James Earl of Desmond, who is a rebel, had disembarked a thousand soldiers, of whom the greater part are Spaniards, with the complete assent of the inhabitants of the island, where the Queen is obeyed only upon the sea coast, for all the interior is Catholic and her enemy. It is said that this Earl had embarked these forces from the coast of Spain, and had received money for this purpose from the Catholic King.

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I have also heard on good authority that Monsieur went to England not so much on account of the marriage as for the affairs of the Low Countries, because the Queen had held out hopes of advancing him money and of assisting him in order that he might make himself master of some part of Flanders; the Queen desiring to harass the Spaniards as much as she could, both to expel them and also to divert them from any prospect of disturbing her tranquillity, as they appear to show signs of intending to do, and likewise that they might abandon their project of taking possession of Portugal by force of arms, an intention which she greatly suspects by reason of the league which the Catholic King has concluded with the King of Sweden, who is most hostile to England. It is said that the Prince of Sweden is raising some companies of soldiers to be embarked at La Rochelle, to assist the Flemings, with whom, as well as with Casimir, the Huguenots of France have stipulated a league; but as the Assembly at Montauban has come to no decision owing to the serious illness of the King of Navarre and to the secrecy which is observed, all the particulars are not yet known, and this King has, therefore, sent thither Mons. de Lancôme to ascertain all particulars and to obtain the restitution of the places according to the agreement, the Prince of Condé having demanded a further six months' delay which the King is determined not to grant.

Mons. Beauvais (*Beoves*), who has lately returned from Portugal where he was Ambassador, has just informed me that Monsieur had lately been nearly captured by a company of soldiers under Mons. de La Motte, the Governor of Gravelines, who had been advised by this agent of Spain, through a special messenger, of his Highness' journey to England; and this Governor, having missed Monsieur by half an hour only, instantly sent two armed ships to sea to pursue him under pretence of pirates. The King had told him (Beauvais) that as yet there was no certain advice of the arrival of his Highness in England.

Paris, 13th August 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

769. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

I have this day attended an audience with his Majesty, who informed me that if I had not asked for this audience he would have requested me to wait upon him to acquaint me with a decision suddenly taken by his brother, without his advice, with reference to England (*verso Inghilterra*), and that his Majesty had ultimately given his permission because he could not use force, seeing that Monsieur was twenty-four years of age, and therefore free to do what he pleased.

His Majesty then informed me that Monsieur had sent to him a message in the following words: "If your Majesty went to Poland to obtain that kingdom, why should not I go to England with a similar object?" and that his Majesty had replied that the circumstances of the respective cases were very different, because his

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Majesty had gone whither he had been elected, and attended by every favourable condition, whereas his Highness was now proceeding to England upon a doubtful affair, incognito, and subject to many dangers on the voyage. His Majesty then narrated to me the attempt of the Governor of Gravelines to take prisoner his Highness, who, his Majesty said, had not yet passed the seas for fear of two armed vessels which were waiting for him off Boulogne, whence he had sent to the Queen of England for an escort in order that he might cross in safety. His Majesty also said that Monsieur had promised, even if the marriage were arranged, to come back to France in order to return to England fittingly accompanied to conclude it, but that the Queen was so artful in all her negotiations that his Majesty did not know what to believe with regard to the affair. His Majesty further informed me that he hoped to receive the Queen-Mother in Paris at the beginning of September, and that he purposed to meet her at Moulins, half way to Lyons.

Paris, 15th August 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

770. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

A few days ago Mons. de Barea (*sic*), one of Monsieur's favourites, was sent to prison charged with an atrocious murder committed in this city, and was ultimately condemned to death notwithstanding the influence and intercession of his patron, who used every exertion to release him, but in vain, for he was beheaded two days after Monsieur's departure. But after he knew that he was abandoned by the influence which he possessed and had lost all hope, and that he must certainly die, and not until then, he communicated to the King that he desired to reveal plots of the greatest moment against his Majesty's person; and his Majesty then sent Mons. de Chavigny (*Sciavergni*) to take his deposition, whereby it was alleged that about a hundred gentlemen, at the instigation of the Baron de Victor (*Viteaux ?*), Messieurs La Meilleraye, Bussy d'Amboise, and Fervacques, who were attendants upon Monsieur and others, had come into the neighbourhood of Paris, and intended, on the occasion of the first stag chase, to attack his Majesty and put him to death. His Majesty, being highly indignant at this information has used every endeavour to bring the circumstances to light. Meanwhile news has arrived that Bussy d'Amboise has been killed by Monsereo (*sic*), whose wife Bussy had brought to a house where Bussy was taken for a spy, and slain by many harquebus shots, together with six or seven of his servants.

Monsieur embarked for England on the 16th instant, having been detained for some length of time at Boulogne by the contrary winds which had prevailed, and although he had twice put to sea in an armed French vessel he was obliged to return to port and await better weather to cross to England, whence, according to letters dated the 12th instant, it is reported that the Earl of Desmond had taken three castles in Ireland, and was continuing his operations with hope of success if assistance and support did not fail him, but that the

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Queen was making the greatest possible preparations for war, and was determined, under any circumstances, to get this rebel into her power, and four thousand soldiers, under a chief lord, had already embarked to take the field.

Paris, 24th August 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

771. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

On St. Bartholomew's Day I wrote all the information which I had received relating to the important negotiations now on foot at this court, but here, however, opinions differ so widely that great caution must be required to arrive at the truth, and especially from the contradictory accounts and advices concerning Monsieur, because some persons allege that he has not crossed the sea, but had disembarked by night and had secretly and incognito returned to Paris, and thence proceeded to visit the Queen, his mother. Others, again, declare that the Queen of England holds him in custody in one of her castles, while others tell different stories, so that the King is in such doubt and perplexity that he has decided to send a gentleman to Boulogne, with orders that if he fail to find Monsieur there, and learns that he has passed the sea, the gentleman is then to proceed forthwith to England to visit Monsieur on the King's behalf, and to bring back immediately a true report of Monsieur's health and position.

And now I am able further to add that advices, dated the 20th inst., from London, have been received, to the effect that Monsieur is residing in a palace of the Queen's, where he is greatly honoured and cared for; that the Viscount de Turenne and a gentleman from the King of Navarre are expected to arrive shortly, and also that a gentleman from the King of Denmark and another from the States and the Prince of Orange have arrived; and that Turenne and other Huguenots have embarked at La Rochelle, their intention being to proceed from England to Flanders. Hence it is believed, as I hear on good authority, that these confederates will propose an understanding and a league among themselves, and will endeavour to persuade Monsieur to accept the protection of what they designate the "reformed churches," and the Spanish agents and ministers resident here seem very uneasy.

The gentleman sent to England by the King has returned, and reports that Monsieur, on the 22nd ult., was in excellent health and engaged in continuous and secret negotiations with the Queen, and had commanded the King's gentleman to return home immediately, adding that he himself would shortly return to France.

Paris, 28th August 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

772. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

We have heard several authentic particulars of the greetings which passed between the Queen and his Highness at their first

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interview, and amongst many details, the King's gentleman who has returned from England, alleges that Monsieur, attended only by the Ambassador De Simier, went to meet the Queen in a palace of hers out of London, and having exchanged cloaks with De Simier, so as not to be recognised, he entered the presence of the Queen, who, attended by one lady only, was awaiting him. The embraces and kisses which are customary in that country, were repeated several times, and they mutually showed the greatest satisfaction with one another.

The Queen said, amongst other things, that she was everlastingly indebted for the confidential and esteemed mark of honour which his Highness had deigned to show towards her, and in order that his Highness might in no way be deceived, and as evidence of her sincerity, she forthwith presented him with a golden key, with which he could privately open and enter every apartment in the palace, however secret it might be.

Monsieur then, not to be outdone by so much courtesy, and in proof of his love and goodwill, placed a most beautiful and precious diamond, of the value of five thousand crowns, upon the Queen's finger; and the Queen, on her part, having commanded her lady in waiting to bring her a small jewelled harquebus of a very great price, made Monsieur a present of it.

After these preliminaries, it is asserted that they remained together privately and alone, and discussed most secret matters, of which no one has hitherto been able to learn the purport, though it is asserted that Monsieur will return to France in a few days, when the decision which has been come to will probably be known.

Paris, 30th August 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

773. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

His Majesty, with the advice of his Privy Council, has determined to pardon all the persons who were concerned in the conspiracy against him, with the exception of the three chiefs, being satisfied that if he had proceeded in any other mode he would have caused a great stir, and in particular, that the whole of Normandy would have risen against him. The gentleman whom his Majesty sent to England to visit Monsieur returned this morning, and reports that on the 22nd inst. his Highness was in excellent health, and in continual and most secret negotiation with the Queen; and that his Highness, having sent him back without delay, said that he should himself speedily return to France. When he sent the gentleman to England his Majesty had made his brother understand that a wretch, hoping either to save his life, or to defer his death, had given the names of certain servants belonging to his Highness, whom he declared to be accomplices in the conspiracy, but his Majesty, being assured that this man was lying, both with regard to this and other matters, and well knowing Monsieur's excellent disposition towards himself, and that Monsieur would not permit

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any such wickedness on the part of his dependants, had commanded that no questions should be put relative to these accusations either to the prisoner or to any other persons, in order that there might be no opportunity given for the utterance of similar falsehoods.

Monsieur answered that he rendered most grateful thanks for the good opinion which his Majesty entertained of him, with regard to which his Majesty would never be deceived, and that he would soon return to justify himself effectually; that he desired that any servant of his, however slight the suspicion against him might be, should also justify his actions; and that if he merited punishment, his Highness would put him to death with his own hand.

And now Monsieur, having returned this very night, incognito, proceeded to the house of his Chancellor, Mons. de Mande, and this morning early his Majesty, although confined to his bed by illness, saw Monsieur and embraced him cordially and with every mark of affection.

The King's illness commenced two days ago, and has caused him much uneasiness, lest the headache from which he ordinarily suffers should turn into an abscess in the ear similar to that which affected his brother King Francis; and last night he was seized with such grave symptoms that many of his attendants were moved to tears, but to-day, his ear having been cleansed, his Majesty finds himself convalescent, with hopes of further improvement.

Monsieur, on his return, crossed the sea in an armed vessel belonging to the Queen of England, and was accompanied by an English Lord of high rank. He came by night to this city, and, so far as I can ascertain, besides his great satisfaction with the presents which were mutually exchanged, he firmly believes the marriage to be settled; and he says that as soon as arrangements can be made he will set out from France, efficiently accompanied, to bring the whole affair to a conclusion. He has brought letters addressed by the Queen herself to his Majesty, thanking him in most affectionate terms for the permission which he had given to his brother to visit her thus privately, and she has written the following precise words: "that as she was now his most affectionate servant, so henceforth she intended to be his perpetual slave."

I understand, upon good authority, that the secret negotiations which have passed between the parties, relate to the affairs of Flanders, the Queen promising aid in money, and to use every exertion in order to induce the Prince of Orange and the States to deliver into the hands of his Highness the principal cities of the Province of Flanders proper, the chief of which is Ghent, and that these should be surrendered to Monsieur de La Noue, who is now in arms in those parts, where also Pruneo (*sic*), who is the agent of Monsieur and who is conducting this negotiation, is now resident.

To add to these troubles a courier arrived last night from Marshal Biron at Bordeaux with news that some Spaniards and a portion of the garrison of Fonterabia, a very strong fortress on the frontiers of the King of Spain, had taken possession of the place during the night, and that in consequence there was a movement in Gascony to take up arms and proceed in that direction. Rumours are current

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to the effect that this business is a stratagem of the Queen of England in combination with the King of Navarre, the former being affronted on account of the affairs of Ireland and the latter on account of his claim to his own kingdom, the greater part of which is now held by the Spaniards.

Paris, 4th September 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

774. HIERONOMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The abscess which a few days ago gave the King such great inconvenience was cured by being cleansed, but his Majesty on Sunday night was seized with fever, which ceased after three days duration, and he is now in good health. His Majesty is much disquieted by many troublesome questions which are on foot, and the principal and most important of these are three in number.

The first is that the affair of the Marshal de Bellegarde is not proceeding as his Majesty had hoped, for the Marshal shows but little wish for peace, and while he is treating with the King of Navarre to favour him and appoint him lieutenant, he has also sent to the Queen of England to seek assistance in money, so as to keep alive agitation in this kingdom; and at the same time he is continuing his former relations with other princes, while holding communication with the Queen-Mother to gain time.

The second is the marriage of Monsieur, which although considered to be concluded, as the English Ambassador has himself told me this morning in confidence, yet the affair is to be kept secret until the Queen meets her Parliament next October, when, according to her promise, she will use every endeavour to procure that Monsieur shall be crowned King of England; and it is believed that a thorough understanding has been come to between the Queen and Monsieur, to the prejudice of the King of Spain, and perhaps, as is suspected, to that of the tranquillity and repose of this kingdom. But these negotiations, with the consent of the Queen of England, having been conducted by the Queen and Monsieur alone, have passed so secretly that conclusions can only be drawn from what is evident, and not from any expressions which his Highness may have let fall, although in truth his Highness never communicates any of his private affairs either to the King or to anyone else, unless he thinks it worth his while to do so.

The third is the affair of Fonterabia. This fortress has been held by the Spaniards for the last sixty-four years as a store and magazine for ammunition and artillery; it commands a secure pass to enter France from the Pyrenees in the event of hostile operations, and it contained two hundred pieces of cannon. Just as Saluzzo is considered by the French to be a pass into Italy, so Fonterabia is thought to be a most important position, and it was for a long while closely besieged by King Francis, but in vain; and since the persons who have undertaken the present enterprise are the servants of the King, there is some suspicion that his Majesty has had a hand in the matter as a set off to the question of Saluzzo. But so far, as I learn

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upon good authority, his Majesty has no personal knowledge of the affair, but has shown great displeasure and has sent a courier express to the Catholic King to assure him of his Majesty's goodwill.

In conversation with Mons. de Marchaumont (*Marsciamon*), who is the favourite of Monsieur, and also my friend, I said that as I was about to return home, and was daily expecting my successor, I should be gratified, if not displeasing to his Highness, to visit him, to congratulate him on his return to this Court and upon his good state of health. Monsieur subsequently sent to say he would see me on Sunday after midday, and when I presented myself accordingly, I paid the usual compliments and assured him of the esteem in which he was held by your Serenity, without referring to any other matters, thus following the course which has hitherto been adopted by almost all the Ambassadors, except the Nuncio and the Ambassador from Spain, who have not yet asked for any audience. I have ascertained from Marchaumont and from others several particulars concerning their conference of a fortnight's duration in England. Amongst other things, I am told that the Queen and Monsieur were frequently alone together from morning until night, and seemed unable to live without each other. That the Queen said on one occasion that "although his Highness had been represented to her as hideous, humpbacked, and deformed, yet that she found him exactly the reverse, and most handsome in her eyes." So also it is said that Monsieur is greatly satisfied with the Queen, and had, besides his former gifts, presented her with a jewelled head-gear-band of the value of eight thousand crowns, and that the Queen had given him a most beautiful diamond in the shape of a heart, and had said to him at their parting, "Now the world will see whether I, as was pretended, have made you prisoner, or whether you have not rather made me a prisoner and yours ever most obliged." The Queen also secured the passage of the sea by eight armed vessels, and Monsieur was saluted in the mid-channel by many rounds of artillery and accompanied by the Admiral nearly to the coast of France. The Ambassador of Monsieur remains in England, and in satisfaction of his services Monsieur has given him all the offices and appointments which were held by De Bussy, named, the post of first gentleman of the chamber, the governorship of Angers, and a company of men-at-arms. The value of these, with other advantages, will produce him a yearly revenue of sixty thousand francs.

The forces of the Queen of England have in a brief space routed and slain the Earl of Desmond, who had raised a rebellion in Ireland, and hence it is believed that the disturbances there will not proceed much further. The Queen has, moreover, discovered a conspiracy by a sect of Huguenots, styled "the Puritans," who are the enemies of the Calvinists, and who intended to poison the Queen through the agency of one of her principal ladies, namely, the Countess of Derby, who is now in prison together with other persons implicated.

A courier from Spain, who arrived last night, states how the news of the taking of Fonterabia was received at that Court, and that

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consequently war was talked of. But, nevertheless, the courier says that he passed the fortress on the 2nd instant, and that it was then certainly in the hands of the Spaniards; and although the French had some information from within, and had consequently approached with a view to seize the place, yet their design had failed because the garrison had resisted until the inhabitants of the country came to their assistance and had reinforced them with six hundred soldiers. This news has cheered the Spaniards, who were very sorrowful and dejected.

Paris, 10th September 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

775. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Monsieur, desiring more than ever to conclude his marriage with the Queen of England, and actuated by an ardent impulse to become a king, has during the last few days pressed his Majesty to surrender to him the fortresses of Calais and Boulogne, on the plea that he requires those places for the passage of his gentlemen who will daily be going to and fro; but his Majesty's answer being irresolute and doubtful, and to the effect that he must await the return of the Queen-Mother, his Highness, three days ago, as I hear on good authority, took an opportunity of speaking himself to his brother, and besought his Majesty in the strongest terms to grant this favour; saying in short, that with those places he could give the King another kingdom, because if he had them in his power, the Queen of England had promised that he should be crowned King.

The King in most gentle terms entreated Monsieur to listen kindly to what he desired to say, and to believe that from the great affection which he bore to Monsieur all his actions would be for Monsieur's welfare and advantage; and his Majesty then spoke at length and demonstrated that the Queen of England was holding out the hope of making him (Monsieur) her heir, and of giving him money and assistance against the King of Spain, in order to make the latter declare war against himself (his Majesty of France). But in that case, as the Queen was most artful in all her proceedings, she would abandon Monsieur at the critical point, because while she does not desire the Spaniards to be masters of Flanders she would still less wish to see the French in that position, and even if the marriage were solemnized and Monsieur crowned, circumstances which were not credible, then Monsieur would not inherit the kingdom; and therefore his Majesty could only perceive a great evil not only for himself but for the crown of France, in which Monsieur had so great an interest and which some day he might possess, an event which his Majesty desired and was indeed lately imminent by reason of his Majesty's illness; and if this should come to pass whilst Monsieur was absent in England, the troubles which would ensue were self-evident. Besides, Monsieur ought to turn his thoughts to posterity, and marry a lady from whom he might hope to have children, and if a Spaniard were not acceptable to him from inability to bring any province as a dower, he might turn to

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Germany, Italy, or to France itself, or wherever he might obtain the greatest personal advantages or satisfaction.

His Majesty gave other similar reasons, and concluded by stating that to surrender fortresses to be handed over to the Queen of England would be an indecent proceeding, and one which the Estates of France would never tolerate, but that if the places were to be held only by Monsieur himself, then his Majesty assured him that they would always be his without the trouble or expense of his occupying them; and finally his Majesty said that he would rather present him with a whole province than two places to which the English asserted pretensions, and which were so important to the kingdom. At the same time his Majesty did not give an absolute refusal, but said he would await to see his mother, whose return could not long be delayed, and without whose presence questions of such great moment ought not to be determined.

Monsieur did not fail to answer that he was fully assured of the good faith of the Queen of England, and that his union with her would greatly lead to the profit and advantage of France, with many similar expressions; and he repeated his entreaty to the King at least to give him one of these places, but at last he was obliged to desist and await the return of the Queen.

His Highness, however, does not cease to confer with the English Ambassador, and with a gentleman sent by the King of Denmark who has come here secretly from England, and who dwells incognito in a suburb outside the city, whither Monsieur went forth the day before yesterday and also to-day in a coach to visit him. I am informed that they are discussing the affairs of Flanders, because the Prince of Orange, through an emissary who has come hither secretly, is offering to carry into effect the articles which were agreed to last year, and to deliver Cambray and other cities to La Noue or whoever else may be chosen for the purpose.

The King pretends not to be aware of these negotiations in order that he may not offend his brother, who declares that he is now past his boyhood and requires neither advice nor any guardian, but on the other hand, his Majesty is assiduously pressing the Queen-Mother to return as soon as possible in order to baffle and break off all these intrigues. I further hear that the Portuguese Ambassador has requested Monsieur to use his best endeavours to prevent Portugal being occupied by any Power by force of arms, and that his Highness answered that he would not fail to do so even at his own personal risk.

Paris, 18th September 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

776. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The gentleman from the King of Denmark departed for England three days ago, but the emissary from the States of Flanders remains here, and confers frequently and alone with Monsieur, who has declined to go to meet the King, but is following these negotiations with activity and secrecy; and as I hear upon good

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authority that money is being advanced by the Queen of England to his Highness, it is almost certain that mischief will ensue as usual. It appears that Mons. de Fayvault (*Favalt*), who is also in the service of Monsieur, has engaged five or six captains each with a company, to proceed as it is said to Flanders, to assist the States, but as there is no sign of any levy of troops nor of any movement of importance, some think that this force may be intended to occupy the territories which the Prince of Orange desires to give Monsieur, or for some expedition to Franche Comté, although Monsieur is not likely to leave France this winter for such a purpose. His Highness went last night to St. Germain, and thence it is said he will proceed to meet the Queen Mother, who is now at Lyons.

Letters from England, dated the 13th, relate how the Queen of England had caused the Queen of Scotland to be more strictly confined and guarded than usual, and that the governor who had held her in custody, had been put in prison on account of an understanding which existed with the rebels in Ireland, who, in fact, after the death of their chief, have been all either dispersed or destroyed; and some of those who remained alive have confessed that the King of Spain had given them his assistance, which will greatly anger the English against his Catholic Majesty.

Paris, 23rd September 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

777. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Monsieur, after having left St. Germain, went to his estates extremely dissatisfied with the King, because after his return from England he had failed to obtain many things for which he had asked his Majesty; and his Majesty has now sent orders from Dolenville to the governors of the provinces, especially of those which are adjacent to Flanders and Germany, not to allow any movements either of officers or soldiers within their jurisdiction, and if any one should disobey this order, whether for the sake of Monsieur or any one else, the offender is to be hanged and cut to pieces without reprieve. But it has since been heard that La Roche Guyon with a strong following has fortified himself in a castle situate in a free state on the German frontiers of Champagne, called Commercy, which he formerly bought for 400,000 francs, and which he has promised to deliver over to Casimir, who is said to be advancing with six thousand Roisters; and as it is also known that the Huguenot chiefs are doing all they can to assist La Roche Guyon, though he professes to follow Monsieur, his Majesty, under these circumstances, and not to be unprovided, has resolved to send as large a force as he can into Champagne.

Monsieur has sent to acquaint his Majesty that he was then residing at Alençon the better to attend to his affairs, and that he intended shortly to wait upon the Queen Mother. His Majesty replied that Monsieur was free to do what he pleased, but that for

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his own advantage should remember his promise to live peaceably. The King gives out in public that there is no dissatisfaction existing between himself and his brother, but nevertheless the reverse is the fact, and well informed persons believe that some new movement is at hand. I have been assured by a person employed in these negotiations, that the Queen of England has promised Monsieur a large sum of money if he will deliver any fortresses to her, and also to lend him one hundred thousand crowns at his pleasure, if he should decide to go to Flanders, or to take up arms in any quarter; and as I have obtained the copy of a letter which the Queen herself wrote to his Highness upon the return of Mons. Aloto [Eloy Montmorency?] I send the same herewith to your Serenity.

Paris, 28th September 1579.

[*Italian.*]

778. Letter by Elizabeth, Queen of England, to the Duke of Alençon, in French, and with her own hand; translation, enclosed in the preceding.

I feel bound to thank your Highness for the loving communication which Mons. Eloy Montmorency has been charged to deliver to me, in order to learn my state of health subsequent to your departure. I thank the Divine Majesty that I can give you the report which you desire to receive, namely, that although I see myself deprived of the presence of your Highness, which is what has given me and now gives me both health and every happiness, nevertheless I accept this visit as a most favourable omen that our affairs will have the happy issue which we desire.

Nevertheless for my own complete satisfaction nothing is wanting but the person of your Highness, which may it please our Lord God to reconduct as speedily as possible hither, where I would remind you to persevere in the same course, because the result which I so earnestly desire for your welfare must then come to pass. Choose therefore the most convenient opportunity for your coming, which will ever be longed for by myself. May God grant you his protection.

[*Italian; no date.*]

Oct. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

779. Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I have been informed on good authority that three days ago the Queen of England concluded a new and precise league with the King of Denmark, the Duke of Saxony, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine, for their common defence; the Queen undertaking to advance a specified sum to each of the other parties, they thereby agreeing to furnish troops in the following proportions, viz., Denmark ten thousand soldiers, with thirty armed ships; Saxony eight thousand infantry, and the Palatine four thousand horse; and apparently Monsieur will have liberty to join the league should he

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please to do so. I also hear that the Queen has consented to pay Casimir six thousand crowns annually, on condition that he will at her request provide five thousand horse and ten thousand infantry for any undertaking she may name, and she is to pay the cost.

Great exasperation is rife in England against the King of Spain in the matter of Ireland, where five hundred Spaniards disembarked to join a chief of that island who has recently rebelled; and I am informed that if the Earl of Desmond (*di Esmont*) had not died, the whole kingdom of Ireland would have risen and freed itself from obedience to England. The Queen has therefore again written to the Catholic King saying, amongst other things, that his Majesty had hitherto been in doubt whether she had assisted the Flemings, but for the future, if the Spaniards did not cease to trouble her, she would act in such a mode that her operations would be perfectly clear. The meeting of Parliament will take place at the end of this month, when the question of the marriage will be decided.

Monsieur is now at Alençon, whither an English Lord has gone to treat negotiations with him. Letters from the Queen-Mother announce that she is indisposed, but I am secretly informed that she suffers more mentally than bodily, because she thinks that the Council of State has not paid sufficient respect and attention to the advice and demands which she has preferred, and she has written to the effect that she will not come to Court unless she receive full satisfaction. In consequence the King has sent Mons. de St. Luc express to Lyons bearing an autograph letter from himself, promising that he will comply with all her requests, and praying her to return at once.

Paris, 10th October 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

780. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

I hear on good authority that the gentleman who lately visited Monsieur represented to his Highness, that he should take patience with regard to the affairs of Flanders, because the moment the treaty of Cologne * was broken, without concluding any other terms of peace, which the Queen of England says will speedily be the case, the States would send a gentleman to Mons. de La Noue (*Nua*), with conditions so framed that they can easily be accepted, and to the effect that the States would declare war against the provinces of Artois and Hainault, and pronounce the Catholic King for ever deposed and ineligible for the dominion and government of the Low Countries, and especially because he had failed to observe the articles of Ghent. Monsieur was also requested by the Queen to watch the Franche Comté (*Franca Contea*), and she, on her part, declared that she would not fail to obtain a satisfactory decision from her Parliament

* In the Ambassador's despatch dated October 10, a document was enclosed, dated Utrecht, August 24, signed Vander Voort, and alluding to the treaty of peace concluded at Cologne, "tra il duca di Terra Nova, et li deputati delli Stati di questi Paesi Bassi."

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upon the question of the marriage. The Queen has sent to his Highness by this gentleman a most beautiful watch, and also a jewelled hat-band of the value of four thousand crowns, accompanied by a letter, a copy of which having secretly come into my hands, I forward a translation of the same from the French to your Serenity.

Mons. Camille Ferre, who went to Monsieur from the King, has returned. He reports that he met with gracious and honourable expression from his Highness, but failed to discover any substantial goodwill. His Highness said that he had left the Court to apprise the world that he was not held a prisoner, as his enemies continually asserted and wrote. It is believed that Monsieur will go to meet his mother, who, it is hoped, will, according to the King's desire, conduct Monsieur to the Court and endeavour, temporarily at least, to heal the mutual dissatisfaction and suspicion which now exist between her sons.

Paris, 18th October 1579.

[*Italian.*]

781. ELIZABETH, Queen of England, to the DUKE OF ALENÇON; translation, enclosed in the preceding.

Lord Cobham will deliver to your Highness these few lines written with my own hand, to assure you of my welfare, and he will give you more ample account of every particular, and of my constant desire to serve you; so I pray you to trust him in all negotiations whatsoever, as you would trust myself, because he is a gentleman and my faithful servant, and consequently the servant of your Highness, to whom I now send two trifling gifts; the one, that whilst wearing it on your neck, you may have cause every hour, to think of me; the other, to wear on the cap in token of the Crown of this Kingdom which I would myself most willingly place with my own hand on your head, were it in my power to do so, as I think you are sure and certain, and as your Ambassador, Mons. Simier, resident with us, if required, will give you ample proof. And thus I wish your most serene and most noble person all that complete felicity and glory for which sovereigns live in the world.

12th October 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

782. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

La Roche Guyon, being in doubt whether Monsieur would not abandon him, and to save his life, proposed to the Prince of Parma to join him with a thousand good soldiers, but the Prince declined the offer, and gave information of it to this King (of France); and therefore La Roche Guyon has opened negotiations with Casimir, who has assured him protection, which result is most displeasing to the most Christian King.

Monsieur still remains at Alençon, whither many personages and Princes go to see him; and amongst others the Marquis d'Elbœuf,

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and Mons. de Thore, the brother of Montmorency; an event which causes much talk, though without any certain inference.

A very artful and satirical book has been published in England, in opposition to the marriage of the Queen to Monsieur, which speaks very contemptuously of Monsieur. Her Majesty has issued a proclamation declaring that this publication has been made against her will (as you will perceive by the enclosed summary);* and the author having been discovered, the Queen has imprisoned him, and it is said he will be severely punished, as he has excited the feelings of many individuals, who say openly that they will not consent in Parliament to this marriage.

In Ireland the Viceroy and Governor of the island has been slain by the insurgents who are now fortifying the coasts, as the whole interior of the country is devoted to their cause.

Paris, 23rd October 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

783. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

It is reported that another English Lord is coming to Monsieur to give him account of the Queen's regret at the publication of the book against their marriage, and that the Queen, having heard that Secretary Walsingham had knowledge of this affair, had dismissed him from the Court.

It is also reported that Monsieur had recalled de Simier, his Ambassador in England, which report, if true, renders it quite credible that the marriage will not take place, and particularly because many of the principal Lords do not intend his Highness to be crowned, notwithstanding that he may be the Consort of the Queen; and the Queen has deferred the meeting of Parliament until the end of next month.

Paris, 27th October 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

784. HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador [Paulet] told me yesterday that his Queen would not give leave of absence to the Ambassador of Monsieur resident with her, as she desires him to be present at the meeting of Parliament, which will be held at the end of this month. The Ambassador added, "We shall soon see great things," giving me to understand that he referred to the affairs of Flanders. He assured me that no general peace would take place between those countries and the King of Spain; that Monsieur would be declared supreme Lord and Protector of the Provinces on this side of the river Scheldt in the same manner as the Crown of France had heretofore been acknowledged there; that there were advices to this effect from Brussels dated the 1st November, and that it was proposed to assign a province in Holland to the Archduke Matthias for

* The summary is missing.

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a residence, and to appoint Mons. de La Noue General of the Army of the States.

Letters from Maestrecht state that the Catholic King had refused to accept the resignation of the Prince of Parma but had requested him to continue his command, and that the Spaniards would leave the country as soon as money arrived to discharge their arrears of pay.

Mons. de Mande, the Chancellor of Monsieur, told me to-day that letters of the 15th ultimo had been received to the effect that the King of Spain would be proclaimed Prince of Portugal and successor to that kingdom, after the death of the King-Cardinal, who was then dangerously ill and who had ordered this question to be decided by twelve deputies, who, some by fear and others by hope of reward, had all been won over by the Spaniards.

His Excellency also informed me that the Duke of Cleves had offered Monsieur a very beautiful daughter of his in marriage and to give her in dower his Duchy of Juliers in Germany and his pretensions to the province of Guelders in the Low Countries, and that the Queen-Mother greatly favoured this marriage.

Paris, 6th November 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

785. Hieronimo Lippomano and Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Signory.

The Queen-Mother did not go to Orleans to see Monsieur, as she had intended, because he had despatched a gentleman praying her Majesty not to inconvenience herself, as he would come to the Court later; but it is reported that he did this designedly, lest his mother should try to bring him hither, for the Queen-Mother has determined to endeavour to allay the ill-feeling which exists between her sons, and to see them personally, and she will depart to-morrow should no unforeseen event occur.

The Queen-Mother has departed to meet Monsieur, who is to meet her at Bergues (*Bergoi*), a distance of twenty-two leagues from here.

Paris, 19th November 1579.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

786. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I wrote on the 19th ultimo in conjunction with the Ambassador Lippomano, who departed hence on the 26th ultimo, and may God prosper him according to his great merits and virtues. The King gave him a diamond ring taken from his Majesty's own finger, and insisted upon knighting him, although the Ambassador did his utmost to avoid this mark of honour.

The Queen-Mother has been to see Monsieur at Bergues, twenty-two leagues from hence, but has failed to induce him to come to Court; he has, however, promised to do so within the next two months, alleging that now he has to settle some differences existing amongst his

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gentlemen, and that he must visit the King of Navarre and his sister, but these are merely excuses invented to prevent his attending Court and waiting upon the King, and with the hope that his Majesty may comply with the demands which he has preferred on previous occasions.

Very little is said here concerning the marriage of the Queen of England with Monsieur, and the English Parliament, which was to have assembled at the end of December to consider this question, is now adjourned until January. Letters of the 29th November from London announce that there the matter was much discussed, and that the majority seeing such great inclination on the part of the Queen believe in the result, an opinion which is so strongly held by many persons, that they have given out that Monsieur was then in England incognito. Also that the Earl of Sussex, who is the sole favourer of this marriage amongst the great personages, was very ill, and, as it was suspected, from the effects of poison. Also that on the preceding Sunday a preacher, who is a chaplain to the Earl of Leicester, had the audacity to present to the Queen a petition and beseech her to read it immediately, which she did on her way to the country; and finding that the petition contained nothing but arguments against the marriage, she became very angry, and caused the chaplain to be forthwith arrested, and ordered the Earl of Leicester not to quit his house. In short there was great talk about this affair, and every day in the streets defamatory libels were circulated against the Duke of Alençon.

Also that a placard had been fastened to the cape of a servant of the Earl of Sussex, on which was written : "Quinta (*sic*) Evangelii libertas, totius (*sic*) Regni calamitas; qui stat, ut (*sic*) videat ne cadat."

The same letters from London state that there was a great stir of arms in Ireland, and that the Earl of Desmond had been proclaimed a rebel.

Paris, 4th December 1579.

[*Italian ; in cipher.*]

Dec. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

787. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Notwithstanding the answer which Monsieur gave the Queen-Mother, he nevertheless came secretly after her departure with only three attendants to the Court, where he remained two days, and had an interview with the King his brother. The reason for this sudden change of action is said to be that Monsieur declared he would not be treated like a child and be led by his mother, but as his coming was coincident with the entry of the Prince of Condé into Picardy, there is reason to think that Monsieur has acted thus to assure the King that the Prince had no intention of raising any disturbance within the kingdom, but had acted with Monsieur's consent, and with a view to a foreign war.

Paris, 6th December 1579.

[*Italian.*]

1579. Dec. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

788. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Mons. de Simier has returned from England; he was most honourably dismissed by the Queen, who presented each of his gentlemen with a chain, valued at from two hundred to five hundred crowns, and gave De Simier, with her own hands, presents of the value of eight thousand crowns; and ordered him to be conducted to France in one of her own ships, accompanied by many of her gentlemen. On arriving in France he went immediately to the Duke, his master, and has not yet appeared at Court, so that the intelligence which he conveys cannot be positively ascertained; *but he brought letters from England from various persons, and these are believed to contain the articles of the marriage signed by the Queen herself, and whereby she has given his Highness the most favourable terms which it is in her power to offer with regard to the succession. The Queen entreats the Duke, as this question is now in the hands of Parliament, to be content with what she can effect at present; she promising him that if the marriage be concluded she will endeavour in this matter also to meet his wishes, for in her judgment it will be more easy to obtain the declaration after his Highness shall have arrived in England and have been proclaimed and recognised as King. She had, therefore, prorogued Parliament, which had been ordered to meet last November, until next January, because she failed to perceive on the part of Parliament such a favourable disposition as would be required to declare the succession.*

This question of succession has always been a principal point put forward by Monsieur, for it seemed to him much to his disadvantage that on the death of the Queen he should have to return to France with the Crown of England in a travelling bag (in una valissa); *so, although his Highness inclines greatly to the marriage, and especially because he cannot obtain from his brother the office of Lieutenant-General, still it is impossible to surmise what course he will take.*

A gentleman is expected from Queen Elizabeth a few days hence, when the ultimate decision will probably be known.

The Queen-Mother went lately to Noyon (Nogion) *to hold an interview with the Prince of Condé.*

The announcement of the arrival of the Duke of Alençon in this city, which gave rise to much remark, has been heard by these Majesties, and to their great displeasure, for it cannot be concealed but that Monsieur was at Court, as he lodged in the house of his Master of the Horse, and was seen there by several persons. Their Majesties would have it believed that Monsieur had not been seen by them, and have assured some principal members of the Council to this effect, and they have spread a report that Monsieur came here merely to visit a young lady with whom he is in love.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, it is considered quite true that the Duke had spoken with their Majesties, for although he went very secretly to the palace, and by night, yet he was nevertheless seen by persons who subsequently narrated the fact, and it is contrary to reason to believe that love, not very violent, for a lady, should have had sufficient force to impel Monsieur to do an act which placed

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him under great suspicion and caused him to show so much contempt for his Majesty and for his mother, who had herself earnestly begged him to present himself at Court.

Paris, 18th December 1579.

[*Italian; the portion in italics is in cipher.*]

Dec. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

789. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The gentleman from the Queen of England who was expected to follow the arrival of Mons. de Simier went to Monsieur on the morning of Christmas Eve, and on the next day, together with the Ambassador resident here [Sir Henry Cobham], waited upon their Majesties, and remained two hours in audience with them. This gentleman departed two days ago with autograph letters of great length, addressed by the King and the Queen-Mother to the Queen of England.

The communication which this gentleman brought expressed the determined will of the Queen of England to conclude the marriage according to articles which had been framed for the complete satisfaction of Monsieur and signed by her; and although with regard to the difficulty of the coronation and succession she would have wished that Monsieur, relying on her word, had gone to England to consummate the marriage and facilitate the result by his presence; she nevertheless offered, for his greater satisfaction, to settle this question by assembling Parliament during the present month, and by dealing with the members after such a fashion as would render Monsieur completely satisfied.

The decision of Parliament will therefore be awaited, and to give a colour to this negotiation and to show that it is treated with due consideration, it is proposed to send to England certain principal personages, in the name of this Crown and of Monsieur, to attend the Parliament.

This is all that can be discovered concerning these negotiations, so if the marriage is being treated in sincerity it must be said that it has never been so near a conclusion as now; and the English Ambassador has told me that matters are so far advanced that within two months at the furthest either the marriage will be solemnised or it will never be spoken of again. Nevertheless, many persons who profess to see further than what can actually be seen, say that the marriage will not take place, and found their opinion upon the length of the negotiation, which has so wearied everybody that it is now neither spoken of nor discussed, and also upon the nature of the Queen herself, who heretofore, as on other similar occasions, has shown herself very averse to take a husband, and likewise owing to the difficulties which the English have raised, and will raise, with reference to the coronation and succession, so as not to permit England to fall into the hands of a French King. Many also believe that under the name of this marriage, affairs of greater importance (qualità) *are being treated, and they say that in time of King Charles, also under the pretext of a treaty of marriage with the present King of France, a league was concluded*

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with the Queen against the Spaniards, which resulted in the capture of Mons; and if the army of Count Louis, the brother of the Prince of Orange, had not been speedily routed, events of even greater moment would have been witnessed.

These views, although they may prove true, find their answers in what is being openly done, and not in what might be done.

If the marriage should take place it will not seem to many so very strange, because the length of this negotiation ought not to cause anxiety, seeing that the whole affair is most grave and full of difficulties, and that the will of the Queen, who was heretofore disinclined to marry may easily have been changed by time, and even more by the interests of those who have been aggrandised by her, and who by their rigorous and tyrannical proceedings have earned the enmity of great part of the English nobility, who in secret are Catholic, and who know that unless they gain some fresh support, as they expect to do by this marriage, they would fare very ill at the death of the Queen, whose life they do not think will last long.

This same motive might determine the Queen and her dependants to come to an understanding with Parliament, so that the questions of the coronation and succession might be carried, in which case it is thought that the result may be very unfortunate, having regard to the alliance and good understanding between this Crown and England which must ensue, and the consequent repulsion which many of the English lords will feel at having a Frenchman for their King. But these opinions may be mitigated by the consideration that such a King would not be without all hope of having children, in which case the English would have the advantage without any apprehensions of a King of their own, who, with the following which he has in France, would strengthen and keep alive his claims on Calais and other territories within this kingdom; and should Monsieur also succeed at some time to this Crown of France, the English would be at liberty, having him on their island, either to keep him there beyond sea or permit him come here on such terms as might please them most.

If it be discussed what course would most benefit France, great difficulties as heretofore, might arise, but this question is not now at issue, because Monsieur, provided that he be sure of living and dying King, has no other thought, and these Majesties, seeing him determined on this point, will give him no further advice. But the information I obtain depends entirely on hearsay, for as their Majesties carry on the negotiation by letters written with their own hands, I must be content with what they choose to disclose, and they do not communicate more freely even with their own confidential Ministers, amongst whom conflicting opinions exist.

Paris, 31st December 1579.

[*Italian; the portion in italics is in cipher.*]

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Jan. 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

790. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The city of Mende in Auvergne, which is under the government of the Marshal de Montmorency, was surprised on Christmas night last by the adherents of the son of the late Admiral Coligny, when great booty was taken, and many persons were put to death in the churches. This young man is by nature very daring, and has been rendered desperate by the shameful death of his father and by the seizure of all his property by his father's creditors, but he has undertaken this enterprise without the consent of the Huguenot chiefs, who are supposed to have some understanding with their Majesties.

This affair, combined with the entry of the Prince of Condé into Picardy, has led to the impression that civil war will be renewed throughout the kingdom, and I therefore this day waited upon the Queen-Mother to ascertain her views; and my conclusion is that, although some occasional outbreaks may take place, the general peace will not now be disturbed, not because the Huguenots are well disposed, but because the Queen of England, who has always supplied them with money and without whose assistance they could do nothing of importance, is aware that it is not for her advantage at the present time to weaken by civil war the power of France, a power which she believes can counterbalance the Spaniards, from whom she has now more to fear than from all the other Powers. The English Ambassador here in his communications with me constantly refers to the fleet which has been prepared in Italy by Spain as if he felt sure it was bound for England; and he told me lately that the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany had entered into a league together; and he expressed, as I believe, not only what he actually knew, but what his convictions led him to imagine, and to endeavour to extract from me if there was any project against his country; for he well knows the illwill which the Pope bears to his Queen, and the attempts which Pius V. made to induce the King of Spain to act against her; and that if the marriage be concluded with Monsieur this apprehension may be the cause of a league against Spain, concerning the particulars of which I have some information on good authority. The general opinion of the whole kingdom of England is clear, for the difficulty concerning the marriage does not arise from the question of the succession, as I have now ascertained, but only from the question of the coronation, for Monsieur is content to be crowned King and to abandon the succession unless he have children; but the English suspect that after being crowned he will acquire a paramount claim to the kingdom; and in truth if Monsieur goes to England he relies upon not returning as a private Prince to

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France, but expects when the present Queen dies, either by marrying the Queen of Scotland, his sister-in-law, who claims the succession, or else in some other mode by force to establish himself in the kingdom.

There seems no apparent intention of sending any representative from this Court to England to attend the meeting of Parliament, at which the English Ambassador has told me they would either determine to approve the marriage, or discuss the question of the succession to the kingdom, which the chief personages of the State were desirous to have settled.

In my last conversation with the Queen-Mother I endeavoured to hear something about this marriage, but could elicit nothing except that it was not yet settled, and that she hopes to make known to her son that he is of an age to guide himself; but I know that she is very unhappy from the consideration that by this marriage her most noble lineage incurs manifest peril of becoming extinct, though I hear on good authority that she still cherishes some little hope that Monsieur does not any longer desire the marriage so ardently as he did, because she has been informed, quite recently, that Monsieur was somewhat embarrassed, when as a young man devoted to pleasure, he called to mind the advanced age and repulsive physical nature of the Queen (le brutte qualità del corpo della Regina), *she being, in addition to her other ailments, half consumptive* (mezzo ettica). *If however Monsieur remains true to the project of marriage, reason will not prevail, but the lust to reign will contend with the lust of the flesh, and we shall see which of these two passions possesses the greater force. I also hear that the disposition of Monsieur was such that it may be possible that whereas when he was dissuaded by the King and Queen from this enterprise, his desire to follow it increased, so perhaps this passion may have diminished since their Majesties have given way, and made a show to the Queen of England of their consent to the marriage. And I know that to this end the Queen-Mother is dexterously flattering the English Ambassador, and assiduously sends him friendly messages, so that she could not do more even if she desired the marriage to take place in earnest.*

Advices from England state that the forces which were sent to Ireland against the rebels had met with great loss in an engagement, when more than six hundred of the Queen's soldiers were killed, and that urgent demands had been made to the Queen for reinforcements.

Paris, 16th January 1579–80.

[*Italian; partly in cipher.*]

Jan. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

791. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Stafford, the gentleman from the Queen of England, who was here lately, has again returned from England. He came to Paris, and after having conferred with the English Ambassador, went to Monsieur and has not yet returned from him.

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The English Ambassador resident visited the Queen-Mother at St. Germain to report to her the arrival of this gentleman, whose mission, so far as I can learn, is to the effect that the Queen of England greatly desires the conclusion of the marriage, and being in doubt whether the question of the coronation, which is before Parliament, will be carried, she has sent to entreat Monsieur to be satisfied with what she can herself accomplish, and if he be not content with the conditions already approved, she will do all in her power to comply with his requirements; but she wishes that he, being aware of her friendly disposition, will in any case decide to give her satisfaction. Hence it is evident that the Queen of England is endeavouring to fathom Monsieur's ultimate designs, with the object, as it is believed, of proposing or not proposing the question of her successor to Parliament; a question, as I have before written, which the English desire should be considered and resolved by the present Parliament in case the marriage should not take effect, and in consequence the meeting of Parliament has been deferred until the answer of Monsieur shall have been received.

Paris, 30th January 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

792. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Stafford, the Queen of England's gentleman, having remained several days with Monsieur, returned to the Court four days ago, and after having spoken with their Majesties, set out yesterday for England, and he gave out to some persons that he desired to return to France very shortly. The difficulty attending the conclusion of this negotiation arises principally from the question of the coronation, which question has been considered by Monsieur in consultation with many principal Lords of this Kingdom who are now with him, and among these are, the Duke de Montpensier, who went thither with the assent of the King and at the request of Monsieur, the Duke of Aumale, and the Marquis of Elbœuf, both of the House of Guise, the Marshal Cossé, the oldest and most esteemed captain in France, Mons. de Brissac, and some principal Lords of Normandy and Britany, partly Catholic, and partly Huguenots. With the above, Monsieur has discussed the unsatisfactory state of this kingdom and the remedies which circumstances required, and he did so while Stafford was yet with him; and Stafford, during his stay, despatched a courier to his Queen. Although Monsieur keeps his affairs very close, it is nevertheless understood that the decision of his Council was to take up arms against foreigners, because it was found impossible to repress the youth of France, who are by nature restless, and more so now that the Kingdom is divided against itself; and the Council were also of opinion, in consequence of the disorders rife in the Kingdom, that the States General should be summoned. It is quite certain that Monsieur has intimated to the King that it was incumbent upon his Majesty on account of the great complaints which had come to his

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(Monsieur's) ears from every quarter, to provide for these disorders by summoning the States General, and he besought his Majesty not to impose upon him the necessity of undertaking a charge which was the prerogative of his Majesty himself; and in the meanwhile he begged his Majesty to advance him money, as he was prepared to do anything in order that his Majesty might perceive and recognise his good intentions.

It is however, believed that Monsieur's real intention is to proceed to Flanders with the forces and support of the Huguenots and of other Lords of this Kingdom, and that this English gentleman (Stafford) has not only negotiated the marriage treaty but also warlike movements, the Queen being desirous to see the Spaniards absolutely expelled from the States of Flanders on account of the great dread which the English have of them and which the English Ambassador here resident cannot avoid showing particularly when he complains to many persons of the evil disposition which the King of Spain evinces towards the Queen, and especially since her affairs in Ireland have proved so disastrous, for, according to letters received from England and dated the 28th ultimo, the Queen's forces have suffered a defeat of importance in addition to that which I mentioned in my letter of the 20th (16th ?) ultimo.

The Huguenots from all quarters are urging the King to assist the proposal of Monsieur to attack Spain in order to free his Majesty from troubles at home, but meanwhile, they are doing all the harm they can in every way, and particularly in Auvergne, where, since the capture of Mende, they are harassing that province to such an extent that the Catholics have been compelled to send an Ambassador to his Majesty beseeching him to give them aid speedily.

Paris, 13th February 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

793. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Announces the death of the King of Portugal, which took place on the 31st ultimo.

Paris, 22nd February 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

794. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

This morning early the English Ambassador called upon me to learn what news I had concerning the death of the King of Portugal, he having been informed that I had received a despatch from the Secretary Villeroy, and he said with a most cheerful countenance, "God be praised that my Queen is now free from a great anxiety. We were advised that the Spanish fleet was to sail for England, and we knew exactly the course the galleys were to take, and where they were to land forces, both in England and

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Ireland. We also knew that the Pope had made fresh denunciations against England besides those which Pius V. had pronounced, to liberate all our people from their oaths of allegiance. *We also knew that certain priests had been sent to England to negotiate secretly, and I have given the Queen information of their proceedings, and by this time I hope that they are in her hands, and if God have not willed so, why then we are unjustly afflicted? And this greed of the King of Spain is too prodigious, for he is not content with the many kingdoms which he possesses, but is now endeavouring to seize the kingdoms of other sovereigns and to make himself monarch of all Christendom. Take it for certain that negotiations which some time ago he carried on with the Turk and the King of Fez, Powers with whom his predecessors never would be on friendly terms, could have no object but this. He was in hopes, without recourse to arms, to become master of Portugal, and from thence to attack us; and now that this attempt has failed, he is seeking to occupy that country by force, both against the will of the nation and against right; for the kingdom belongs in truth to the Duchess of Braganza, who is descended by the male line from the blood royal; and if the King of Spain were to occupy this territory, he would so increase his empire and his power that he might the more easily expect to accomplish his other designs. But it will not please God that such an unjust and ambitious purpose should be realised, and you, Lord Ambassador, will soon learn that the King of Spain will be diverted from his Portuguese enterprise after such a fashion that he will have to mind his own business.*

"The King of France must bestir himself and not remain asleep, for the best intentions pervade the whole kingdom and animate Monsieur himself. The King must see that his kingdom cannot remain in its present position. He must know the restless nature of his Frenchmen; he must finally perceive that such a vast aggrandisement of the power of Spain in so many quarters, and especially by the proof afforded him by the intrigues in the Marquisate of Saluzzo, will ultimately effect his ruin. I perceive very clearly that the distrust which exists between the King, Monsieur his brother, and the King's subjects and Princes, may greatly impede an advantageous solution of this question; but I am convinced that if his Majesty wishes to be assured of their good intentions, means may be found to satisfy him, and that there will be no stir of arms except at the time and in the mode in which his Majesty may command. Believe me also that if the King does not come to any decision others will do so; we certainly do not intend to be mere spectators of the calamities which are near at hand, for we plainly comprehend the designs of the King of Spain against us, and believe that Monsieur and the principal personages of this Kingdom will be on our side."

The Ambassador added that his Queen was well aware that the Grand Duke of Tuscany had taken part in the combination formed against her by the Pope and the King of Spain, and that although he and his States were situate at a great distance from England, still the Queen would not fail to retaliate; and he con-

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cluded by saying, "What say you, Lord Ambassador, concerning these matters? Do you think them of moment to your Republic? Of a surety you should well consider your interests, having a King so powerful and so ambitious as your neighbour, and should he seize Portugal, what will become of your commerce? for if it received great injury when the Portugese took possession of the Indies, think what will happen when the Spaniards, who have the power to reduce these countries to subjection, will be masters there."

I answered that it must greatly grieve your Serenity to hear of distrust and differences of such vast importance between Christian Princes who were friends of the Republic, and still more that any evil should befall any one of them, and that I was positive that your Serenity would willingly mediate to make peace between Princes who were so friendly to yourselves, and that the peace and safety of England in particular were most dear to you by reason of the ancient affection and goodwill which had uniformly subsisted between that Crown and the Republic.

I have already written what I had lately heard from the Ambassador relative to the apprehension which the English entertained from the Spanish armaments, and the Ambassador himself has lately spoken to this effect openly at Court, and letters from England of the 13th instant relate that the Queen had given orders to the sea ports to prepare for defence, and that several galleons were being armed.

Paris, 23rd February 1580.

[*Italian; partly in cipher.*]

Feb. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

795. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The news of the death of the King of Portugal appears to have given no concern to his Majesty; indeed, on the very day when the advices were received he went to St. Germain, whither he occasionally repairs for his amusement and to avoid attending to business, and he will remain there all the week. Monsieur is negotiating for his expedition to Flanders which the Prince of Orange is now supporting, although he at first opposed it, but he has now discovered a mode of arranging matters to his satisfaction; *and this I have heard from the English Ambassador.* The States also have sent articles to Monsieur. I have already written that the inducement held out to the King to make war on Spain is the fear of civil war, and these apprehensions are increased because Casimir and his officers are demanding the pay which has been due to them since 1575, according to the contract then made, and if those arrears be not discharged, they will protest and threaten as they are accustomed to do. The condition of this Kingdom, as I hear from persons who are well informed and who are faithful servants of the King, is very bad. Normandy and Britany continue to refuse to pay any taxes, except those which they paid before the reign of King Louis; and finally all the Catholics request and require the assembling of the States for the

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better government of the country, *and they lament that the King should take so little care for the dignity and the interests of the Crown, and should think more of his pleasures than is becoming.*

Paris, 23rd February 1580.

[*Italian ; the portions in italics are in cipher.*]

Feb. 27 Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

796. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen of England, immediately after Stafford's return, ordered the Parliament to be prorogued until next May. But as her Majesty does not long remain of one mind it is difficult to divine what will happen. The Abate Guadagni, who went to see Monsieur, has returned, bringing a favourable reply from his Highness, who nevertheless declines to come to Court.

Paris, 27th February 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

797. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I have sent to your Serenity the articles by virtue of which Monsieur is summoned to Flanders. Monsieur is now at Angers, and carries on all his negotiations most secretly. The death of the King of Portugal is confirmed, and it is reported that Doña Catherine of Braganza has been elected Queen, but no very recent news has arrived.

Encloses the Articles (twenty-six in number, but without date) which have been approved by the Prince of Orange and the Deputies on behalf of the States of Flanders and which, subject to the approval of the Provinces, are to be submitted to Monsieur the Duke of Anjou.

Paris, 29th February 1580.

[*Italian.*]

March 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

798. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Although Mons. de La Noue entered Cambray many weeks ago with several companies of French soldiers, yet there have always been some differences between him and Monsieur d'Insi, the governor of the citadel, and these could not be arranged on account of unreasonable demands for money, but at last, when the Prince of Condé arrived, every difficulty was removed, and the city has transferred its allegiance from the Catholic King to Monsieur, according to the Articles which I have already forwarded; and it is said that Monsieur has conferred an abbacy with a yearly revenue of twenty-five thousand crowns upon d'Insi. Monsieur is now at Tours, in his Duchy of Anjou, whither the agents of the Princes of Orange and Condé have gone to solicit his presence in Flanders.

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The Queen of England continues to send couriers frequently to his Highness, and last night one of these passed through here in great haste for England, where the Queen is preparing a powerful fleet, and is arming men, and has also given orders to Casimir to hold captains in readiness to raise twelve thousand Germans for her service. These preparations, although at first intended for her own defence, may now, if the Spanish fleet, as the Queen suspects, is to intervene in the affairs of Portugal, be employed for some other purpose, that is to say, if the boasting of her Ambassador here has any truth in it.

There are contradictory reports from the Court of Monsieur as to his Highness's intention; some say that he will go to Flanders, others that he will visit England, leaving the Prince of Condé as his Lieutenant in Flanders, but it is impossible to speak with any certainty as these matters are treated most secretly, though it is positive that Monsieur is supported by a great number of leading gentlemen, and that the result will very shortly be seen. It is said that he has given orders for the enlistment of many companies of French harquebusiers, but nothing of importance is yet known, and in this country, however clear a certain event may appear, a man can only believe what he actually sees, and nothing more.

The Secretary of the French Ambassador resident in England arrived here six days ago, and he reports that the Queen of England has not given up her ideas of marrying; other persons have written to the same effect, and, further, that when she is certain that the marriage cannot be accomplished she will not abandon the negotiation, because she desires to feed the English with the hope that she will marry in order, for many reasons, to avoid the election of her successor; and amongst these reasons one is manifestly of no small importance, because there being three principal houses competent to succeed to the crown, she could not make any declaration without giving rise to many troubles and incurring danger to herself.

I enclose the agreement made between the Prince of Condé, Mons. de La Noue, and the magistrates of the city of Cambray. (Five Articles, without date.)

Paris, 12th March 1580.

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

799. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Couriers and gentlemen of Flanders continue to pass frequently to Monsieur in the name of the Prince of Orange and the States of Flanders, in order to obtain his Highness's ultimate decision, but none has yet been arrived at; indeed, his Highness, a few days ago, wrote to the Queen-Mother that he would do nothing in the matter without the approval of herself and of the King his brother.

The English Ambassador is labouring to induce their Majesties to favour this expedition upon the ground that it is the real mode of removing turbulent individuals from this kingdom and at the

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same time to obtain protection against the power of the King of Spain, but the Ambassador does not receive the response which he would wish to have. He likewise complains of Monsieur because his Highness is not satisfied with the Articles which have been proposed by the States, alleging that he does not understand, if he be elected ruler supreme, why, by using address and prudence, the conditions should not become more favourable in the course of time; for it was a grave result to be Lord of so many States thus easily, and yet not to receive the honour which was due to him; but that if he did not accept the offer, others would do so, and he named the King of Denmark, for whom the people of the States had shown some inclination, because they were determined to take as their sovereign a prince who could defend and govern them.

Monsieur remains at Angers somewhat indisposed, and everyone is in expectation of hearing the ultimate result of these negotiations, concerning which it is impossible to form any positive conclusion on account of the instability of opinions.

The marriage with England is much discussed in that kingdom, and letters from London, dated the 12th instant, advise that on the 8th inst. a gentleman who had been sent by Monsieur to the Queen arrived there, and that her Majesty, who was on the river for her pleasure in London and attended by her ladies and lords, had disembarked at the house of the French Ambassador, where she remained some while, and this circumstance has given great grounds for the discussion of the marriage; for it would appear that while the Queen is still intent upon the project, she cannot be sufficiently secure of the will of Monsieur. I have heard, upon good authority, that to divert Monsieur from this idea, another foreign marriage of great importance has been proposed to him; and although I have hitherto been unable to learn who the person is, I nevertheless conjecture that it may be with a daughter of the King of Spain, because I am assured that a few days since the matter was mentioned to the Queen-Mother, who answered that things had already then gone too far with England. It seems very likely that this alliance was proposed by the Nuncio of his Holiness, who, I am certain, has lately held long conferences with the King and the Queen-Mother, when the latter said that she had received a letter from Monsieur to the purport that he would not go to Flanders without the advice of their Majesties; and it is believed that the Huguenots of this kingdom are somewhat suspicious, and have issued an intimation that the King and Monsieur are about to unite with the Catholic King against them and against the Queen of England, and that they have told the English Ambassador to warn his Queen, as he has done, to beware lest she be deceived.

If this negotiation should turn out to be true, it has been devised with great art and astuteness by the Spaniards to gain time in order to settle the affairs of Portugal, and it would not be difficult for them to delude this King (of France) by making a proposal without any intention of carrying it out, because the Queen-Mother will easily allow herself to be deceived, inasmuch as she has always

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greatly desired this alliance in order to divert Monsieur from his thoughts of England and Flanders; and quite recently the Abate Guadagni was sent to Monsieur by the Queen-Mother, a circumstance which makes this negotiation the more credible, though it is known to very few. These conjectures and suggestions, although they may be well founded, do not necessarily lead to a result, but it is my duty to keep your Serenity informed of all that occurs.

The above-mentioned letters from England state that the Queen has given permission to many Lords to have the sacramental mass (*la messa sacramentale*) celebrated in their own houses, both in London and the country, and also that this permission is to be greatly enlarged, and hence it is believed that the Queen is apprehensive of some movement on the part of the Catholics. The Queen has detained all the vessels which were in England and intends to send forces to Ireland against the rebels, who have been joined by Spaniards from Biscay, and who are expecting further reinforcements thence. The principal lords in Scotland are in arms because they cannot tolerate the great authority with which the King of Scotland's uncle rules his Majesty in the Council, where there is great difference of opinion, and also because they fear a project for marrying the King to the Princess of Lorraine, namely, to a sister of the reigning Queen of France.

In Flanders, as usual, both parties are mutually occupying territories of no great importance, and the Prince of Orange has given orders to prepare his fleet for sea, and to join, as it is said, the English Fleet; and the Spanish agent here says, that they intend by these reports to terrify the whole world without incurring any cost. In the course of conversation the Queen-Mother said to me, smiling, "Ambassador, I will tell you the truth. I love the King of Spain, because I gave him my daughter for wife, but I do not wish to see him become so powerful as to frighten everybody else;" and I then, without reply, but smiling also, took my leave.

Paris, 24th March 1580.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

800. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

In addition to what I have written relative to the marriage of Monsieur, I have heard from a person who is in the confidence of this Court, that the Queen-Mother has heard from Rome that if the proposals for a marriage between Monsieur and an Infanta of Spain were renewed, his Holiness would most willingly intervene in the matter; but when the Queen-Mother broached the subject to her son, he showed himself most averse, so that the Abate Guadagni, who was lately sent to Monsieur, received instruction that if he found the usual disinclination, he was then to propose the Princess of Lorraine, the niece of the Queen-Mother, and brought up and greatly loved by her, and to suggest to the Duke that it was necessary he should now marry, and that he could not find a more suitable match if he wished to espouse a Catholic Princess. Guadagni, who has returned after

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six days absence, reports that Monsieur answered that he had no thoughts of marrying for some months, and that when he did make up his mind he would inform their Majesties accordingly. The Queen-Mother had recently determined to effect a reconciliation between the King and Monsieur, and to go in person to visit Monsieur and persuade him to come to Court, and for that purpose she went to Blois three days ago.

It is also certain that her Majesty has revived the last project of marriage, but its success is deemed difficult, because the Princess is very ugly, and by such a connexion Monsieur would not obtain any further position of material advantage, which is the object of his designs. No signs are visible of any speedy result of the negotiations between his Highness and the States of Flanders. Some say that they are awaiting the final departure of the Spaniards, who still occupy Luxemburg, and are reported to be expecting pay there; but from what I can gather from the principal ministers the cause principally concerns this King, because without his aid Monsieur would not have sufficient means to effectuate his intentions, and also because it is the object of the Queen of England, who is the guiding spirit in this transaction, to involve his Majesty in it, and to secure herself by setting France and Spain against each other; otherwise it is not thought she would much care if Monsieur did go to Flanders, where she would be bound in honour to maintain him at too great a cost to herself.

Large quantities of provisions are being sent by sea to Portugal in merchant ships. It is reported that the Queen of England is arming. She has sent, and is continually sending, her gentlemen to Portugal with large offers, and she has lately detained all the vessels on her coasts, so that in a few days she can assemble a very powerful fleet.

Paris, 8th April 1580.

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

801. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I have heard that the Queen-Mother, having been unable to satisfy Monsieur, has obtained the King's permisson to offer him the Marquisate of Saluzzo, Provence, and part of Languedoc, upon condition of his giving up the province which he now possesses. It is believed that this proposal will prevail with Monsieur, and make the King master of Monsieur's territories, where Monsieur directs his ambitious thoughts upon pretensions to a State near at hand, and also free the King from the inconvenience of having constantly for a neighbour a brother who is so restless, and who, if removed to a distance from the Queen of England, would no longer pursue the intrigues with her which it was the principal object of their Majesties to defeat. The Ambassador of the Duke of Savoy views with great alarm the possibility of having Monsieur for a neighbour.

Paris, 16th April 1580.

[*Italian.*]

1580.
April 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

802. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Huguenot plots for seizing territory are daily discovered. Letters from England announce that on the 6th instant a violent earthquake was felt in those islands, and did great damage to many houses, striking terror into the people, for no such earthquake had never been experienced there by any living person. The same occurrence took place in Calais, Bruges, Holland, and Zealand. The English Ambassador told me to-day that he had advices that the Catholic King had fitted out in Cadiz three vessels with seven hundred foot soldiers on board, to be sent to Ireland to assist the rebels, at the request of the Nuncio of his Holiness resident in Spain, and that the Queen of England had also lately despatched reinforcements and six galleons to Ireland.

Paris, 22nd April 1580.

[*Italian.*]

May 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

803. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Queen-Mother has informed the King that her negotiations with Monsieur have led her to believe that for the present he does not desire to continue the marriage project, and with reference to coming to Court, that he cannot do so consistently with his personal honour. The King then desired her Majesty to revisit Monsieur, and to make fresh offers, and she has returned here with assurances on Monsieur's part that on being named Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom he will use his best offices with the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. The son of the Chancellor of Brabant passed through Paris a few days ago on his way to Monsieur, and returned from Monsieur accompanied by his secretary to proceed to the Queen of England. Communications between the Queen and Monsieur are exchanged more persistently than ever. Some of these are written and directed against the King of Spain, and their purport must shortly be known.

Paris, 6th May 1580.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Letters of Sovereigns, Venetian Archives.

804. The Emperor Rudolph II. to the Doge of Venice.

Letter in favour of Thomas Arundel (afterwards Lord Arundel of Wardour).

13th May 1580.

[*Latin.*]

May 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

805. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Four procurators from the States General of Flanders are expected here. They have been accredited by the States with full powers to ascertain Monsieur's final decision as to whether he will proceed to their country.

Paris, 20th May 1580.

[*Italian.*]

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June 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

806. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Portuguese Ambassador resident here is very bitter against the Spaniards, and attributes the late disturbances in Dauphiny to Spanish intrigue. The English Ambassador has spoken to me to the same effect, so it is evident that all means are being used to render the Spaniards odious here. There are no advices of importance from England, except that the risings in Scotland are suppressed, and that the rebels in Ireland have retired into the forests and mountains, where they will be secure during the summer, but when winter arrives they must require assistance, because they will be compelled at that season by the cold to abandon their strongholds; and a few days ago an individual accredited by them for this purpose passed through Paris.

Paris, 3rd June 1580.

[*Italian.*]

June 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

807. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Monsieur has not yet dismissed the procurators from the States of Flanders, because he is awaiting the arrival of an Ambassador from England before coming to any final decision. Monsieur has demanded the surrender of several places from the States as security for the fulfilment of their promises, and amongst these are Dunkirk and Lille, and also the citadel of Cambray. It is not known what the result will be, because the negotiations are conducted most secretly. Meanwhile his Highness, to aid Mons. La Noue, who has been taken prisoner, has issued a proclamation threatening the Prince of Parma with reprisals in the event of his putting Mons. La Noue to death.

Paris, 17th June 1580.

[*Italian.*]

June 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

808. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Prince of Condé, not having found in Germany the facilities for levying soldiers which he expected, has proceeded to England to facilitate the levy with the assistance and authority of the Queen, who has assured the King of France that she will not only refuse herself to give assistance to the Prince, but will not permit any subjects of hers to do so, because she well knows that this movement did not proceed from any religious motives, but simply from ambition. Several of the Commissioners from Flanders who went to visit Monsieur have passed through Paris on their return, and one of their number only has remained with his Highness. They depart greatly satisfied with the courtesies which they have received, and they hope, when the rumours prevalent in France have subsided, that Monsieur will proceed to Flanders.

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Stafford, the Queen of England's gentleman, who had previously been here, arrived two days ago. He had an interview with their Majesties, and then went to Monsieur. According to what is written from England and stated by the most favourite and intimate followers of Monsieur, his Highness would appear to have resumed the marriage negotiations, subject to enlarged conditions, but the more these individuals announce and appear to believe this report to be the fact, the more it is suspected to be a pretext to facilitate the negotiations which Monsieur is pursuing with the King with reference to his expedition to Flanders, and particularly a project which he entertains for obtaining the Duchy of Orleans or the Duchy of Britany, he promising in return to give up the Duchy of Berri to the Queen of Navarre in order to adjust the present difficulties. But it is believed that nothing will be done in the matter, because Britany is of too great consequence on account of its vicinity to England, and the Duchy of Orleans was not long ago annexed to the Crown in consideration of a large payment made to the city by King Charles IX., so that the proposal could not be effectuated without great violence, and, besides, Monsieur would thus become too powerful and too near a neighbour to this city.

Paris, 29th June 1580.

[*Italian.*]

July 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

809. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Stafford, the gentleman of the Queen of England, has been here for three days, and, after having spoken to these Majesties, has gone on to Monsieur. *While Stafford was here the house of the English Ambassador was closely watched, and it was ordered to be ascertained who went in and who came out by night.* Hence it is inferred that these negotiations with Monsieur are greatly distrusted, and especially because the promises lately made by the Queen of England not to give aid to the Prince of Condé do not correspond with the facts, for intelligence has been received that the Prince will be assisted with money, and also by some English gentlemen who profess the Puritan religion (*religion Puritana*).

In Flanders, although both parties there have only small forces in the field, still engagements frequently occur.

Monsieur has lately sent several gentlemen, one after another, to the King to ask for a suspension of arms, his Highness demanding no longer three months but only twenty days in order to make peace. His Majesty has always been consistent in his desire for war in order to recover his cities and territories which have been taken by the Huguenots; for his Majesty alleges that it is unnecessary to make any new peace, because the Huguenots, by making the restitutions which they are under an obligation to effect, can have the benefit of the last terms of peace, which his Majesty, after having recovered his own, desires to be observed.

The gentlemen of Monsieur departed very ill-satisfied, as did likewise a gentleman who has been sent here by the King of

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Navarre, and who has deplored that the King of France should insist upon the execution of the last treaty of peace and the restitution of the places, while he still refuses to put the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé in possession of their respective governments; but his Majesty has answered that they, the King and the Prince, were in fault, because if they had gone with pacific intentions to their respective governments they would have been accepted by him. It is impossible to know what end this business will have, because it affects Princes whose ends and ideas are very conflicting.

The King, as I have said, desires war with the object of recovering all his places and enforcing due obedience to his rule. Monsieur desires peace, not caring whether it were brought about by one means or another, so that war be made at a distance from home. The Huguenot Princes wish for both peace and war at one time, namely, that the King should observe peace, and that they, under the name of taking possession of their governments, should proceed to seize to-day one city, and to-morrow another, and thus maintain their people by sacking the cities and country districts.

The Queen of England, without whom neither Monsieur nor the Huguenots can effect anything of moment, likewise desires neither peace nor war; she does not desire war in France at present, as she is too much alarmed on account of Spain; but still she does not wish a secure peace for the King of France, and consequently does not favour the restitution of the fortresses which the Huguenots hold as weapons (*remi*) of war in their hands, desiring that this Huguenot party, which is now dependent on her, should remain strong and be continually on the increase.

The King continues to prosecute the war, and principally the siege of La Fère, whence the news that the artillery is in position, is hourly expected.

The Prince of Condé has proceeded from England to Germany to procure aid, and a diet of certain Princes and captains has been summoned to meet in Strasburg (*Argentina*) for this purpose. Hopes are entertained in France that no levy of importance will be made, and the Duke of Guise, who will have to oppose Condé when he comes, is thinking of going to the siege of La Fère with his friends in order not to remain at ease when all others are at work.

Paris, 1st July 1580.

[*Italian.*]

July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

810. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The agent of Monsieur, who is conducting his affairs in Flanders, together with an individual accredited by the States, passed through Paris two days ago. They went to Monsieur, and it is reported that they have arranged for his going to Flanders, but the particulars cannot possibly be ascertained. Some say that the States will deliver certain places into Monsieur's hands, but others insist

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that this King (of France) will himself intervene, and if this be so we shall be remitted to our original difficulties. In England four thousand infantry are being trained, and are said to be destined for Portugal. Stafford, the gentleman of the Queen, is still with Monsieur to procure a fresh interview with his mistress; but if peace be not made in France a similar negotiation cannot possibly be successful.

Paris, 15th July 1580.

[*Italian.*]

July 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

811. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Portuguese Ambassadors have advices from England that the Queen will receive them with every mark of favour. Stafford, the gentleman of the Queen of England, has arrived here to speak with their Majesties before his own departure. He has announced that Monsieur will go immediately to England, whither he will send before him Mons. de Simier, who is shortly awaited here, and also that the Queen had summoned the Parliament and all the Lords of her kingdom to meet on the 25th August to decide the question of her marriage, and those who write from England consider the matter, at least so far as the Queen is concerned, to be settled. Here very few persons believe that the marriage will take place, but that these negotiations are kept on foot for the reasons which I have already written. Nevertheless everything is possible, having regard to the dissatisfaction of Monsieur with the King, and to the great fear which the Queen has of the Catholic King, for her affairs are by no means in a condition of security, because in Ireland the number of rebels has so greatly increased that she has been compelled to send a new Governor thither with three thousand foot soldiers, and in England, in the north country and in Lancashire, Mass is said publicly and is largely attended by the people; and though forces have been sent thither to provide against any rising which might possibly succeed, the Catholics are being dealt with more diplomatically than usual. There is no news from Flanders, and it is not believed that the negotiations with Monsieur will have any result while there is war in France.

Paris, 29th July 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

812. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Mons. de La Fin has been sent by Monsieur to his Majesty, and has communicated the intention of his Highness to send a solemn embassy to England to be present there at the meeting of Parliament which is about to be held to consider his marriage with the Queen; and Monsieur, together with his Ambassadors, has urged his Majesty to appoint some persons in his Majesty's name to go to England in order to establish a good understanding between the two kingdoms. Consequently the Marshal de Cossé and Mons. de Simier on behalf

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of Monsieur, and Mons. de Biragues (*Pibrach*) and one of the King's secretaries on behalf of the King, have been appointed; and to give greater weight to this embassy a prince of the blood has been elected as the nominal head, and this prince is Charles, Monsieur de Bourbon, the brother of the Prince of Condé, who is a priest and bishop elect, and successor to the abbacies and bishoprics formerly held by Cardinal Bourbon, his uncle. It is said that these functionaries will depart during the present month, in order to arrive in England on the 8th September, when Parliament will assemble.

The English Ambassador said that his Queen is resolved upon the marriage, and Mons. de La Fin speaks to the same effect very openly concerning Monsieur; nevertheless, when I endeavoured to ascertain the truth of this fact from his Majesty's principal Minister, he professed not to believe it, and said that the mission of these gentlemen was to establish more firmly a good understanding between the Crown of England and this kingdom.

If this understanding be simply defensive, or even offensive against the Catholic King, there is no one who yet knows the particulars, for no instructions have yet been issued, and the communications which now pass between these princes are so contradictory, that it is impossible to arrive at any certain conclusion, because, on the one hand, the King continues to prosecute war in his own country; and any agreement has become extremely difficult, seeing that the Huguenots will not restore even the places which were comprised in the terms of peace. Besides, his Majesty is disinclined to assist his brother with regard to the affairs of Flanders, and he is always suspicious of the understanding which exists between the Queen of England, Monsieur, and the Huguenot princes. On the other hand, it is certain that his Majesty is deeply offended with the Catholic King concerning the affairs of Saluzzo, that the power of the Catholic King displeases him, and that he is well disposed to assist Portugal. It is also believed that Signor Filippo Strozzi will not now proceed to Portugal except with the consent of his Majesty, and it is reasonable to believe that this English Embassy is intended to bring about an understanding which has a wider scope than a simple alliance for defence, and which will, in fact, always continue in force between these two Crowns for their mutual interest against the Spaniards, without there being any necessity for a new and special arrangement.

Paris, 5th August 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

813. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

A solemn embassy from the States of Flanders, and particularly from Antwerp, has been despatched to Monsieur to offer him the dominion of the Low Countries; but from what I hear it is desired that in a certain way this King should intervene. The Ambassadors are expected shortly; but all this business must necessarily be settled concurrently with that of England, for which purpose Ambassadors

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have been elected who will proceed to England next month. Nothing is heard about the coming here of the Roisters, and according to report the Queen has done good service in this matter, and the money which the Prince of Condé received in England is to be employed in the service of the States of Flanders.

St. Germain, 12th August 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

814. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Advices have been received from England that fifteen hundred Scots have embarked for Portugal, and if no hindrance has occurred they ought to have set sail by this time. Vessels and galleons are being fitted out in England, and also in Flanders, where fifteen vessels belonging to the Prince of Orange are under orders to convey men, provisions, and ammunition to Portugal; and it will not be surprising should these Flemish and English vessels join those under the command of Strozzi, so as to sail together for the greater mutual security, lest they might come into conflict with the Spanish (*Cattolica*) fleet, which is however reported not to be well provided with vessels of heavy burthen.

St. Germain, 18th August 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

815. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Advices have been received that twelve days ago, the Ambassadors of the States were to have left Antwerp to visit the Duke of Alençon, but no news has been heard of them. The Ambassadors who were to have gone to England in the name of the King and of Monsieur, are not yet known to be under orders. The irresolution shown with reference to the affairs of Flanders will, without doubt, impede English affairs also; for these matters are all so closely connected and dependent upon one another that they cannot be separated.

According to advices from England, certain placards have been found which speak evil of the Councillors of the Queen; and her Majesty has proclaimed publicly that all the libels which are issued against her Ministers are inventions of persons sent to England to introduce civil discord amongst her people by the Pope and by the Catholic King, who, together with some other Italian potentates, have made a league for the destruction of her kingdom; but that her people are to be of good cheer, for as she has ruled them peacefully and quietly for the space of twenty-one years, so she will not fail to do so for the future.

It is said the Queen has done this, not so much on the aforesaid account as to expose the Pope and the Catholic King to odium for being disturbers of the tranquillity of the kingdom, and to excuse herself to the Catholics for having arrested some priests who were

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distributing rosaries, jubilees, *agnus Dei*, and the bulls of Pius V., whereby she was declared to be excommunicated.

The risings in Ireland against the Queen are said to continue with greater force than ever.

St. Germain, 24th August 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

816. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The one thousand five hundred Scots who went to Portugal, were embarked on board ships of the Prince of Orange, and since they went, no news of them has been received. The negotiations of Monsieur with Flanders, through the action of the Prince of Orange, have greatly advanced; and the six Ambassadors who were expected from his Highness have arrived there, having travelled by Calais and Rouen to avoid Paris, where the decision of the affair is to be concluded, his Majesty being represented by the secretary Villeroy.

I am informed by the Secretary of Spain, that Holland, Zealand, and Flanders had decided to accept the Duke for their Lord, and to invest him with the dominion of those provinces upon the same conditions as they were held by the Emperor Charles V.; and that Brabant had not yet come to any determination, but that the Prince of Orange was doing all he could to obtain their consent. If the good fortune of Spain wills that this business be deferred until the Catholic King possesses himself of the kingdom of Portugal, many persons believe that those provinces will return to the obedience of that Majesty, because they are very weary of and ruined by the cost of so long a war, nor do they see the end of it in any other way.

St. Germain, 7th September 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

817. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Ambassadors ought now to prepare for setting out for England, but nothing is said about their departure, which it is believed will not take place until after the conclusion of the negotiations concerning Flanders.

It is difficult to understand with what end these reports of the conclusion of the marriage and of the exchange of the Ambassadors are spread, and then so speedily withdrawn. I have heard on the best authority that the Queen of England in consideration of the great cost she has incurred by aiding the Flemings, will endeavour to incorporate their provinces with her Crown; but as she cannot do so openly, she will attempt to effect the result through the person of Monsieur, who, if he become master of those realms, must also accomplish the marriage.

Letters from England report that the Queen keeps strict guard upon all her ports, and does not allow either entry or exit to any

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person, without full inquiry. She has imprisoned many gentlemen, whom she either knows or suspects to be Catholics, and amongst these are several noblemen, styled "Milord," and one is Viscount Montagu (*Montegut*), who was a long while in her service, he having always feigned not to be a Catholic. She has summoned all the nobles of the kingdom in order to assure herself of those whose fidelity she doubts, but many Catholics have fled to Ireland, where they have joined the rebels, who have received ammunition provided in Spain and sent by the Pope, and who are awaiting arms and artillery, and also more than a thousand soldiers who in the name of his Holiness have been levied in Biscay under Italian captains and officers. The rebels are masters of the country districts, and are desirous to be assisted with arms, gunpowder, and supplies of money, but they care little for aid in men, because they themselves are very numerous.

Several English gentlemen are now resident at St. Germain. Amongst them is the Earl of Westmorland, who was the subject of the Queen of England, and who, twelve years ago, rose against her on account of the understanding which he had with the Spaniards. He was a man of great estate, and very powerful in the kingdom. He entertains a confident hope of soon returning home, which is shared by all the exiles, and if the affairs of Portugal should have a successful result for the King of Spain, it is said that his Catholic Majesty has undertaken to send an expedition to Ireland, and then, having easily made himself master of the island, he will, with the assistance which he will receive from the rebels, make war from thence upon England with greater ease. Don Pietro de' Medici will join in this expedition in the name of the Pope, and war will be made in the name of his Holiness to restore the kingdom of England to the true Catholic religion, and to give the crown to the person who has the right to possess it.

These are the expectations and hopes of the exiles, who, although ordinarily not held to be of much consequence, nevertheless in this case may bring about some important result, because, undoubtedly, if the Catholic King succeed in Portugal, his designs will be materially facilitated against England, where it is known for certain that the Queen is under great apprehension, especially as she has now a divided Council, principally on account of the marriage with Monsieur, one party siding with Lord Robert, who does not approve the marriage, and the other party with the Treasurer, who does approve and advises it; and on this account most offensive language has passed between them.

The principal ministers of this kingdom perceive and confess that the power of the King of Spain is very great, and that the perils therefrom become hourly greater; and recently Cardinal Biragues said to me, that your Serenity should devise some strong defensive league, in order to impede the dominion to which the Spaniards aspired, but I turned the conversation.

St. Germain, 8th September 1580.

[*Italian; the portions in italics are in cipher.*]

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Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

818. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Secretary Villeroy, who was sent to Monsieur, has returned, and it is understood that his Highness has resolved to proceed to Flanders with an armed force. He has given orders to raise a considerable force of infantry and cavalry in this kingdom, and has sent a number of captains to various districts for that purpose. The Court is now about to proceed to Moret (*La Moreta*).

St. Germain, 11th September 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

819. LORENZO PRIULI Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Monsieur has departed from Cognac to confer with the King of Navarre, and the present moment, when the Huguenots are not in favour with either Germany or England, is truly most opportune for putting the affairs of the kingdom into a sound condition.

Moret, 4th October 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

820. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

We hear from England of the persecution of many Catholics, who have been sent to prison, not as Catholics but as disturbers of the public peace, and that the Queen is sending a large force of soldiers and also munitions of war to endeavour to subdue the rebels in Ireland.

Moret, 6th October 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

821. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Letters have lately arrived from England with news that a great battle has been fought in Ireland, where Lord Grey and the forces of the Queen were defeated, and six thousand of them either killed or taken prisoners; also that the Italian and Spanish soldiers, who were expected, had arrived on the island, and were about a thousand strong, though some said they were far more numerous. Since the arrival of this reinforcement and the above-mentioned defeat, many inhabitants of the country had declared themselves to be Catholics, and had taken up arms to join the insurgents. The Queen, under these circumstances, is in great difficulty, and has been enlisting soldiers to send to Ireland to hold the insurgents in check, so that they may not make further progress during the winter, and with the intention of obtaining a successful result in the spring with all her forces. The Queen has recently arrested several Lords, and has ordered a number of gentlemen, who are under suspicion of being Catholics, to come and reside at a place four miles distant from London, and not depart from thence without her permission.

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These letters further state that the councillors of the Queen who are opposed to Monsieur, and who were disposed to favour the cause of the Huguenots in this country, had begun to change their opinions and to advise that a thorough union should be established with these Majesties, provided that they would give every possible satisfaction to the Huguenots in order to quell the prevalent disturbances, and thus be able to attend to other matters; and may God grant that from these apprehensions (*timori*) a great benefit may ultimately result to this kingdom.

The Secretary Villeroy and Mons. de Bellievre have gone to see Monsieur, but the result of their mission is not known.

News has arrived from Spain that Don Antonio had retired to the mountains with twelve thousand men. He is supported by the clergy, and also by two principal maritime cities, namely Oporto and Viana, *so that even if he should have abandoned his designs upon Portugal, Strozzi, at the instigation of Monsieur and the Ambassador of the Queen of England who has offered sixty thousand crowns for soldiers' pay, has nevertheless sent an individual to Portugal to learn the state of things there, because Strozzi is of opinion that if he could unite with Don Antonio, he might be able to take thither a large force of Frenchmen; but this project is not likely to succeed, because Don Antonio cannot resist the King of Spain, as he has only a small portion of the kingdom in his favour.*

Moret, 20th October 1580.

[*Italian; the portion in italics is in cipher.*]

Nov. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

822. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

It is heard from England that the Queen had already despatched many supplies to Ireland, and her Ambassador minimizes greatly the disturbances there, nevertheless on the contrary I hear from another quarter that the insurrection is carried on in the name of his Holiness, and the title of "Papal Nuncio" has been given to the commander of the troops which have been conducted to that island from Spain.

Moret, 4th November 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

823. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

I forward copy of the articles and conditions concluded and drawn up between the Duke of Anjou and the Deputies of the States General of the Low Countries. (28 articles, dated from Plessis, 19th September 1580, signed "François," and also signed by Philippe de Marnix and six others.)

The insurrections in Ireland continue, and more troops are being prepared in Biscay for the succour of the insurgents.

Moret, 17th November 1580.

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P.S.—18th November. Advices have been received that some ships which were on their way from Biscay to Ireland to succour the insurgents had been taken by the English ships.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

824. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The Secretary of Spain has told me that the Ambassador from Don Antonio had been received by their Majesties at Dolenville with so much honour that more could not have been shewn to an Ambassador from the Catholic King, and that when he (the Secretary) complained to their Majesties on this subject, and also concerning certain preparations at Nantes, the Queen-Mother answered him, with a cheerful countenance, that she had herself to complain of the Catholic King, who with regard to her pretensions to that kingdom had clearly shown that he had paid but little attention to the reasons by which her claim was supported, and therefore that she, not so much to assist Don Antonio, as to keep alive her own claim, had desired that Strozzi should go with his forces to Portugal. The King also told the Secretary that he desired to maintain a solid friendship with the Catholic King, his good brother, but that he could not prevent his mother from doing what she thought fit for the maintenance of her claims; so all these things are being done openly and without dissimulation. I believe that if Don Antonio could manage to hold out until these reinforcements arrived, war in those parts would be openly declared, and that the French will avail themselves of this pretext, should they have a mind to assist Monsieur in the matter of Flanders. Thus we see all things verging by degrees towards war, but everything depends upon the conclusion of universal peace within this kingdom.

The report of the capture by the English of the ships which were on their way to succour Ireland has proved untrue, and in fact there are advices that the Spaniards and Italians had fortified a place near the sea, where a portion of them have remained as a garrison, and the residue have joined the Irish and are occupying places throughout the island; and the Pope, as I hear, does not fail to assist them greatly by means of Spain.

This city, I hear, is in a very fair sanitary condition, notwithstanding that as I entered a city gate, which is close to where I reside, I met a man and a woman bearing the white plague wands in their hands, and asking alms; but some believe that this was merely an artifice on their part to gain money.

Moret, 20th November 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

825. LORENZO PRIULI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The English Ambassador has just given me the enclosed copy of a treaty which has been entered into by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, against his Queen, and which the

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Ambassador affirms to me is both genuine and most positive; and when I inquired what object or interest could have induced the Grand Duke to enter this league and to incur the expense of it, the Ambassador told me that the Duke hoped by ingratiating himself with the Supreme Pontiff and the King of Spain, to obtain great advantages for himself, and particularly to carry out his designs upon the Duchy of Urbino, by means of a marriage between the sister of the Duke of Urbino and his own brother Don Pietro; and further that it was absolutely certain that the Grand Duke, according to the ideas and practices of his father, and to secure himself, would endeavour to keep the King of Spain engaged in foreign wars, and that he had other objects besides. The Ambassador said further that he could furnish me with certain proof that, during the lifetime of the Duke's father, Chiapin Vitelli was sent to Flanders apparently to serve the interests of his Catholic Majesty, but in truth to prolong the negotiations and obstruct them as much as possible; and the Ambassador said he knew that then his Queen was assisted and favoured by Chiapin Vitelli's intimate advice, and that by means of Chiapin Vitelli the conspiracies formed against her by the Duke of Norfolk and other persons were discovered. I will contrive to ascertain whether I have been told the truth, because these English are so artful in their negotiations that I cannot be sure that this story may not have been their invention, or if not entirely so, at least to some extent.

Moret, 2nd December 1580.

[*Italian; the portion in italics is in cipher.*]

826. ARTICLES of the CONFEDERATES: copy enclosed in the preceding Despatch.

On Thursday the 18th February in the year 1580 the Ambassadors of the Catholic King and the Grand Duke of Tuscany were together at the audience (in Rome), when a league against the Queen of England was concluded between his Holiness, the said King, and the said Grand Duke in manner following.

1. That his Holiness will furnish ten thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, the Catholic King fifteen thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, and the Grand Duke eight thousand infantry and one hundred cavalry; and to these forces are to be added the Germans who have gone to Spain, and who are to be paid *pro ratâ* by the above named Princes.
2. Should it please our Lord God to give good speed and success to the expedition, the populations are in the first place and above all things to be admonished, on the part of his Holiness, to return to their obedience and devotion to the Roman Catholic church in the same manner as their predecessors have done.
3. That his Holiness, as sovereign Lord of the Island (of England) will grant power to the Catholic nobles of the kingdom to elect a Catholic Lord of the Island, who, under the authority of the Apostolic See will be declared King, and who will render

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obedience and fealty to the Apostolic See as the other Catholic kings have done before the time of the last Henry.

4. That Queen Elizabeth be declared an usurper (*detentrice*) and incapable to reign, because she was born of an illegitimate marriage, and because she is a heretic.
5. That the property of the Church shall be recovered from the possession of the present owners, and men of quality and learned men of the country shall be appointed bishops and abbots, and to similar offices, and they, by the example of their lives, and by preaching, shall endeavour to bring back the people to the true religion.
6. That the King of Spain is not to make any other engagement, except to enter into a league and relationship, if he please, with the King to be elected, and so that they united together may assist the affairs both of the Island and of Flanders.
7. That the Queen of Scotland is to be set at liberty and to be aided to return to her kingdom should she desire so to do.
8. That his Holiness will use his best influence with the King of France, in order that neither his Majesty nor Monsieur his brother shall give assistance either to the Queen or to the Flemings against Spain.
9. That the Bull of excommuniation which Pius V. of happy memory issued against the said Queen be published in the courts of all Christian princes.
10. That the English Catholics shall be received in the army, and granted suitable pay according to their rank.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

827. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

Stafford, the Ambassador of the Queen of England, has constantly been in attendance upon Monsieur during the negotiations for peace within this kingdom, and amongst the acts which he has performed with the consent of Monsieur he has made a speech in public to the King of Navarre and the deputies of the new religion, exhorting and entreating them to come to terms with his Majesty. After the articles were agreed to, he came here, and having kissed the hands of their Majesties, he departed two days ago to return to England, whither, it is said, Marshal de Cossé will proceed after Christmas to conclude and establish a good understanding between that kingdom and this; and the Marshal is shortly expected at this Court.

The opinion is confirmed and increases every day that Monsieur will go to Flanders early next year with the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé.

Letters from England received by the English Ambassador report that Lord Grey, the governor of the Queen in Ireland, having entrenched himself under Smerwick, where the Spaniards and Italians who have come from Spain in the name of his Holiness were besieged, compelled them to capitulate, and after their sur-

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render cut them all to pieces with the exception of twenty-four who were sent to the Queen in England.

The Earl of Desmond, the chief of the insurgents in that island, had promised to relieve the garrison; but he subsequently retired with his people to the neighbouring forests.

Many persons here believe that Don Antonio is not only alive and at large, but also in possession of the cities of Oporto and Viana.

Blois, 16th December 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

828. Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The Secretary Villeroy, who has been sent by these Majesties to the Duke of Alençon with the articles of peace, departed from this place yesterday.

Blois, 28th December 1580.

[*Italian.*]

Bequeathed MSS. Portfolio 1.

829. An Account of the State, and of the Queen of Scotland, and of the Prince, her son, from the year 1542 until the year 1580, compiled by the Lord Count Stefano Angarani.

I have compiled the present narrative concerning the Queen of Scotland and the Prince, her son, in which are described the persecutions, misfortunes, and imprisonments of this Queen, commencing with her nativity in the year 1543, together with the death of King Henry, her husband, and many other Barons, and the utter destruction of the Catholic religion in the church, and finally the coronation and the government of the Prince, her son, to the satisfaction of the Barons and subjects of that kingdom, and with the hope of the liberation of the Queen, and the re-introduction of the Catholic religion. All this appearing to me a great and grave subject I have thought it proper to relate the facts to your Excellency, whom I shall always honour.

Mary, Queen of Scotland, and daughter of James V., King of same kingdom, succeeded her father seven days after his death, whereupon Henry VIII., King of England, desiring that Edward, his son, should take her for wife, waged a terrible war against the Scots for the space of nine years, and greatly disturbed the kingdom.

1548. The Queen, being of the age of six years, by the desire and order of her Barons, was sent to France, and educated and nobly brought up until the age of sixteen years, when she was betrothed to Francis II., then the Dauphin, who subsequently became King of France.

1558. After the death of Mary, Queen of England, who was the wife of Philip, King of Spain, Elizabeth, her sister, succeeded her; but Henry, King of France, father of Francis, having heard that Elizabeth, by the order of her father, had been deprived of her right of succession as illegitimate, and that the kingdom of England had

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therefore devolved to the Queen of Scotland and belonged to her as the nearest heir, ordered that she should be proclaimed and crowned as Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and bear the arms and insignia of the three kingdoms in her own name.

1559. Elizabeth was, therefore, greatly enraged, and showed herself openly hostile to France, and to defeat the King of France and his plan she incited several Barons of the kingdom of Scotland to act against the French who held garrisons in Scotland, and she also sent English soldiers to Scotland, by whose exertions the French were compelled to retire. The Catholic religion then became extinct in the kingdom, the churches and the altars were destroyed, the monasteries, bishops, and abbots abolished, and, finally, all religious persons who confessed and defended the Catholic faith were driven from their offices and sent into exile, or were punished and thrown into prison, to undergo the most terrible misfortunes.

1560. Francis II., King of France, having died, the Queen returned to Scotland, believing that by her presence and with her authority she might tranquillise and appease the civil troubles, and restore to some extent the Catholic religion and rites of the Church.

1561. But when an attempt to this effect was made by the Queen's adherents, James, the natural brother of the Queen, who was Prior of St. Andrew's and subsequently Earl of Murray, assisted by the Queen of England, who furnished him with money, conspired against the Barons and well disposed citizens.

1562. The Earl of Huntly was slain by the conspirators, and his eldest son condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and his second son to death. The Earls of Sutherland, Arran, and Bothwell, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and others, were banished from the kingdom.

1563. The Queen, being thus alone in the hands of the heretical Barons, did not dare to attempt any movement in favour of the true religion, and was compelled to surrender all her powers to James and the other heretics.

1565. This most pious Queen, finding all the affairs of the kingdom in a state of ruin and the Catholics sorely oppressed, and seeing no other remedy, judged it expedient to marry some pious and Catholic Prince and thus obtain some relief from the evils which surrounded her. She therefore, with the consent of all her Barons, united herself in matrimony with Henry Stuart, her cousin, under and by virtue nevertheless of a dispensation from our Lord Pope Pius IV. But the Queen of England on many occasions used her best endeavours to prevent this marriage, and persuaded the illegitimate James and the Barons, his adherents, to take up arms; and the Queen of Scotland, together with her husband, desiring to oppose these rebels, attacked them with a large army, and compelled them to fly to England, where they were cordially received by orders from the Queen of England. But what the rebels could not obtain by force they endeavoured to effect by fraud, and they, therefore, in the presence of King Henry, accused one David, his secretary, and a Catholic, of having plotted with the Queen to put the King to

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death; and this David was slain by King Henry in the presence of the Queen, and she, being then pregnant, was strictly guarded in Edinburgh; but King Henry, having on the following day admitted his fault and the great wickedness which he had committed, secretly asked pardon with bitter tears from the Queen, and she, having graciously forgiven him, embraced him, and they both together fled by night from the hands of the conspirators, and forthwith entered into the Castle of Dunbar.

1566. The King and Queen, having mustered fresh forces, banished James and his adherents, who were the authors of all this wickedness, part to England and part to the islands. Hence the deepest hatred arose against King Henry because he had abandoned the friends who had been his partners in crime, and had joined the party of the Queen; and when the Queen of England asked pardon for these offenders by her Ambassadors, it was accorded by the Queen of Scotland, and especially to Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, who had committed great outrages, but they never relinquished the hatred which they had conceived against King Henry, and determined not to be satisfied until they had put him to death. On the 18th of the following month of June the Queen gave birth to her son James, now Prince of Scotland, to the great joy of all the kingdom, and the Prince at his baptism had for sponsors Charles, the most Christian King of France, Elizabeth, Queen of England, and the Duke of Savoy, who were represented by their Ambassadors accredited for that purpose. After the ceremonies of the sacred baptism had been accomplished the rebels formed a new conspiracy, and took counsel to put King Henry to death, and their end was accomplished by the Earl of Bothwell and others, by whom King Henry and some of his servants were strangled by night, and burnt with fires artfully prepared (*fuochi artificiali*) in his house.

1567. After the death of King Henry, Bothwell, with the consent of the Barons of his faction and the companions of his wickedness, endeavoured to obtain the Queen for his wife, and he therefore met her with a large force when she was on the road between Stirling and Edinborough, and took her prisoner, and carried her to the castle of Dumbarton, of which he was the governor, and there detained her with certain of her Barons for some time, in order to induce her to consent to marry him. Nevertheless the Barons, not being able to endure the outrages committed by Bothwell, attacked him with a large force, and he taking flight proceeded to the Orkney Islands, and thence hastened towards France, but was detained by the Queen of Denmark, and then sent to a castle, where he ended his days. But the Queen (Mary) of her own accord went to meet the Barons, who treated her with great inhumanity, and placed her in a strong castle in the Lake of Leven, where they frequently threatened her with death unless she submitted herself absolutely to their will, and finally compelled her with her own hand to sign letters whereby she relinquished the whole of the administration of the kingdom to her son, and appointed James, her natural brother, Governor of the King and kingdom; but the Queen, though she consented with tears and lamentations to their demands,

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protested nevertheless that she would revoke all those concessions which had been obtained contrary to her will as soon as she regained her liberty. Subsequently the Prince, the son of the Queen, at the age of one year, was crowned King, and James, the natural brother of the Queen, carried on the whole government of the kingdom according to his own ideas and fancies, and committed cruelties upon the Catholic and faithful subjects of the Queen.

1568. The Queen meanwhile came to an understanding with certain nobles to set herself free, and with their assistance miraculously escaped and proceeded to a fortress called Hamilton, and was there joined by the Barons and others who recognised her as their lawful sovereign; and with their authority she revoked and annulled all the acts to which she had been compelled to consent whilst in prison.

But James, the Governor, mustering his forces, attacked the Queen and her defenders, of whom many, in the sight of the Queen, were slain, and the Queen took flight towards England; and when this news became known to the Queen of England she sent letters and Ambassadors to comfort the Queen of Scotland and exhort her to patience and to bear misfortune, and invited her to England, promising to treat her as a dear and true sister. The Queen of Scotland, induced by these specious but false professions, took the road to England, but as soon as she arrived in England she was imprisoned in a certain castle and guarded with great strictness, and to this hour she has never been admitted to the presence of the Queen of England, who, although she dissimulates by professing to mitigate and arrange all the troubles between the Queen of Scotland and her subjects, nevertheless secretly defends and favours the faction of the rebels. A council was summoned, consisting of Barons of England, amongst whom was the Duke of Norfolk, on the part of the Queen of England, and the Bishop of Ross and other Ambassadors from Scotland to defend the actions of the Queen of Scotland, and James, the illegitimate governor, and others to defend the cause of the confederated citizens. But no agreement was come to, for the parties mutually complained and brought accusations against each other, and endeavoured as much as possible to sow discord; and thus, after many months, the council was broken up, and the Scotch returned to their country, with the exception of the Bishop of Ross, Ambassador of the Queen of Scotland, who remained at her request and dwelt in England for seven years, always at the peril of his life and of the loss of all his property.

1569. At this time it was agreed between the Queens of England and Scotland that the Queen of Scotland should be liberated, with the condition, however, that while the Queen of England lived she should not advance any pretensions to the Crown of England, and should deliver up her son and other Barons of Scotland as hostages, and, further, that all her subjects in Scotland should receive a full pardon and be restored to her favour. The articles of this agreement were signed by the hands of both Queens.

1571. Nevertheless, when it was proposed to carry this agreement into effect, the councillors of the Queen of England and the con-

1580. federated Barons of Scotland persuaded the Queen of England to the contrary, alleging that her kingdom would be constantly disturbed and harassed if the Queen of Scotland were set at liberty, on account of her being in friendship and at peace with so many Catholic Princes, by whose assistance the Queen of England might be dispossessed of her kingdom, and the Queen of Scotland placed in her stead. Therefore the Queen of England frequently excused herself to the Bishop of Ross, the Ambassador of the Queen of Scotland, by saying that, although she was acting against her own will, her honour, and her conscience, yet she could not do anything contrary to the wish of her councillors; and as the liberation of the Queen of Scotland, in the opinion of her Council, threatened great perils to her state, she could not see her way to effect it; and thus the Ambassador left her without receiving any satisfaction.

While affairs were in this condition, many tumults and disturbances arose in England and Scotland. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, and many other Barons, hoping to re-establish the Christian religion, took up arms, enrolled soldiers, and seized and fortified certain castles and seaports. But when the Earls saw themselves abandoned by many princes from whom they expected aid, they, after many conflicts, abandoned the undertaking and fled with their army into Scotland, where they were kindly received.

1572. But the Earl of Northumberland, who had been imprisoned by the Governor Morton, was, contrary to every human law, beheaded, and eight hundred Catholics of the common people were hanged in England. Then the Queen of England sent a large army into Scotland, and demanded that the Earl of Westmorland and his adherents who had been rebels to her should be surrendered, and because the Barons of the kingdom of Scotland, and particularly the Catholics, refused to consent, she caused three hundred towns to be burnt, and fifty castles to be demolished. Moreover the English captain [the Duke] of Norfolk was thrown into prison; he was the individual who, with the common consent of the Barons of both the kingdoms of Scotland and England, and with the consent of his Holiness and many Christian Princes, had been selected to marry the Queen of Scotland for the purpose of re-establishing in the kingdom the rites and ceremonies of the Church. Besides this, fifty Barons and Earls and other nobles were imprisoned in the Tower of London, and at the same time a strict guard was placed over the Queen of Scotland; and the Bishop of Ross, who had been imprisoned in London with many others, was transferred to another prison, and there for the space of three years continually suffered this punishment. The Duke of Norfolk was beheaded, and he paid the penalty for all the others. But in Scotland there were many conflicts between the illegitimate James and the Barons who supported the party of the Queen; and many lost their lives, amongst whom was James, the Governor, and in his place the Earl of Lennox was appointed second Governor, and this was done with the consent of the Queen; but he, for having exercised too much cruelty against the nobles, and especially against the Archbishop of St. Andrew's,

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one of the principal men of the kingdom, was put to death, and not long afterwards another person called Filopotreto suffered the same fate.

1573. The Earl of Mar was appointed third Governor, and he, smitten by remorse because he occupied the throne of the Queen, and being in great fear, died suddenly.

1580. *The present condition of Scotland.*

Morton, the Governor last appointed, became so odious to the nobles that in the month of May, by the authority of the King and Barons in public council, he was dismissed and deprived of the Governorship, and reduced to a private condition. But now the King, having attained the age of fourteen years, has assumed the government of the realm according to the laws of the land, and has appointed certain Barons for his guardians, and particularly Barons of the Queen's party, and all affairs are directed by their advice. These councillors are twenty-four in number and all nobles, some being Catholics and some of the perfidious sect; but the King and all the nobles greatly love the Queen of Scotland, and the King constantly procures that Ambassadors should be sent to England for the liberation of the Queen under certain conditions. Hence the Queen of Scotland has been greatly comforted and consoled, and the Queen of England, perceiving this, allows the Queen of Scotland much greater liberty, and, retaining the Scotch Ambassadors, is sending Ambassadors of her own to Scotland with instructions to preserve peace and the usual friendship, and to persuade the Scotch not to receive foreign soldiers in their country. If, therefore, as it would seem, the disposition of the Prince will depend upon the Queen his mother, there is the greatest hope, if she be set at liberty, that the rites of the Church will be restored in Scotland, because the chief men in Scotland day by day are exhorted and persuaded to embrace it; and may it please the Omnipotent God, the giver of all good, to accomplish this end for His glory, and for the great benefit of the Christian public and the common advantage of the Church, and to grant us by His Divine Majesty this grace during these most troublous times.

[*Italian.*]

APPENDIX.

1552.
Oct. 17.
Senato Terra, filza No. 38, Venetian Archives.

1. The DOGE and SENATE to SER ZUAN DA CHA DA PESARO, Consul in London.

We have seen with satisfaction yours of the 19th September last, and the acceptable news given therein, for which we thank you. Whenever any matter worthy of notice occurs in those parts, pray continue to give us advices, with full particulars.

[*Italian; inserted in a Decree of the Senate, 6th March* 1563.]

1559.
Nov. 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

2. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

Ser Prainer, who is now in England upon the negotiations for the marriage between the Queen of England and the Archduke Charles, has lately sent here a gentleman by name Federico da Coloredo, who, from what I can learn, has informed the Emperor that her Majesty, when discussing the question with the Bishop of Aquila the Ambassador of the Catholic King at her Court, showed great anxiety that the Archduke should go in person to England, and urged that if she had to take a husband, it was at least reasonable that she should see him before acceptance, and that if the character of the man pleased her, many difficulties would easily be removed; and therefore she earnestly desired that the Archduke should come, if not in state, at least "incognito." Coloredo also reports that some of the Ladies of the Queen's Court were surprised that so much trouble should be taken to bring about this marriage, and that the Archduke should have never sent any token of love for presentation to the Queen. Consequently the Emperor, considering, independently of other reasons, that the desire of the Queen that the Archduke should visit her was not so much on account of her wish to see him, because his portrait taken from life has been sent to her, as to exact some mark of reverence, has forthwith and in haste sent Coloredo to England with orders to join the Count of Helfenstein, who is accredited to the Queen as his Imperial Majesty's Ambassador for this negotiation, and to give him a commission to excuse the Archduke's presence, and to add that if her Majesty should desire to know more of the Archduke's personal qualities than his portrait would show, she ought to send hither some individual in whom she had entire confidence, and who, after seeing the Archduke and spending some time with him, might more minutely give all necessary information to her Majesty. Hitherto no further answer has been received, but I am advised that the negotiation is in such a condition that there is almost a certain hope that it will be carried out, and at the Court the marriage is much discussed, and many persons are applying for permission to accompany the

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Archduke to England. Coloredo has further reported that the Queen preserved her exceeding beauty, and he has brought her portrait; and also states that she lives a life of magnificence and festivity such as can hardly be imagined, and occupies a great portion of her time with balls, banquets, hunting, and similar amusements with the utmost possible display; but nevertheless she insists upon far greater respect being shown to her than was exacted by the late Queen Mary; and although she has summoned Parliament, she has nevertheless ordered that her commands are to be executed notwithstanding that these may be contrary to the will of Parliament itself.

Coloredo also reports that the affairs of religion are in a worse condition than ever, and that all ceremonies are abolished, and all statues destroyed.

Vienna, 7th November 1559.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

3. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

The gentleman who lately arrived from England has communicated to the Emperor the desire of the Queen that the Archduke Charles should proceed to England, and I have spoken with an individual who has seen letters written by the representatives of his Imperial Majesty in England, stating that if his Highness would go thither without delay the marriage would be arranged at once. But the Emperor will not, under any circumstances, consent to the Archduke's departure, and has again despatched to England the above-mentioned gentleman with the same instructions which were given to Coloredo, namely, that if the portrait which was sent to the Queen failed to satisfy her, then she should send hither some confidential agent who might obtain for her more particular information.

This gentleman also reports that the son of the King of Sweden still remains at the English Court, and is endeavouring to bring about a marriage between her Majesty of England and his eldest brother, and that he spares no expense to this effect; and although the Queen does not appear to show him much favour, her real intention is by no means certain, but when the Count of Helfenstein, who has been accredited by the Emperor as his Ambassador for this purpose, has arrived, it is hoped that some final decision will be come to.

Vienna, 22nd November 1559.

[*Italian.*]

1560. Jan. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

4. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor has received letters from England advising him that the Queen is again showing signs of her inclination to take the Archduke Charles for her husband, and I understand that Ser Prainer, who has long resided in England for this purpose, had a

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dispute with the son of the King of Sweden concerning precedence, and subsequently another dispute in the antechamber of the Queen upon religious questions, and that on the last occasion matters went to such extremities that unless the Queen herself had interfered, a serious scandal would have resulted; but the Queen, saying that her presence was not the place for such proceedings, took Ser Prainer by the hand, conducted him to her apartment, and conferred with him for some time, while she left the Prince of Sweden outside without showing him any mark of honour; and later, when the Queen was conversing with the Bishop of Aquila, the Ambassador of the Catholic King, she introduced the subject of this marriage, but the Bishop, as I hear, avoided it altogether, and said that the Count of Helfenstein would soon arrive at the Court, when her Majesty could discuss the whole project with him, for that he (the Bishop) was not accredited as a minister in this matter, whatever might be the case hereafter. The Count of Helfenstein has remained at Rochester, a city not far distant from London, for many days, and I can hear no reason for this delay except that he had loaded all his baggage and effects in certain vessels which are missing, and no tidings of them have been received, and as this baggage was furnished at the expense of the Emperor the value is very great.

Two matters worthy of attention have come to my knowledge. First, that all the orders relating to this business do not emanate from hence but from the Duchess of Parma, to whom, together with the representative left by the King of Spain in Flanders, and the representative of the Queen, the Emperor has remitted the entire control of the marriage negotiation. Secondly, that there being great apprehensions of war breaking out between England and France, no decisive step with regard to the marriage will be taken until it is seen how these powers will act towards one another; and the principal ground of this apprehension is that the French suspect that the Queen of England is favouring and aiding the insurgents in Scotland. Indeed, the French had certain proof that this is so, because letters written by the Queen to the chiefs of the insurgents, and also considerable sums of money which the Queen was sending to these insurgents, have fallen in their hands; and although the French are formally complaining to her Majesty in regard to these matters, they are nevertheless highly suspicious of her actions, and therefore it is readily believed that the forces which the King of France is now sending into Scotland will, after having reduced the insurgents to obedience, be employed in levying war against England. The Queen of England has in consequence sent one of her Admirals to Spain, ostensibly to congratulate the King on his marriage, but principally to negotiate with his Majesty relative to the above-mentioned circumstances. I have thought it right to give you all possible information in order that you may perceive that the negotiation for this marriage may yet be postponed, notwithstanding that the Queen shows greater signs of inclination to its completion than previously.

Vienna, 14th January 1559[-60.]

[*Italian.*]

1560.
Feb. 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

5. Giacomo Soranzo, Ambassador with the Emperor, to the Signory.

The King of Bohemia spoke to me about the shipwreck which the French vessels on their way to Scotland had suffered, and said that only three or four of those which had infantry on board had perished. In reply to my inquiry whether the Queen of England had sent further aid to Scotland, his Highness replied he did not believe that she had done so beyond the sixteen vessels which had already sailed thither, but that he had heard that the Queen had taken the Count of Mansfeldt, with ten thousand horse and two thousand foot, into her service; and that to-day the Emperor had received further advices that the Duke of Saxony, who assisted the King of France in the last war, was enlisting soldiers who were believed to be for the service of France.

His Highness added, "This Queen of England cannot make up her mind to take a husband, and now the son of the King of Sweden has returned to her Court in great state, and the Queen has sent to meet him on landing; but still it is not believed that she cares much for him; she has also made great approaches towards my brother, Prince Charles, but we have never been able to arrive at her real intentions because she first says one thing and then another, and she gives out that it is not expedient that she should marry without having seen the man who is to be her husband; and she therefore desires that the Archduke should visit her without her binding herself in such a case to marry him, though she assures the Emperor that he, the Archduke, would not leave her kingdom otherwise than honourably and with full satisfaction to himself. As it was impossible to arrive at any conclusion from these professions of the Queen, the negotiation has stopped at that point, nor do I know what will happen, because with her it is necessary to await time and opportunity. However, according to my opinion, if the affairs of Scotland proceed to her liking, she will marry that Scotchman (*quel Scocese*) [the Earl of Arran?] in order to bring about the union of the two kingdoms."

I then expressed my hope that everything would be done to satisfy the Archduke Charles, because there could not be a more honourable nor fitting husband for the Queen than he, and also that a marriage would be made between the Archduke Ferdinand, the elected King of Poland, and the King's sister. His Highness replied, "The Archduke Ferdinand persists in his intention not to marry, and writes me that my sons are quite sufficient, and he has been many years of this opinion, because when he was in Flanders I set on foot a negotiation to marry him to my sister-in-law, the sister to the King of Spain (the Queen of Portugal), and this negotiation had advanced so far that it would soon have been concluded, but the Archduke resolved to decline the marriage; and we have also offered to negotiate for him to become husband to the Queen of England, but he has remained constant in his refusal to marry, and I believe the same thing will happen with regard to this lady (*questa*) of Poland. And touching the succession to that kingdom, the natives are divided into five parties: the first would wish for the son of

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the Marquis of Brandenburg, son of the eldest sister of the King; the second, the Vaivode of Transylvania; the third, my brother; the fourth, the Muscovite; and as to the fifth, the greater portion of the people would wish for the election of a native of the kingdom, and not a foreigner."

Vienna, 3rd February 1559[–60.]

[*Italian.*]

1561. Jan. 15. Senato Terra, filza No. 38. Venetian Archives.

6. The VENETIAN CONSULATE in LONDON.

Motion in the Venetian College.

Present, the five Sages, the proveditors of the factories, &c., including Giovanni Maria Bembo and Giacomo Morosini, proveditors of the London factory.

Our proveditors of the London factory having had letters from M. Placido Raggazoni of 13th December last, stating that he had been elected Vice-Consul of our nation in that place, and asking for confirmation from hence of the election, which had been made on the 9th December, as appears by a public instrument; it is proposed by the said proveditors, seeing what was done in the Council "di Pregadi" and in this College in 1556, in order to avoid many inconveniences which might arise from acts done by the said Placido, that the said election be confirmed until St. Mark's day 1562, for this occasion only, though with the benefit of appeal according to the said laws; but as the election has been made contrary to the said orders, that the said election shall be cancelled and annulled from the date mentioned. Also that a Consul be now elected by this College according to the resolution taken in 1556, to enter into that office on the said day, being the 25th of April, as of old used to be done, and then the said Vice-Consul shall deliver up all books and writings belonging to the consulate. Also that it be declared that no further election of consul or vice-consul shall be made in future, without express licence from the College.

Ayes, 9. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0. And so it passed.

On a ballot being taken, the existing Consul was declared to continue in office, according to the law above mentioned.

[*Italian and Latin; inserted in a Decree of the Senate, 6th March* 1563.]

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ERRATA.

p. 17, last line, *for* Henry *read* Thomas.
p. 47, l. 23, *after* Paioli *insert* (Prioli ?)
p. 73, l. 44, *for* all business *read* the term.
p. 94, l. 33, *after* Neste *insert* (Nesle ?)
p. 114, l. 12, *for* Boissac *read* Brissac.
p. 135, l. 21, *for* residue *read* residence.
p. 220, l. 11, *for* member *read* number.
p. 245, l. 4, *for* Arundel *read* Arran.
p. 295, note, *for* Hôpital *read* L'Hôpital.
p. 336, No. 283, in margin, *for* Venetian Archives *read* St. Mark's Library. [This applies to all the references to Barbaro's Despatches.]
p. 415, l. 39, *for* Domberdran *ead* Dumbarton.
p. 493, l. 2, *for* 450, *read* 450,000.
p. 524, l. 23, *after* Antonio *insert* Mocenigo.
The date of this document should be 1576, new style.
p. 526, l. 23, *for* 619 *read* 618.